

Online Cultural Heritage Materials and the Teaching of History in the Schools:

**A Concept Analysis
of
State Archives and Collaborative Digitization Program**

Web Resources

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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
School of Information and Library Science.

Chapel Hill
2010

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ABSTRACT

THOMAS KEVIN B. CHERRY: Online Cultural Heritage Materials and the Teaching of History in the Schools: A Concept Analysis of State Archives and Collaborative Digitization Program Web Resources

(Under the direction of Helen Tibbo)

Archives have long been peripheral resources for the elementary and secondary school classroom. Digital technologies carry the promise of strengthening the teaching role of archives. With the rise of the World Wide Web, many archives—along with libraries, museums, and other memory institutions—have digitized portions of their holdings, and some have done so in support of pre-collegiate classrooms. With an exploration of the use of primary sources in the teaching of history as its foundation, this dissertation provides a concept analysis of 24 online history teaching sites maintained by state archives and collaborative statewide digitization programs in the United States. It describes the range and extent of teaching activities used by these sites to build various aspects of one form of domain-specific cognition, “history thinking.” These aspects include “epistemology and evidence,” “progress and decline,” “agency,” “continuity and change,” “significance,” “empathy and moral judgment,” and “narrative building.” This research also analyzes the primary sources directly associated with these lessons to determine the subject eras and original formats that they represent, as well as their representation of ethnic minorities, women, and children. The research leads to a proposal for the creation of a collaboratively constructed framework for the teaching of history thinking skills through the use of primary-source-rich, inquiry-based activities.

Acknowledgements

I have many librarians and archivists from around the country to thank for their help with this document. I thank the staff of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Rowan Public Library, the State Library of North Carolina, North Carolina Office of Archives and History, East Carolina University, Catawba College, Davidson County Community College, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, University of North Carolina at Charlotte, Davidson College, Barton College, North Carolina State University, Duke University, Wake Forest University, Clemson University, Beaufort-Hyde-Martin Regional Library, George H. and Laura E. Brown Library, Franklin [NH] Public Library, Gaston-Lincoln Regional Library, the Public Library of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County, Randolph County Public Library, the Olivia Raney Branch of the Wake County Public Library, New Hanover County Public Library, Catholic University, Georgetown University, George Washington University, University of Maryland, District of Columbia Public Library, Library of Congress, National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), West Virginia University, and the staff of LearnNC, a program of the School of Education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I would also like to thank my colleagues at East Carolina University's College of Education, the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS), the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH), and the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NARA) for their support of my work.

I also thank my doctoral advisor Helen Tibbo and my committee for their guidance.

Special thanks goes to my colleagues at the North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources and elsewhere who helped build NC ECHO (Exploring Cultural Heritage Online) and who helped me formulate the initial ideas that led to this dissertation. I am also grateful to the North Caroliniana Society for awarding me the Thomas Whitmell Davis Graduate Research Assistantship in the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's North Carolina Collection back in 1988. This assistantship introduced me to my career. I also thank the history room volunteers and my colleagues at Rowan Public Library who continued my education and gave me extraordinary encouragement and support for just about any project that entered my head.

A very, very special "thank you" goes to Julia Heavner and Carolyn Ervin, my eighth grade North Carolina history teachers at East Lincoln Junior High School in Iron Station, NC.

I could not have done this without a lifetime of support from my family: Mama and Daddy, Lana and Allison, and my extended (some more than others) tall-tale-telling, "dinner-on-the-grounds-making," hard-working and baby-kissing "congregation of cousins." Thank you. Thank you very much.

In Memory of
J. Isaac Copeland, PhD
Director of “The Southern”

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Preface

I have always enjoyed a good story. My introduction to history was the “good stories” told to me by my grandparents, great-grandparents and their brothers and sisters. I was the oldest grandchild on both sides of my family, and these storytellers were my childhood companions. As my Grandma Georgie shelled peas in the glider underneath the carport, she told tales of her childhood in the Brushy Mountains: government stills, wash-pot tragedies, and corpses that always seemed to be expanding while some travelling kin tried to get home for the funeral. Uncle Horace would spit tobacco, pull a pocketwatch from the bib of his overalls, and decide it was time to tell me again how many kegs of nails had gone in to building the house whose porch we were sitting on. He knew where the horses had been shod, the corn had always grown tallest, and where the fingers and toes of long lost cousins had been buried following any of a number of farm-related accidents. I am probably one of the few people who knows the name of his great great-grandfather’s favorite hunting dog and why two of his great, great, great-aunts took to their beds a little after the Civil War.

When I started school, I was fortunate enough to have history presented in a way that seemed to be just more of the stories I had always been told—but instead of following mules in cornfields, the folk in these new stories tended to lead men on battlefields. The connection between my own family stories and school history was strengthened when my eighth grade North Carolina history teachers went out of their way to link the narratives in our textbooks to our local community. Miss Heavner and Miss Ervin knew that the Revolutionary War didn’t only happen in Massachusetts. Cornwallis

camped on Dave Clark's farm. And we might still be bowing to kings, if things had turned out a little differently at the Battle of Ramsour's Mill. History became my hobby, and I began to "do it" rather than just "know it" when my Aunt Helen introduced me to that forever frustration, genealogy. In this particular endeavor, one answer always leads to at least two more questions.

When I entered history graduate school at the University of North Carolina at Chapel (UNC-CH), a North Caroliniana Society-sponsored graduate assistantship in the North Carolina Collection introduced me to a new way of doing history, and I became a special collections librarian. In 2000, following a stint doing local history in Salisbury, NC, I found myself at the State Library of North Carolina helping to coordinate the second statewide digitization program in the nation, North Carolina ECHO (Exploring Cultural Heritage Online). We had been charged with providing greater access to the special materials locked away in the storage rooms of the state's libraries, archives, museums, and historic sites. Everyone involved in this notable enterprise just knew that what we were doing would be a boon for the schools. "Just think of all the important and rare and interesting materials that kids will be able to see now," we told people, and they told us the same thing right back. The first NC ECHO Web site that we created had a tab designated "for the schools." That tab pointed to nothing as we divined standards, taught digitization "bootcamps," ran a grant program, and performed a massive survey of the state's cultural institutions. At almost every meeting of the advisory board for the project the "schools portion" was discussed. But we didn't do much along those lines.

The State Library of North Carolina then partnered with the North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching to hold workshops with educators in the hopes that they could help “repurpose” portions of the state’s now growing digital collections for the classroom. I remember telling the advisory board that this would be a way of priming the pump. All we needed to do was show some master teachers our resources, and they were sure to take off using them. The word would spread, and all we would need to do would be to link all of the lessons, activities, etc. together. That didn’t happen.

I sat in on a couple of the North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching workshops and soon saw that making our amazing materials useful for the classroom was difficult work, a slow slog. The teachers told us that they did not know enough about the materials or the history, and the archivists, special collections librarians, museum professionals, and historians told us that they had no idea what the schools would find useful. I later sat in on focus groups of teachers that had been brought together by UNC-CH’s Documenting the American South, a national leader in cultural heritage digitization. Again, teachers in these focus groups essentially asked for “experts” to prepare Doc South’s wonderful materials for the classroom. They simply had no time to do it. Where would these experts come from?

I was enticed away from my job at NC ECHO by visions of a life in academia, and I took a job in the School of Education at East Carolina University. There, I taught school librarians while beginning what would become my long, drawn-out doctoral education at UNC-CH’s School of Information and Library Science. While at East Carolina, I helped sketch out the initial design for what would become the Eastern North Carolina Digital Library, but which began life as the “History and Fiction Digital

Project.” In addition to digitizing some great materials, we were determined to make the site useful for the schools. To help do this, we used the feedback from the Documenting the American South focus groups and the North Carolina Center for the Advancement of Teaching/NC ECHO workshops. We addressed the desire expressed in these forums for “hyper-local” materials and greater contextualization by creating “county pages” with almanac-type information. The teachers had stated that they wanted to know more about authors, so the new site provided brief author biographies. Advisors from the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction told us that teachers would only use what was in the curriculum, so we made sure to link our materials to the North Carolina standard course of study. A second round of funding allowed the East Carolina University library staff to meet the audio-visual needs of the schools by providing short video clips of related museum objects. The site made sound. It moved. It was hyper local, highly contextualized, and was tied to the standard course of study. It was well done, but I knew that there was still something missing. I just couldn’t put my finger on it. I hoped that this missing piece might be answered by even greater contextualization and was cheered when the UNC-CH School of Education’s “Learn NC” began a digital North Carolina history textbook, and I was asked to be on its initial advisory board. I could easily imagine linking the state’s many digitization efforts to various sections of this ground-breaking project.

At the time, I worked with a colleague in the East Carolina School of Education and that university library’s Teaching Resources Center, and we were funded to travel around to five different schools in eastern North Carolina to demonstrate the History and Fiction Digital Project and seek feedback from groups of teachers. They thought the

materials were wonderful, worried that they would never have time to actually use it in the classroom, and stated that they doubted that they would be using our site to create their own teaching materials because they lacked the expertise—but they certainly hoped that we would add more materials about their own county and soon! Slightly discouraged, I then interviewed leading “digitizers” in the state of North Carolina, giving them in my own words the feedback of the teachers who were attempting to use their sites. They again responded that they were not educators and someone in the schools would need to do the important work of making their materials useful for the schools. I soon came to the realization that the digitizers were intent on building digital libraries while the teachers were wanting some new form of online, multimedia, hyper-local, textbook-like teaching site. They were talking past each other.

About this time, I was finishing up most of my class work for the PhD. I had been telling everybody that I intended on doing my dissertation research on “the use of online primary sources in the classroom,” but I really had no idea what that meant specifically. I imagined that I would be doing some sort of ethnographic research where I would sit in a classroom, watch the use of online materials, and wait for some series of light bulbs to go off. While I prepared to do this sort of research, I decided I better learn a little bit more about history pedagogy, and thus began my little over two years of reading and note taking (which also coincided with a move to a new job in Washington, DC). I had no idea what all I didn’t know. I had been like the librarians, archivists, and museum professionals on the NC ECHO advisory board, the focus groups I had sat in on, and that I had interviewed. I knew the history; I knew the importance of this “old stuff;” and I knew my own visceral reaction when I made a discovery in some new set of recently

produced online materials. But I had never thought about the (yes, sometimes artificial) difference between doing and knowing history. I had never thought about “history thinking” or what might be involved in that particular form of domain-specific cognition. In a lot of ways, I suspect, my story is not too dissimilar from a lot of the librarians, archivists, and museum professionals who created that first generation of online history teaching sites as subsets of their digitization activities. This, then, explains the following extended literature review in the dissertation, which attempts to relate the research concerning history cognition in a form more easily digested by myself and my colleagues who work in “memory institutions.” It is a history of sorts.

Following all of my reading and note-taking on history pedagogy and, as a starting point for my research, I initially proposed to do an analysis of these online history teaching sites to see how well they supported or seemed to be aware of the research in the cognitive psychology of history thinking that has taken place since the 1980s. I then naively thought that I would use this introductory research to inform a series of focus groups with teachers who might be using online history teaching sites. This would be quickly followed by a few interviews with digitizers about the findings from these focus groups. In other words, I thought that I would attempt to recreate my own journey in this subject area, but this time I intended to be a much better educated traveler. As it turns out, that set of activities defines a bit more than a dissertation. What is presented here is a first step, an analysis of 24 online history teaching sites created by state archives or collaborative digitization programs like NC ECHO. An observant reader will notice that NC ECHO is not among the sites analyzed. That tab so long ago demarcated “for the schools” still sits empty.

I continue to believe that the digitization of library special collection, archives, and museum materials has the potential to provide extraordinary resources for the classroom. As more than one person has noted, the whispers of the past that are carried by primary sources (and even their reproductions) can claim the ear of even the most distracted and uninterested of individuals. There is a power to the original voices of the past that few interpretations can match. When they do their jobs well, archives and special collections libraries bring their users to their materials unobtrusively so that they can hear these voices for themselves. They provide the opportunity for individual discovery. They get out of the way. But individuals need to be fully prepared to take advantage of the opportunities provided by libraries and archives. They have to learn how to listen for those voices, and they are not born knowing how to do this. They must be taught. New methods of interactive communication, geographical information systems, three-dimensional representation (and perhaps printing), “virtual reality” and gaming, as well as (and most importantly), a deeper understanding of cognition, all carry even greater promise for the future of history teaching. Online collaborative “citizen scientist” projects and the Mellon-funded YouMedia project seem to point toward at least one or two paths that could be explored. So do various aspects of the “digital humanities” projects and centers that are springing up on college campuses around the country, often with considerable support from local academic libraries (and I wonder how long it will be until the “digital” in that designator become superfluous). There are so many possibilities.

Archives and special collection libraries have long been at the periphery of the classroom, perhaps most often the collegiate classroom. I know that the professionals

who work in these institutions carry knowledge and skills that would be most helpful for other classrooms, as well. Just as the materials held by these institutions need repurposing to be useful for middle and high school students, so do some of the skills of these repositories' talented caretakers. And just as these cultural caretakers have collaborated to tackle any of a number of challenges, I believe that classroom support is a topic worthy of equal attention of committees, working groups, and task forces. In short, I believe that archives and special collections should add "teaching" (or at least a more intensive version of "support of teaching") to their standard list of "collecting, preserving, and providing access to . . ." The pages that follow constitute a few of my own steps toward that goal.

And I still love a good story.

TKBC
Washington, DC

Introduction

There are more than nine million “digital items” on the Library of Congress’ “American Memory” Web site. They include digital surrogates of texts, photographs, maps, sound and video recordings, manuscripts, and sheet music.¹ The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill’s well-known “Documenting the American South,” program has transcribed and encoded well over 30,000 pages of text (from over a thousand books and manuscripts).² The University of Michigan’s “Making of America” digitization program has brought more than 10,000 19th-century texts (3,166,450 analog pages) and 50,000 journal articles to the Internet since its inception in 1995. The Online Archive of California (a collaborative online access to special collections project sponsored by the University of California system), presents over 170,000 images, 50,000 pages of documents, letters, and oral histories, and 8,000 guides to materials located elsewhere.³ The Perseus Digital Library, begun as an online repository of information about the Classical World and maintained by Tufts University Classics Department, holds tens of thousands of images and transcribed pages concerning the English Renaissance, the history of London, and the History of Science, in addition to materials concerning the

¹ Library of Congress, “About the Collections,” viewed on April 14, 2006 at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/about/about.html>

² Documenting the American South, viewed on August 1, 2009 at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/>

³ The Online Archive of California began in 2002 as an outgrowth of Encoded Archival Description standard developed at the University of California at Berkeley. ‘About OAC,’ viewed on August 2009 at <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/>

ancient Greeks and Romans.⁴ The world's oldest book digitization program, Project Gutenberg, has made approximately 20,000 e-texts freely available since its inception in 1971, relying upon donations and volunteer transcribers.⁵ Although these institutions represent some of the largest cultural heritage digitization projects in the United States, they only scratch the surface of the many digital resources that have been mounted on the Web by the nation's museums, archives, and libraries during the last decade.⁶ Indeed, a registry of Institute of Museum and Library Service (IMLS) federally-funded digitization projects, the "Digital Collections and Content" web site which is maintained by the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, contained 304,000 records for 37 different *collections* as of March 2007 and two years later, it held records for 255 collections—still only a sliver of the digitization projects in existence.⁷ In a recent study sponsored by IMLS, "ninety-four percent of archives reported some digitization activity over the past

⁴ "The Perseus Digital Library" viewed on May 17, 2007 at <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/> led by Classics professor Gregory Crane, planning for the Perseus Digital Library began in 1985. The flagship collection concerning the Classical world began to be developed in 1987. For a bibliography of materials about the Perseus Digital Library, see <http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/about/publications>

⁵ Marie Lebert, "Project Gutenberg from 1971 to 2005," viewed on May 15, 2007 at http://www.etudes-francaises.net/dossiers/gutenberg_eng.htm Graduate Student Michael Hart began this project on July 4, 1971 by transcribing the Declaration of Independence on the computer mainframe of the Materials Research Lab at the University of Illinois. He used all upper case letters because computers did not yet use lowercase. He later moved to the Bill of Rights, the Constitution, the Bible, and the works of Shakespeare. Project Gutenberg's 15,000th text, George Santayana's *The Life of Reason*, was made available on the Web in 2005.

⁶ For the sake of this study, I am limiting the term "digitization" to mean the reformatting of analog originals into a digital format. This study does not discuss those projects, which seek to provide greater access to sources that are "born digital." The Library of Congress' "American Memory" may be found at <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amhome.html> "Documenting the American South," is located at <http://docsouth.unc.edu/> The Collaborative Digitization Program (CDP) was called the Colorado Digitization Project when it was funded by IMLS. IMLS is at <http://www.imls.gov>, and the CDP is located at <http://www.cdphheritage.org/>.

⁷ "Interim Performance Report 9 for October 2006 to March 2007," *About the Project*, Digital Collections and Content, viewed on May 13, 2007 at <http://imlsdcc.grainger.uiuc.edu/about.asp>

12 months, as did 77 percent of state library administrative agencies, 74.4 percent of museums (up from 32 percent in 2001), 60 percent of academic libraries, 55 percent of large public libraries (compared to 25 percent in 2001), and approximately 18.5 percent of small and medium public libraries (double the percentage from 2001).⁸ And even more massive digitization projects loom large on the horizon. The National Endowment for the Humanities and the Library of Congress' "Chronicling America: Historic American Newspaper Project" announced in August 2009 that more than one million pages from public domain newspapers in fourteen states and the District of Columbia had been made freely available to the public with plans for more in the works.⁹ Yahoo and the Internet Archive's Open Content Alliance, as of May 2007, provided access to more than 100,000 books with the number growing steadily, and even this is dwarfed by plans of another Internet goliath, Google.¹⁰ Perhaps no other digitization program has received as much

⁸ Institute of Museum and Library Services, *Status of Technology and Digitization in the Nation's Museums and Libraries*, (Washington, DC: IMLS, January 2006) viewed on November 10, 2009 at <http://www.imls.gov/resources/TechDig05/index.htm>. For an announcement concerning the release of the report, see, "New Research Shows Technology and Digitization on the Rise at America's Libraries and Museums on the Rise," viewed on April 14, 2006 at <http://www.imls.gov/news/2006/041206b.shtm>

⁹"Library of Congress, National Endowment for the Humanities Celebrate Millionth Page in Chronicling America Project," Press release from the Library of Congress, viewed on July 21, 2009 at <http://www.loc.gov/today/pr/2009/09-123.html>; "Americans Can Read the News Before It Was History On New Web Site: Chronicling America Offers Historic Newspapers From Six States and DC in First Release" Press release from the National Endowment for the Humanities viewed on March 13, 2007 at <http://www.neh.gov/news/archive/20070321.html> "Chronicling America" is a creation of the National Digital Newspaper Program, sponsored by the Library of Congress and the National Endowment for the Humanities. The program's goal is to create, over the next twenty years, "a national, digital resource of historically significant newspapers from all of the states and U.S. Territories published between 1836 and 1922." The plan is for the site to contain images of more than 20 million historic newspaper pages.

¹⁰Scott Carlson and Jeffrey R. Young, "Yahoo Works with Two Academic Libraries and Other Archives on Project to Digitize Collections," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, October 3, 2005. The Open Content Alliance was conceived of in part by the founder of the Internet

attention as the one embarked upon by Google, which plans to digitize millions of volumes of books, essentially the majority of holdings from some of the world's leading research libraries.¹¹

Driving the rise in “Cultural Informatics,” (which goes beyond mass digitization to include a broader array of digital techniques and tools to provide greater access and functionality to the holdings of museums, archives, and library special collections)—at least among non-profit, cultural institutions—is a closely associated set of issues and goals, including 1) preservation of fragile analog originals by reducing their handling; 2) reconstruction, virtually, of original collections of materials that may have become divided in the “real world;” 3) creation of virtual collections from various repositories that, once together, meet needs that were not being met by those materials in their “distributed” state; 4) development of functionality in the surrogate not available in the analog original; and 5) simply providing greater access to those one-of-a-kind holdings that often reside in closed stacks, locked cabinets, and secure storage.¹² While the last in

Archive, Brewster Kahle. It plans to charge libraries a minimal cost for digitizing public domain items that they hold, while helping provide additional access to materials digitized locally.

¹¹ “Google Book Search: News and Views: History” viewed on May 17, 2007 at <http://books.google.com/googlebooks/newsviews/history.html> Among the library partners are the Bavarian State Library, Princeton University, University of California, The National Library of Catalonia, The University Complutense of Madrid, Harvard University, University of Michigan, New York Public Library, Oxford University, University of Texas at Austin, University of Virginia, and the University of Wisconsin-Madison. When the president of the University of Michigan, Mary Sue Coleman, told Google staff in 2002 that librarians estimated it would take 1000 years to digitize the holdings of the university's library, they responded that Google could have it done in six years. This estimate had its foundation in an experiment in 2002 involving a 300-page book and a metronome.

¹² The use of the term “cultural informatics” in the literature, course listings, etc., seems to be nearly synonymous with “humanities computing.” And “humanities computing” has now morphed into “digital humanities.” The issues and goals noted here can not necessarily be assigned to all mass digitization projects where marketplace issues must be factored in. And there is a growing interest in exploring mass digitization and the sharing of resources as a way to lower the carbon footprint of research libraries many of which heat and cool rather large physical

the above list, “simple greater access,” is most often cited by those involved in their digitization efforts as being the primary goal of their projects, this “greater access” to a certain body of “special collection materials,” at least early on in digitization, before mass digitization came to the fore, was often qualified. A great many early “digitizers” attempted to provide greater access to a body of material to a targeted group or groups of users: scholarly researchers, genealogists/hobbyists, and/or cultural heritage tourists, among others. If for no other reason, it was one way to structure a grant proposal and most of the early digitization efforts were produced using “soft funds.”¹³ The one group

facilities in “prime real estate” locations. These sorts of issues are discussed in the literature relating to digitization.” Among the most cited articles in this literature are Paul Ayris, "Guidance for selecting materials for digitisation," Joint RLG and NPO Preservation Conference: Guidelines for Digital Imaging, 28-30 September 1998 located at <http://www.rlg.org/preserv/joint/ayris.html>; Janet Gertz, "Selection Guidelines for Preservation," Joint RLG and NPO Preservation Conference: Guidelines for Digital Imaging, 28-30 September 1998.<http://www.rlg.org/preserv/joint/gertz.html>; Dan Hazen, Jeffrey Horrell and Jan Merrill-Oldham, *Selecting Research Collections for Digitization*, (Washington, DC: Council on Library and Information Resources, August 1998) located at <http://www.clir.org/pubs/reports/hazen/pub74.html>; Angelika Menne-Haritz and Nils Cbach, *The Intrinsic Value of Archive and Library Material: List of Criteria for Imaging and Textual Conversion for Preservation, Results of a DFG Project*. (1997), located at <http://www.uni-marburg.de/archivschule/intrinsengl.html>; Research Libraries Group, ed. *Selecting Library and Archive Collections for Digital Reformatting. Proceedings from an RLG Symposium Held November 5-6, 1995 in Washington, DC*, Mountain View, CA: Research Libraries Group, 1996, located at <http://www.rlg.org/pub.html> and Abby Smith, *Why Digitize?* (Washington, DC: Council on Library and Information Resources, February 1999), located at <http://www.clir.org/pubs/abstract/pub80.html>. Some individual institution guidelines for selection include Columbia University Library, *Selection Criteria for Digital Imaging Projects*, (June 1998), located at <http://www.columbia.edu/cu/libraries/digital/criteria.html> ; Library of Congress, Preservation Reformatting Division. *Selection Criteria for Preservation Digital Reformatting*, (December, 1999) located at <http://lcweb.loc.gov/preserv/prd/presdig/presselection.html>; and Kim Thompson, *University of California Selection Criteria for Digitization*, (October, 1998), located at <http://www.library.ucsb.edu/ucpag/digselec.html> .

¹³ For example, the North Carolina ECHO (Exploring Cultural Heritage Online) statewide digitization and access to special collections project had five specific user groups identified during its early planning meetings in 1999. Among them were hobbyist/genealogists, scholarly researchers, state government workers, and the K-12 community. For more on NC ECHO, see Kevin Cherry, “NC ECHO: More than a Web Portal,” *North Carolina Libraries* (Winter 2004): 225-33.

cited during these early days of digitization (the late 1990s) as a special audience more often than not is the K-12 community.¹⁴ “Documenting the American South,” for example, states that “[i]t supplies teachers, students, and researchers at every educational level with a wide array of titles they can use for reference, studying, teaching, and research.” The Library of Congress’ “American Memory” has re-purposed portions of its vast online collection specifically for the schools, as has the National Archives, while the quickly developing statewide digitization programs (Virtually Missouri, Colorado Digitization Program, NC ECHO, Maine Memory Project), almost all make note that among their primary target audiences are the state’s schoolchildren. For example, a purpose of the formerly named Colorado Digitization Program is to “work with educators to help meet the Colorado history standards.”¹⁵ These research repositories and collaborative programs target the K-12 community for a variety of reasons. There is, at times, funding available for the creation of K-12 educational resources when that same sort of support is lacking for preservation, retrospective conversion, and other, more “behind-the-scenes” special collections projects; special collections (especially government archives and university rare books and manuscripts units) see such programs as one way to expand their audience beyond professors and graduate students to serve a greater swathe of the public (while building future supporters); and museums, libraries, and archives often depend upon the favor of elected officials who often look favorably

¹⁴ As most researchers in Education will quickly explain, it is difficult to speak of kindergarten through senior year in high school—K-12—as if it represents one group of learners. Five-year olds are about as far apart developmentally from 18 year olds as any two groups of people will ever be. Yet most studies from libraries, archives and museums (outside of the school library media realm) continue to lump these age groups together. This study will continue this trend.

¹⁵ Colorado Digitization Program, “Project Description,” viewed on April 10, 2003 at http://www.cdphheritage.org/about/project_description.html It is now the Collaborative Digitization program and encompasses a number of western states.

upon those agencies when they reach out to support the schools, the largest responsibility of most state and local governments. (In its evaluation of its grants awarded for digitization, the Institute of Museum and Library Services [IMLS] discovered that about half of the grantee institutions —libraries, archives, and museums—stated that their expected end users were in education.¹⁶) While a bit of each of these reasons probably factor in to the decision to create every K-12 cultural heritage Web site, most of their developers probably begin their digitization projects out of a belief in the importance of their materials and the value of exposing schoolchildren to the ideas and concepts represented by them. Simply put, cultural heritage “digitizers” know the value of their materials and believe that they will benefit the classroom. The digitizers also find the schools investing heavily in the equipment necessary to access their online materials.

Since the early 1990s, the educational establishment (at almost all levels) has promoted and supported the development and use of online resources. Since 1994, the federal government has worked to bring all of the nation’s schools “online.” and, in at least one In North Carolina, for example, large percentages of traditional school library media center “book budgets” have been redirected to purchase and maintain hardware and software necessary to keep the schools connected.¹⁷ “The Internet is a valuable tool

¹⁶ IMLS, “Assessment of End-User Needs in IMLS-Funded Digitization Projects. October 2003. <http://www.imls.gov/pubs/pdf/userneedsassessment.pdf> The Institute of Museum and Library Services is the primary source of federal support for the nation’s 123,000 libraries and 17,500 museums. The Institute’s mission is to create strong libraries and museums that connect people to information and ideas. The Institute works at the national level and in coordination with state and local organizations to sustain heritage, culture, and knowledge; enhance learning and innovation; and support professional development.

¹⁷ This assertion is based upon an informal survey of school collection development grant proposals received by the State Library of North Carolina as a part of its Library Services and Technology Act (LSTA) grant program during the years 2000-2002. There are other factors driving this move to digital information, of course. A survey completed by the Pew Internet & American Life Project found that out of 2,000 middle- and high-school students, 78% of the

and a doorway to innumerable resources,” school resource allocators are saying with their pocketbooks, “and we want our students to have access.” The nation’s libraries, museums, and archives, with the support of private and governmental funding agencies, have been working to make their holdings a part of those innumerable resources.

Despite literally millions of dollars having been spent in creating these Web-based classroom resources, little has been done in the way of determining how these materials are used, the effectiveness of their use—or, for that matter—simply how often and how extensively they are used. Perhaps, more significantly, little has been done to determine if the digitized materials meet identified curricular goals, or benefit from research into cognitive development. In an attempt to begin to answer some of these questions, this study seeks to describe the current state of cultural heritage digitization for K-12 users by United States archival institutions. It seeks to do this through a concept analysis of the Web sites maintained by the nation’s state archives agencies and statewide digitization programs. Through this concept analysis, it seeks to answer how, if at all, these institutions structure and contextualize their online resources for the K-12 classroom. It also seeks to determine how the current state of archives digitization is informed, if at all, by research into the teaching and learning of history, specifically the development in students of what was once called the “historical sense,” but is now more

students prefer to use the Internet to do research. Students just seem to like computer-based information better. Walter Minkel, “Pew Study: Students Prefer ‘Virtual Library’,” *School Library Journal*, 48(October 2002): 28, and—although other factors are surely at work, in recent studies conducted by Lance and Associates, they “found that schools where computer networks provide remote access to library resources, particularly the Web and licensed databases, test scores tend to be higher.” In this study, the percentage of increase was related to the number of computers and the extent to which those computers provided access to library resources, informational databases, and the World Wide Web. (The online character of the school library, while a factor, may simply be an indicator of other elements in the success of the students, of course.) Keith Curry Lance, “What Research Tells Us About the Importance of School Libraries.” *Knowledge Quest* (September-October, 2002): 5

often denoted as “historical thinking skills.”¹⁸ Such a description of current archival practice contextualized by a review of the history and research concerning the teaching and learning of history is intended to provide a solid base for future development of online archival content designed to aid the schools.

As a foundation and context for this concept analysis, this study will first provide a brief historical overview of thought concerning history education in the United States, specifically focusing on the role of primary sources in the teaching of history in elementary and secondary schools.¹⁹ This history of primary sources in the teaching of history will focus on the initial debates surrounding the use of those sources in teaching, since many of the issues raised during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been and continue to be recurring themes in the teaching of the past. Even more specifically, this narrative will explore the tension between “learning” history and “doing” history in the development of history education. Following this historical overview, the study will then present a review of the research in the cognitive psychology of “history thinking,” briefly acknowledging some major works that have had an impact upon current thinking about how individuals learn and do history. The research into the cognitive psychology of history learning and teaching will be organized by the six

¹⁸ While primary sources, the resources most often digitized by archives and library special collections, may be used in many parts of the K-12 curriculum (language arts, science, even mathematics), they are more often used in social studies and within social studies, primarily in history. Thus, this study will focus on the domain-specific cognition of history.

¹⁹ Primary sources are most often thought of as “paper-based:” letters, diaries, etc. This study takes a more catholic view of the phrase. To the traditional items handled by archivists, it adds museum objects, recordings, photographs, architecture, etc., the evidence left by the past. Granted, some of these types of primary sources are more easily committed to the digital realm than others.

historical thinking skills as originally identified and delineated by Peter Seixas.²⁰

Following the cognitive development section, the study will then provide an overview of the use of computers to teach history beginning in the 1970s and concluding with a descriptive analysis of some current online resources developed largely by digital humanities and education research centers that attempt to scaffold the development of historical thinking skills. The study will then provide a literature review of the formal professional literature that details the relationship between archives and the K-12 community, especially the formal, published user studies focusing on the schools.

The investigation into the role of primary sources in the teaching and learning of history, the rise of related research in cognitive psychology, the role of digital technologies in history education, and the relationship between archives and the schools functions as an extended literature review, as well as a form of research in and of itself, in the form of intellectual history.²¹ As I was unable to find a history of the use of primary sources in the teaching of history for background to my intended research in archival Websites and education, I followed the advice of the history education research (which will be presented more in-depth later in this study) and “did history” to learn history, providing—in, admittedly, broad-brush manner—an overview of the development of thought about the nature of history education and the role that primary sources have played in that education.

²⁰ Peter Seixas, “Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding,” *The Handbook of Education and Human Development* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd, 1996).

²¹ I am fully aware of the irony of writing a form of “intellectual history” about the importance and use of primary sources to teach history that, in turn, relies so heavily upon secondary sources.

Using the online historical resources described at the end of the history and computers section of this study as models and the history of history teaching and archival user studies of the K-12 community as contextualization, this investigation will then turn to the concept analysis of state archives' and collaborative digitization programs' Web sites to determine how the leading archival agencies in the country are structuring the teaching resources that they make available online. This analysis will use the methodology previously developed by David Bruce LaVere to analyze the effectiveness of history textbooks, specifically, the "pedagogical exercises" sections of those teaching tools, to teach critical thinking skills.²² The conceptual framework and concept analysis instrument (see Appendix A) developed to investigate and analyze the individual Web sites directly grow out of the extended literature review, which preceded them, with each section of the instrument being aligned with a body of research previously presented and discussed.

While a talented teacher can use just about any teaching tool (or no tools, for that matter) to be a successful educator, digital technologies do offer great promise for enhancing education. Perhaps no other school discipline has as much to gain from a more extensive use of computers and the Web than does history. The storerooms of the world's museums, libraries, and archives promise vast riches for a wide range of exploration that was once largely denied to even the most careful and determined scholar due to logistics and the fragility of the originals, the primary sources. Yet, while the world's cultural

²² David Bruce LaVere, "The Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U. S. History Textbooks," *Social Studies* (January/February, 2008): 3-8. LaVere teaches at Clemson University. This is also discussed in David Bruce LaVere, "Teachers as Scholars: Recognizing the Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U.S. History Textbooks," *Teacher Education Journal of South Carolina* (2006-2007): 61-66, viewed on August 2, 2009 at <http://www.scateonline.org/pdfs/lavere.pdf> See also, David Bruce LaVere, *Native Americans in United States History Textbooks: An Analysis*. Dissertation, Clemson University, 2004.

institutions are rapidly mastering the technical considerations of making digital reproductions of the human record accessible, they are still grappling with how they can make the huge amount of this more accessible material *more useful* for specific audiences. In a series of informal interviews with "digitizers" and social studies teachers performed several years ago, it was easily determined that those educators were looking for a type of highly flexible, resource-rich online teaching tool, a multi-media "textbook on steroids" that would provide a great many classroom activities, was directly tied to the standard course of study, and was heavily salted with "hyper-local" materials.²³ These teachers also maintained that they did not have the expertise, inclination, or resources to fashion such a "targeted" site for the classroom from the ever-growing body of online materials. The digitizers, on the other hand, (all from special collection staffs at academic research libraries in North Carolina) were more interested in simply providing more access to their materials, with an emphasis on making available "hidden treasures" in their collections. These librarians maintained that they lacked the expertise, inclination, and resources necessary to hone their online materials for a specific audience, whether that audience be school children, genealogists, or any other specialized group. The teachers and digitizers were "talking past" each other with each maintaining that someone else would need to craft the "teaching sites" from the online resources. While these librarians have since modified their stance slightly and have begun to provide a few online tools designed to aid younger users, their sites are still far removed from the kind of resources envisioned by the teachers.

²³ The interviews were performed by the author for a research methods course in the Spring of 2003. Four "digitizers" at three different institutions in North Carolina and approximately 20 teachers at meetings designed to evaluate two separate online resources were interviewed. The resulting paper was not published.

As the following study will show, a handful of specialized research projects, largely associated with academic education and digital humanities programs, have stepped forward to fashion history teaching sites from the online materials made available by libraries, archives, and museums. But these projects and their sites lack sustainability (dependent upon one or two charismatic professors and funded by grants and fueled by graduate student labor), are not numerous nor dispersed enough to provide a large amount of local materials for different sections of the country, and are stand-alone. They are not interoperable and, as such, do not support the sharing of resources. Up until recently, they have been understood, for the most part, to be testbeds for research into the use of digital technologies in the teaching and learning of history. For these and other reasons that will be discussed later, it appears that archives and library special collections are particularly well-suited to take on more of a "teaching role" with their online materials. At least, funders of some digitization activities now tend to ask digitizers what sort of tools and what type of "contextualization" they plan to provide to the schools, if their grant proposals state that service to the K-12 community is a part of their intended project.²⁴

School library media centers, community college, and liberal arts college libraries have long thought of themselves as "teaching" institutions. It can be argued that archives and research libraries, especially the special collections of research libraries, have more often thought of themselves as the preserve of serious scholars and their apprentices, with the scholars doing the teaching of those apprentices and the libraries providing the resources and expert mediation for that research. But as these institutions move their

²⁴ The author has personally observed peer review grant panels at the state and national level over the past four years make these sorts of criticisms.

more specialized materials to the Web in an attempt to reach beyond the scholars and those apprentices, they must begin to take on more of the teaching role, if they are to be successful in meeting the needs of some members of that wider audience, the schools especially. This research is one attempt to help these institutions in their exploration of that expanding teaching role.²⁵

²⁵ It is, of course, possible that textbook publishers and their colleagues will take on this “middle-ground” role; repurpose and contextualize the online cultural heritage materials made accessible by the nation’s archives, museums, and libraries; and then sell access to the resulting product to teaching institutions, including those institutions which maintained the originals in the first place.

Part I.

History of the Use of Primary Sources to Teach History

“Everyone knows what history is until he thinks about it.”²⁶

Alan Griffin

²⁶Alan Griffin quoted in Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good* (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004): 3.

Chapter 1.

Championing Primary Sources

“Nothing capable of being memorized is history.”

R. G. Collingwood

Learning and Doing History

History: Identity and Examples

State of History in 19th Century American Schools

Influence of Scientific History

Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes and the Source Method

Fred Morrow Fling and the Nebraska Method

The History Ten of the Committee of Ten

The Committee of Seven

Primary Sources as Illustration Holds Sway, James Harvey Robinson,
Exemplar

How does a person know what occurred in the past? When he or she reads in a book that the Continental Army was so lacking in supplies at Valley Forge that men were tying rags about their feet to protect themselves from the cold, how did the author come to know that particular bit of information? When we watch a play based upon colonial-era witchcraft trials, how do we come to terms with an array of supernatural beliefs that seem so outlandish to most of us today? When we read an old advertisement in a magazine that takes a "woman's place" in the kitchen and at home for granted, then look up from the magazine to see the nation's female secretary of state giving a press conference, how do we explain the change in societal attitudes? We know what happened at Valley Forge because of the historical evidence left behind. We can attempt to develop an historical perspective on events like the Salem witchcraft trials and formulate some

ideas about change over time and causation thanks to an accumulation of historical evidence. That evidence, whether paper-based, audio-taped, photographic, or artifactual, is known collectively as primary sources.²⁷ Primary sources are among humankind's mnemonic devices. Upon them, we build our history. By repeating that history, we build our collective memory.²⁸

Is history a set of stories to be memorized, shared, and repeated to help build individual identity while binding a people together and telling them who they, as a group, are—at least in part? Is it a library of examples, both good and bad, markers by which those in the present-day might steer a clearer life's path? Is it a process of searching for, analyzing, and interpreting both the evidence that is "there" as well as the "empty spaces," the evidence that is not "there" to create a "useful" understanding of the past—whatever "useful" might mean for a particular person at a particular time in a particular place, facing a particular set of circumstances? Yes. That is history. All of that. And an essential part of the foundation for “all of that” are those primary sources: letters, diaries, maps, artifacts, oral histories, photographs, films, posters, landscapes . . .

Learning and Doing History

Ask almost any individual to explain what “history” is, and he or she will quickly respond that it is what happened in the past. Ask that same individual what one learns in a history course in school, and he or she will more than likely answer, “Names and dates of

²⁷ It is true that paper, audiotape, photographs, etc. are all “artifactual.” Lacking any better way of quickly including three-dimensional museum objects in the list, I employed the term in this sentence as a descriptor for these kinds of items as opposed to other media for memory.

²⁸ Of course, humans use other mnemonic devices such as rituals, oral traditions, taboos, social structures, institutions, etc., to maintain memory.

important people and events; what happened in the past.” To most people, *school history* is a memory exercise. The more one can remember about the past, the more skilled one is in the subject.²⁹ This should come as no surprise. Most individuals experience *school history* through a steady diet of teacher lectures, textbook readings, worksheets, and multiple choice tests with a few essays tossed in during the later grades. As a result, too many former history students can relate to the experience of their movie counterparts in the famous classroom scene from the 1986 film “Ferris Bueller’s Day Off.” Anyone who has heard former Nixon speech writer, law professor, writer, and sometimes actor and talk show host Ben Stein deliver his unscripted, deadpan lecture in economic history in this film can surely hear the ping of the radiator and smell the chalk dust once again:

In 1930, the Republican-controlled House of Representatives endeavored to alleviate the effects of the —Anyone? Anyone?—Great Depression. Pass the—Anyone? Anyone?—the tariff bill. The Hawley-Smoot Tariff Act, which—Anyone? Raised or Lowered? Raised tariffs in an effort to collect more revenues for the Federal government. Did it work? Anyone? Anyone know the effects? It did not work, and the United States sank deeply into the Great Depression. Today, we have a similar debate over this? Anyone know what this is? Class? Anyone? Anyone? Anyone seen this before? The Laffer Curve?³⁰

²⁹ A number of highly publicized studies of student historical knowledge shows that few students manage to remember many of these who, what, whens and wheres of the past. One of the most famous studies along these lines was a test administered by the *New York Times* during the nation’s Bicentennial. Edward B. Fiske, “Times Test of College Freshmen Shows Knowledge of American History Limited,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1976.

³⁰ “Ferris Bueller’s Day Off,” Film. . . It will be remembered that Lewis Carroll also played off the “dryness of history” when he had his character Mouse attempt to literally dry off a soaked Alice with a recitation from Chepmell’s *A Short Course of History* (1862). As Mouse said before he began his recitation, “This is the driest thing I know . . .” Apparently, Mouse was based upon Alice Liddell’s governess, Miss Prickett.

Is it any wonder that history is one of the least favorite subjects among schoolchildren? When they are asked to list their favorite subjects, history invariably comes up last.³¹ The average child finds history boring and irrelevant. When children grow up, they continue to have strong negative feelings about their experience in the history classroom. When asked to pick one word or phrase to describe their experience with the subject in school, three-fifths of adults in one famous study responded with terms such as “irrelevant,” “incomplete,” “dry” or, most commonly, “boring.”³² Most schoolchildren, perhaps, can sympathize with Harry Potter. As J. K. Rowling describes

Easily the most boring class was History of Magic, which was the only one taught by a ghost. Professor Binns had been very old indeed when he had fallen asleep in front of the staff room fire and got up the next morning to teach, leaving his body behind him. Binns droned on and on while they [the students] scribbled down names and dates, and got Emeric the Evil and Uric the Oddball mixed up.³³

Despite the situation at Hogwarts and other schools around the world, muggle and wizard alike, it is striking that a high percentage of adult muggles, at least, are regularly involved in some form of historical enterprise. They may be restoring an old house,

³¹ James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (New York: The New Press, 1995): 1. An informal survey of my own four school-age nephews supports these findings. For more along these lines, see James W. Loewen, *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1999).

³² R. Rosenzweig and D. Thelen, *The Presence of the Past: Popular Uses of History in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998).

³³ J. K. Rowling, *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer’s Stone* (New York: Scholastic, 1999): 133. Jane Austen apparently agreed with her fellow British writer. She has Catherine Morland in *Northanger Abbey* remark, “History, real solemn history, I cannot be interested in . . . I read it a little as a duty; but it tells me nothing that does not either vex or weary me. The quarrels of popes and kings, with wars and pestilences in every page; the men all so good for nothing, and hardly any women at all—it is very tiresome.”

belong to some sort of reenacting group, help with a church archive, do genealogy, visit museums, volunteer at historic sites, or collect antiques.³⁴ The same society that finds history in the schools to be so irrelevant and boring is awash in “historic this” and “heritage that” with most of these activities being run by volunteers in their free time to benefit others in their free time. In short, people almost never describe encounters with the past as boring except when those encounters take place in school.

As countless educators, historians, and other commentators have pointed out, this disconnect can be explained by the difference between what is commonly thought of as “learning history” and “having a hobby”—which could better be described as “doing history.”³⁵ For the average high school graduate, “learning history,” too often means memorizing that list of names and dates, the subject matter or content of history: George Washington, Harriet Tubman, and 1066.³⁶ “Doing history,” on the other hand, is a

³⁴ According to the National Genealogy Society, “Family history is now the second-most popular hobby in the United States after gardening.” The percentage of the U.S. population interested in family history has increased since the mid 1990s from 45% to 60% in a Maritz Marketing Research Inc. report. *Antiques Roadshow* has been among the most popular PBS programs of all time. And for a brief glimpse at the variety and extent of historical reenacting, a quick visit to the historical reenacting Web site “Histrenact” should suffice. See “Histrenact,” viewed on November 9, 2009 at <http://www.histrenact.co.uk/> “How Popular is Family History/Genealogy Research?” viewed on November 10, 2009 at <http://www.ancestortravel.com/Genealogy/popularity.cfm> For a popular account of this hobby, see Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic* (New York: Vintage Books, 1999). (A small portion of this work is set in the author of this study’s former office.) For evidence of the types of organizations that numerous individuals support, see the American Association of State and Local History Web site, www.aaslh.org. For a more critical look at the phenomenon, see David Lowenthal, *Possessed by the Past: The Heritage Industry and the Spoils of History* (New York: Free Press, 1996).

³⁵ Brad Burenheide, “I Can Do This: Revelations on Teaching With Historical Thinking,” *The History Teacher* 41 (November 2007) viewed on March 25, 2010 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/41.1/burenheide.html>

³⁶ Perhaps the most cutting commentary on this approach to history is W. C. Sellar and R. J. Yeatman’s *1066 and All That: A Memorable History of England, Comprising All the Parts You Can Remember, Including 103 Good Things, 5 Bad Kings, and 2 Genuine Dates* (London:

process which involves investigating evidence left by the past to craft some sort of understanding about previous people and their interactions with each other and their environments—with clear and often direct connections to the present. “Doing history” can mean visiting an archive, taking notes, and writing a paper, but it can also mean restoring an old house using ghost marks found underneath crumbling wallpaper, cutting molds to match old buttons for a reproduction Confederate uniform, and helping a child dip candles at a living history exhibit. As these examples suggest, a central difference between “learning history” and “doing history” is the interaction with “evidence from the past” often called “primary sources.” Or as E.H. Carr famously asked and answered: “My first answer therefore, to the question, ‘What is history?’ is that it is a continuous process of interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past.”³⁷ The tension between developing those skills that aid a student’s interaction with primary sources in support of “doing history” and knowing a set of canonized narratives about the past (including key dates, events, and actors) has been central in the development of history teaching and learning in the United States since the beginning of widespread public education at the end of the nineteenth century. After more than one hundred years, the tension between the two is still felt.³⁸

Methuen, 1930), a parody of British education. The authors state that they had planned to include four genuine dates but two of them proved not to be memorable.

³⁷ Edward Hallett Carr, *What is History*, (New York, 1963): 35.

³⁸ While it may be the most controversial at times, this is not the only “tension” to be found in the reoccurring debates surrounding the teaching of history, of course. Others include how one decides what constitutes “historical significance” from all that has occurred in the past, (therefore determining it to be worthy to spend valuable class time exploring) and how to incorporate and integrate the teaching of various social science disciplines with history (geography, political science, etc.).

History: Identity and Examples

One early writer on the history of history education, Rolla M. Tryon, grouped the reasons given by educators for teaching history during much of the nineteenth century in six categories. According to Tryon, educators believed that history provided 1) valuable training in morals, 2) abundant opportunity for profitable use of leisure time, 3) inspiration for patriotism, 4) training for a higher order of citizenship, 5) occasions for religious training, and 6) strength and discipline for the mind.³⁹ History from ancient times has also been understood to help individuals and groups better grasp their individual identity and group identity by allowing students to weave personal stories and experiences into the stories and experiences of neighbors and ancestors, helping create individual identity by knowing their roots and helping build a group identity by crafting a sense of a shared past. When nineteenth-century educators wrote that history supported patriotic values and higher order citizenship, they were, essentially, dealing with identity issues. This is not a new task for history. Plutarch recorded how Cato the Elder wrote a history of Rome “with his own hand and in large characters that his son might have in his own home an aid to acquaintance with his country’s ancient traditions.”⁴⁰ The austere politician and general doubtlessly wanted his child to better understand who he was by better understanding the nation that he claimed and that claimed him; the father believed that knowledge of these “ancient traditions” would help him in this undertaking, making

³⁹ Rolla M. Tryon, “One Hundred Years of History in the Secondary Schools of the United States,” *The School Review* 42 (February 1934): 95. Rolla M. Tryon was a professor of History and Education at the University of Chicago.

⁴⁰ Martin Ballard, “Change and the Curriculum,” in Martin Ballard, ed., *New Movements in the Study of Teaching History* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 1970) 4.

his son more patriotic and, thus, a better citizen. This is not too different from the comment by Kansas City, Missouri's J.M. Greenwood, published in 1884: "The boy, by studying the history of his country, is made to feel that he has an interest in his native land; that its welfare is his, and that it is for him."⁴¹ As one history educator has noted while contemplating a twentieth-century, post-colonial world, "New countries, created in the first place by western statesmen equipped with a map and a ruler, need a sense of identity."⁴² History, he proposed, was one tool to help meet just that need. But as history has been taught in most state-sponsored schools, the identity-making, shared past is not just any conglomeration of actors and events; rather it is a storehouse of specially selected cases: individuals to emulate and enemies to castigate, a "thesaurus of inspiring ethical examples to show how all got their deserts in the end."⁴³ It is a role best captured by Lord Bolingbroke who said, "History is philosophy teaching by example and also by warning," or the more familiar, now trite, quote from George Santayana, "Those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."⁴⁴ As such, history has been (and continues to be) used to transmit the values of interest to a society, indoctrinating

⁴¹ J. M. Greenwood, "Teaching of History," *Education* 4 (July, 1884): 625. Greenwood also does a good job describing the recitation method of history teaching that was in effect during the late nineteenth century.

⁴² Martin Ballard, "Change and the Curriculum," in Martin Ballard, ed., *New Movements in the Study of Teaching History* (Bloomington, ID: Indiana University Press, 1970): 5.

⁴³ G. Stanley Hall, *Educational Problems*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1911) quoted in Sam Wineburg, "The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History" in the author's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 30 and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com

⁴⁴ Henry St John, 1st Viscount Bolingbroke (1678-1751) was an English statesman and philosopher. George Santayana (1863-1952) was a philosopher, essayist, poet, and novelist. His famous quote comes from *Reason in Common Sense*, the first volume in his *The Life of Reason*.

students in civic, if not other, virtues—the religious and moral attributes of Tryon’s list.⁴⁵ After all, some have observed that the history textbooks used at the turn of the 19th century and before were “designed more to comport with the values of evangelical Protestantism than to further historical understanding.”⁴⁶ These texts “take a firm and unanimous stand on matters of basic belief. The value judgment is their stock in trade; love of country, love of god, duty to parents, the necessity to develop habits of thrift, honesty, and hard work in order to accumulate property, the certainty of progress, the perfection of the United States. These are not to be questioned.”⁴⁷ As G. Stanley Hall, the leading developmental psychologist of his day and author of one of the first books on history teaching methods asserted in 1911, lessons in history should “inspire to the greatest degree ideals of social service and unselfishness.”⁴⁸ While there exists many examples of history as identity-building leading to less-than-ideal situations (Nazism, as only one example), history is still understood to be a valuable tool in “building community” and imparting values, as the 1980s “culture wars” indicated. During the 1980s with the rise of social conservatism in America, some vocal pundits and social critics saw a fragmenting of American society, worried over the nation’s values, and feared that not only were technical skills and abilities required for a new age not being

⁴⁵ Hertzberg, H.W. *Social Studies Reform, 1880-1980* (Boulder CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1981).

⁴⁶ Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

⁴⁷ Ruth Elson, *Guardians of Tradition: American Schoolbooks of the 19th Century* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1964): 338.

⁴⁸ G. Stanley Hall, *Educational Problems*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1911) quoted in Sam Wineburg, “The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History” in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 30 and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com

acquired by the rising generation, but more importantly, neither were the socio-cultural values of earlier generations. These critics naturally turned to the schools to address their concerns, and the teaching of history was at the top of their list of subjects needing reform.⁴⁹ This same sort of concern for values and skills faced educational reformers at the end of the 19th century when startling advances in science and technology, mass immigration, racial tensions, and a radical shift in the nation's economy caused the nation to rethink the way it educated its youth. With these concerns came an investigation into the role of history and how that subject might best be taught. It was an exercise that was not dissimilar to those which would occur one hundred years later during the Reagan era.

State of History in 19th-Century American Schools

During the late 19th century, education in the United States was in a state of great fluctuation. The time-honored, Classical training, with the ancient languages at its core and moral philosophy as its capstone, had all-but-crumbled under the assault of modern languages and the sciences. In this highly unstable educational environment, the place of history in America's classrooms was none-too-secure. Indeed, history, apart from that

⁴⁹ Examples of major calls for the reformation of history during this time period include William J. Bennett, *First Lessons: A Report on Elementary Education in America* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1986); William J. Bennett, *James Madison High School: A Curriculum for American Students* (Washington, DC: Department of Education, 1987); The Bradley Commission on History in Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools* (Washington, DC: Educational Excellence Network, 1988); Lynne V. Cheney, *American Memory* (Washington, DC: National Endowment for the Humanities, 1987); Paul Gagnon, *Democracy's Untold Stories: What World History textbooks Neglect* (Washington, DC: American Federation of Teachers, 1987); History-Social Science Curriculum Framework and Criteria Committee, *History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools, Kindergarten Through Grade Twelve* (Sacramento, CA: California Department of Education, 1988); Diane Ravitch and Chester Finn, *What Do Our 17-Year Olds Know?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1987). A good review of the debate about the history curriculum can be found in James Fitzgerald, "History in the Curriculum: Debate on Aims and Values," *History and Theory* 22 (December 1983): 81-100.

associated with the study of the Classics, was not a regular part of the curriculum.⁵⁰

Surveying this situation, in 1869, the National Teachers Association (later to be known as the National Education Association) called for more in-depth teaching of American history in the schools, but to little effect—at least initially.⁵¹ If history was only a small part of schooling at the secondary level, it was even more rare in institutions of higher learning. Jared Sparks at Harvard is credited with being the first to inhabit a chair of history in an American university beginning in 1839, but it was a trend that was slow to catch on. In 1865, Professor Barnard of Columbia College told his trustees that it was “quite doubtful whether modern history in the proper sense of the word ought to occupy any considerable space in the teaching of our colleges. The subject is so vast, and particularly so exhaustless, that the little which can be taught in the few hours of class instruction amounts to but a small remove from absolute ignorance.”⁵² With this advice in mind, the trustees of Columbia abolished the chair of history which had existed since 1857, and divided it between English and Philosophy.

There were only eleven professors of history in the United States by 1880, and in 1887, a letter from the commissioner of education to the secretary of the interior noted “a

⁵⁰ Although American history textbooks began appearing in the later 18th-century, most of what passed for study of the subject during the better part of the nineteenth century was the memorization of long passages in Latin and Greek, which the very few students who did manage to finish secondary school would be expected to recall for college entrance examinations. John M’Culloch is usually credited with authoring the first American history textbook, *An Introduction to the History of America*, published in 1787, the year of the Constitutional Convention.

⁵¹ William H. Cartwright, “Evolution of American History in the Curriculum,” in Richard E. Thursfield, *The Study and Teaching of American History, Seventeenth Yearbook, 1946, The National For the Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1947): 26.

⁵² Quoted in Felix Gilbert, Leopold von Ranke and the American Philosophical Society,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 130 (September 1986): 362.

serious absence of proper historical instruction in all grades of American Education.”⁵³ In 1893, Harvard’s Charles Eliot, then the leading reformer in higher education, reported that “it is now-a-days admitted that language, natural science, and mathematics should each make a substantial part of education, . . . the function of history in education is still very imperfectly apprehended.”⁵⁴ Eliot’s fellow educational reformers, promoters of science and modern languages, held that these “new” subjects taught “generalizations, abstractions or rules which can be applied to fresh matter,” and they noted that these subjects required students to be active in their own education, solving problems, whether translating texts or experimenting in labs.⁵⁵ These educational reformers often relegated history to the “inferior status of an information subject—casting it as a study emphasizing

⁵³ Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887): 9.

⁵⁴ Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1863* (San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass, 1977): 177. Committee on Secondary School Studies, *Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies* (Washington, DC, 1893): 28 quoted in Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html> A member of a well-regarded and formerly wealthy Boston family, Charles Eliot graduated from Harvard in 1853. Following graduation, he was named tutor of Mathematics at his Alma Mater and, in 1858, he was promoted to Assistant Professor of Mathematics and Chemistry. When he did not receive the prestigious Rumford Chair of Chemistry, he left Harvard and used a small legacy left to him by his grandfather to travel and study the educational systems of Europe, primarily France. In 1869, returned from France and teaching Analytical Chemistry at the new Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Eliot wrote a two-part article for *The Atlantic Monthly*, which detailed his views regarding the need for reform for the college curriculum. Shortly after the publication of these influential pieces, he was named president of his Alma Mater, serving longer in that role than any other person. He is often cited for promoting the elective system in American higher education. Charles W. Eliot, “The New Education I,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 23 (February 1869) and “The New Education II,” *The Atlantic Monthly* 23 (March 1869) viewed on February 23, 2008 at the “Making of America” Web site, <http://library5.library.cornell.edu/moa/> Hugh Hawkins, *Between Harvard and America: The Educational Leadership of Charles W. Eliot* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 1972).

⁵⁵ Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History*, (London: A&C Black, 1910): 2.

rote memorization of facts rather than work of an intellectually demanding nature.”⁵⁶ As Charles Eliot remarked in 1898: “Many teachers I have heard say that there is no stout mental training to be got out of history; that it is a thing any child can commit to memory without understanding the reasoning of it, or see the meaning of it; that there is no such mental training in it as there is in the study of language, metaphysics or arithmetic . . .”⁵⁷ For example, in his 1879 *Education as a Science*, philosopher Alexander Bain dismissed the study of history this way: “The fact that history presents no difficulty to minds of ordinary education and experience, and is, moreover, an interesting form of literature, is a sufficient reason for not spending much time upon it in the curriculum of school or college. When there is any doubt, we may settle the matter by leaving it out.”⁵⁸ As history was taught at the time, these critics were largely correct in their estimation. History was almost completely an exercise in memorization, leaving G. Stanley Hall, editor of the first work on history teaching methods, to state, “[N]o subject so widely taught is, on the

⁵⁶ Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

⁵⁷ Charles Eliot, speech in response to a report by the New England History Teachers Association Committee on the Methods of Teaching and Study, “Practical Methods of Teaching History,” *Education* (April 1898): 329.

⁵⁸ Alexander Bain, *Education as a Science*, (New York, NY: D. Appleton, 1879): 286-287 viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. Bain was a philosopher, scientist, and professor at the University of Aberdeen. He was lifelong friends with John Stuart Mill. He wrote on many subjects, including grammar and moral philosophy, among others, and was the founder of the journal *Mind*. As late as 2005, a survey of students and teachers found that history’s umbrella subject, social studies, “is not important, but is considered an enrichment or second ranked subject.” Y. Zhao and J. D. Hoge, “What Elementary Students and Teachers Say About Social Studies,” *The Social Studies* 96 (2005): 216-221.

whole, taught so poorly.”⁵⁹ Harry Pratt Judson, principal of the Troy [New York] High School and then professor-elect of History at the University of Minnesota described history pedagogy in 1885 this way: “A child is put to reciting the maneuvers of campaign, who can hardly tell a campaign from a cartridge. It is time for a boy to study history, and so a book in history is deliberately rammed into the educational gun and fired at the victim at point blank range. Little wonder that quite often he is knocked down.”⁶⁰ Or, as George W. Knight of Ohio State University remembered in 1902 about his own history education from a decade or so earlier:

[The] half year’s instruction was at the hands of one those over-worked, under-trained, and, of course, underpaid women who welcomed the class in history not because she was full of enthusiasm and stimulating inspiration in the history of her country, but because she could sit before the class, book open, and without any appreciable mental effort easily determine by eye and ear whether the poor urchins and lassies in their parrot-like repetition of memorized paragraphs wandered from the straight and narrow path along the printed line and adown the printed page.⁶¹

There were those, however, who had a view of history’s full promise, and they believed that if the subject’s greater potentials were to be reached, some amount of work in

⁵⁹ G. Stanley Hall, ed., *Methods of Teaching and Studying History* (Boston, MA: Ginn, Heath, 1883): vii, quoted in Robert Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13 (1949): 212.

⁶⁰ Harry Pratt Judson, “Teaching History in Secondary Schools,” *Education* 6 (September 1885): 20.

⁶¹ George W. Knight, “What the Teacher of American History Should Be and Do,” *School Review* (March 1902): 210. For more on the teaching methods in history of the later 1800s, see F.N. Thorpe, “Teaching American History,” *Education* 7 (June 1887): 686-690. Thorpe was a fellow in Political Science and Lecturer in American Constitutional History and Law in the University of Pennsylvania and Professor of History in the Philadelphia Manual training School.

evaluating the multiple perspectives of secondary sources and interpreting primary source documents would need to be required.

Influence of Scientific History

While the use of primary sources to teach history in the schools is often associated with the rise of “The New Social Studies” following World War II, the “Source Method,” as an earlier incarnation titled it, was being promoted decades earlier. Beginning in the 1880s and continuing until shortly after World War I, a number of prominent American historians and educators maintained that the use of primary sources was a “crucial element of progressive history teaching.”⁶² This concern with “source work” in history education was driven largely by the rise of “scientific history” in the scholarly reaches of the United States.⁶³ Growing out of the Progressive era’s ethos and influenced heavily by German university-styled research that had first largely developed in the natural sciences, scientific history is a loose term used to describe the work of historians who stressed research methodology, the importance of primary sources, and a belief that through the proper use of them, a greater level of objectivity could be brought to the subject. Its

⁶²Ken Osborne, “A New Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm. John Jacob Anderson, author of several history textbooks, did incorporate primary sources in his *The Historical Reader* (New York, NY: Clark and Maynard, 1871), viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. Anderson was the headmaster of a large public school in New York for twenty years and wrote a number of textbooks. The *Historical Reader* provided a selection of readings much like the popular McGuffey’s Reader of the day. Headmaster of the Roxbury Latin School, W.C. Collar had written about using primary sources as supplementary materials in G. Stanley Hall’s *Methods of Teaching and Studying History* (2nd ed., Boston, MA: Ginn, Heath, 1885): 82-83.

⁶³ For more on the influence of the German scientific school on American historians, see Jurgen Herbst, *The German Historical School in American Scholarship: A Study in the Transfer of Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1965).

practitioners believed that by introducing more objectivity, history would become more “scientific” while keeping the best qualities of its literary heritage. As one writer has noted, “Quite suddenly history was changed from something already done with and inert to something just beginning and very much alive. There were opened endless fields for investigation, endless opportunities to question conclusions and challenge assumptions, and the possibility of endless discoveries which might add significantly to humankind’s knowledge of itself.”⁶⁴

Although it was Thucydides in the fifth century BCE who first articulated the guidelines for history, which essentially boiled down to evaluating the evidence from witnesses as opposed to creating myths, Leopold von Ranke, a nineteenth century German historian, is usually given credit for first developing the scientific history school.⁶⁵ Drawing upon the Baconian, scientific ideal of the accretion of facts, in 1824, von Ranke wrote the *History of the Latin and Teutonic Peoples from 1494 to 1514*. In this work, he relied less upon secondary sources and instead built his narrative upon an impressive array of primary sources: memoirs, diaries, letters, official reports, etc. In this work, he famously stated that “History had been assigned to it the office of judging the past and of instructing the account for the benefit of future ages. To show high offices the present work does not presume: it seeks only to show what actually happened,” a comment that historians have argued about ever since it wet the page, but one which stressed the objective, the “prove-able,” and the concrete, specific nature of the past, rather than the sweeping and thematic. “I see the time approaching,” the German

⁶⁴ Deborah L. Haines, “Scientific History as a Teaching Method: The Formative Years,” *Journal of American History* 63 (March 1977): 896.

⁶⁵ Thucydides was the author of *The History of the Peloponnesian War*, which, unlike the work of Herodotus, did not include popular fables amidst its history.

historian said in a later work, “when we shall base modern history, no longer on the reports even of contemporary historians, except in-so-far as they were in the possession of personal and immediate knowledge of facts; and still less on work yet more remote from the source; but rather on the narratives of eyewitnesses, and on genuine and original documents.” This view of history meshed nicely with the developing German seminar method of instruction.

Von Ranke had studied philology as a student, and it was in philology—the study of languages (usually ancient) in their historical, cultural and social contexts—that the “seminary” method of teaching in the humanities had its root.⁶⁶ During the last quarter of the 18th century, Friedrich August Wolf, a renowned teacher at the Prussian University of Halle, gathered his students together to discuss their translations and interpretations from the Classics. As a result of his influence, this teaching methodology became a part of the philological enterprise.⁶⁷ With this educational background and, having been surrounded during most of his adult life by the revolution in the teaching of the sciences that was then taking place in the German universities—with lectures giving way more and more to faculty-led discussions, benchwork, and experimentation—von Ranke changed the teaching of history just as he had its writing. In history, the seminary method would involve advanced students, together, investigating various interpretations of the past (secondary sources), as well as primary sources, all under the guidance of a professor who asked leading questions in the Socratic manner. Interpretations of a particular

⁶⁶ Charles Kendall Adams, “Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America,” Web site of the American Historical Association viewed on February 16, 2008 at http://www.historians.org/INFO/AHA_History/ckadams.htm#author.

⁶⁷ Friedrich August Wolf was run out of Halle by the French invasion in 1807 and took up residence in Berlin, but he never recovered the success in teaching and scholarship he had enjoyed in Prussia. His last years were wrapped in gloom, and he passed away in 1824.

historical event would only be advanced after a thorough investigation and discussion, which often led students to seek the input of other sources, both secondary and primary. In this way, students learned the historical narrative as they learned the research methodology. The two reinforced each other. The analysis involved in this enterprise is now often grouped into four major areas of inquiry: point of view, credibility of evidence, historical context, causality, and multiple perspectives.⁶⁸ In 1830, under the influence of Wolf's style of philological teaching and the pedagogy of the advanced students of the sciences, von Ranke invited some of his best students to discuss their work and teach each other. As one leading American historian would later comment, "To the teaching of History, the event was the beginning of a new epoch."⁶⁹

Von Ranke's written work and teaching method had wide influence, not only among German intellectuals, but also throughout the western world of scholarship, as young academics travelled to Germany to experience the new form of higher education and learn the new methodologies in scholarly inquiry. Ephraim Emerton, a graduate of Harvard (1871) and Leipzig (1876), and later a professor of ecclesiastical history at Harvard, described the influence of the German school on history in an essay written for the first book on history teaching methodology published in the United States:

⁶⁸ Alan Stoskopf, "Reviving Clio," *Phi Delta Kappan* (February 2001): 468-473. A good description of scientific history may be found in John Higham, Leonard Krieger, and Felix Gilbert, *History* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: 1965): 6-25; 92-103; 147-70. For a brief description of scientific history and its philosophical underpinnings in Scottish Common Sense Realism, see Richard J. Jensen, "Historiography of American Political History," in Jack Greene, ed., *Encyclopedia of American Political History*, vol. I (New York: Scribner's, 1984): 1-25.

⁶⁹ Charles Kendall Adams, "Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America," Web site of the American Historical Association viewed on February 16, 2008 at http://www.historians.org/INFO/AHA_History/ckadams.htm#author. In 1884, von Ranke was named the first honorary member of the American Historical Association—during the presidency of Andrew D. White. The following year, he was elected to the American Philosophical Society, one of the—if not THE—highest honor a scholar in the United States can receive.

Young Americans at German universities, becoming impressed with the value of the system of instruction there, saw the hope of occupation and usefulness in transplanting the method to our shores. They threw themselves with a new energy into the study of history as a science by itself, and their enthusiasm was rewarded by finding on their return that the leading colleges of their own land had kept pace with the demand of the times and were ready to employ them. The number of these younger scholars is not very great. The road is an arduous one; the rewards tardy and never dazzling. But in spite of obstacles, the number of devoted scholars in this field is increasing. They are reasonably certain of finding employment. The lesser colleges must follow in the footsteps of the greater; where classes of history do not exist, they will be created. The elementary teaching must be made better and more widely diffused as the students of our colleges go out from under enthusiastic teachers to become teachers in their turn. So far as quantity goes, we may well believe that the future of historical teaching in our country is secure.⁷⁰

One of those young American academics to be influenced by the Germans was Andrew Dickson White. White was born in Homer, NY in 1832 and attended Hobart (then known as Geneva) College. Against his father's wishes, he attended Yale University, graduating in 1853. As his autobiography shows, White did not think highly of the pedagogy he experienced as an Eli. Remembering one of his first classes as a student at Yale, White later recounted:

Naturally most of the work done under these was perfunctory. There was too much reciting by rote and too little real intercourse between teacher and taught. The instructor sat in a box, heard students' translations without indicating anything better, and their answers to questions with very few suggestions or remarks. The first text-book in Greek was Xenophon's ``Memorabilia," and one of the first men called up was my

⁷⁰ Ephraim Emerton, "The Practical Method in Higher Historical Instruction," in G. Stanley Hall, ed., *Methods of Teaching History* (Boston, 1885): 39, quoted in Deborah L. Haines, "Scientific History as a Teaching Method: The Formative Years," *Journal of American History* 63 (March 1977): 897. Francis A. Christie, "In Memoriam: Ephraim Emerton," *Church History* (June 1935): 147. Emerton taught at Harvard for 42 years and published five volumes after his retirement in 1918.

classmate Delano Goddard. He made an excellent translation, —clean, clear, in thoroughly good English; but he elicited no attention from the instructor, and was then put through sundry grammatical puzzles, among which he floundered until stopped by the word, “Sufficient.” Soon afterward another was called up who rattled off glibly a translation without one particle of literary merit, and was then plied with the usual grammatical questions. Being asked to “synthesize” the Greek verb, he went through the various moods and tenses, in all sorts of ways and in all possible combinations, his tongue rattling like the clapper of a mill. When he sat down my next neighbor said to me, “that man will be our valedictorian.” This disgusted me. If that was the style of classical scholarship at Yale, I knew that there was nothing in it for me. It turned out as my friend said. That glib reciter did become the valedictorian of the class, but stepped from the commencement stage into nothingness, and was never heard of more. Goddard became the editor of one of the most important metropolitan news-papers of the United States, and, before his early death, distinguished himself as a writer on political and historical topics.⁷¹

White was, then, already predisposed to a more active form of teaching when he and his college friend Daniel Coit Gilman travelled to Europe for further study upon graduation. (Daniel Coit Gilman would later serve as President of Johns Hopkins University where the seminar would reach its pinnacle in American higher education during the 19th century.) White sat in on lectures by some of the leading European professors, interviewed old soldiers about their Napoleonic campaigns, and served briefly as an underling in the United States diplomatic mission to Russia. He also studied history with von Ranke at the University of Berlin. While the master’s ideas were influential, his actual teaching left something to be desired:

The lectures of Ranke, the most eminent of German historians, I could not follow. He had a habit of becoming so absorbed in his subject, as to slide down in his chair, hold his finger up toward the ceiling, and then, with his

⁷¹ Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* viewed at Project Gutenberg on February 21, 2008 at <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext98/1aadw10.txt>

eye fastened on the tip of it, to go mumbling through a kind of rhapsody, which most of my German fellow-students confessed they could not understand. It was a comical sight: half a dozen students crowding around his desk, listening as priests might listen to the sibyl on her tripod, the other students being scattered through the room, in various stages of discouragement.⁷²

On his return to the United States from Europe in 1857, White became a Professor of History at the University of Michigan. (He would later become the first president of the American Historical Association.) At Michigan, he was largely an organizer and teacher. As one historian has noted, scientific history has long been associated with historians' scholarly research and publication, but the first scientific historians in the United States fit White's mold. They were more organizers and teachers than authors of authoritative works on the past. Thus, "it was certainly as a teaching method that scientific history was most clearly defined in the 1880s."⁷³ Although he still largely taught History by lecture, in Michigan, White began to introduce the new form of History teaching—although, apparently, with a bit more classroom success than the great German who had inspired it. As one of his students remembered, "And the inestimable service of Professor White during his five years at Michigan was the fact that at that early day, years before a similar impulse had been felt anywhere else in the country, the study of history was lifted to the very summit of prominence and influence among the studies of the college course. No one who was not on the spot can adequately realize the glow of

⁷² Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* viewed at Project Gutenberg on February 21, 2008 at <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext98/1aadw10.txt>

⁷³ Deborah L. Haines, "Scientific History as a Teaching Method: The Formative Years," *Journal of American History* 63 (March 1977): 892.

enthusiasm with which this reaction was welcomed by the students of the university.”⁷⁴

White found his work at Michigan personally instructive, as well. As he recalled later, “I found energetic Western men in my classes ready to discuss historical questions, and discovered that in order to keep up my part of the discussions, as well as to fit myself for my class-room duties, I must work as I had never worked before. The education I then received from my classes at the University of Michigan was perhaps the most effective of all.”⁷⁵

One of those energetic Western male students was Charles Kendall Adams who would become a pioneer in the introduction of the German seminar method of instruction in the United States. Born in Derby, Vermont in 1835, Adams moved to Iowa as a young man, and, in 1861, became a student at the University of Michigan where he studied under White. When, in 1863, White took an extended sabbatical from the university for health reasons and stayed away to work on various political causes, finally travelling to Europe to sell war bonds for the Union during the Civil War and later being elected to the legislature of New York, Adams was named an assistant professor and began teaching as White’s substitute. When White was named the first President of Cornell in 1868, Adams travelled to Germany and France to better prepare for his new, permanent position by learning more fully the new forms of scholarly inquiry and pedagogy. He returned to Michigan as a full professor of History, bringing with him the full-fledged German seminar, which he is generally credited with introducing to the United States’ academe.

⁷⁴ Charles Kendall Adams, “Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America,” Web site of the American Historical Association viewed on February 16, 2008 at http://www.historians.org/INFO/AHA_History/ckadams.htm#author.

⁷⁵ Andrew Dickson White, *Autobiography of Andrew Dickson White* viewed at Project Gutenberg on February 21, 2008 at <http://www.gutenberg.org/dirs/etext98/1aadw10.txt>

In 1869, under Adams' leadership, the University of Michigan was the first American university to offer graduate work in History. In his AHA presidential address, Adams remembered

Perhaps the most notable fact during that period was the introduction of the historical seminary in 1869. Observation in the seminaries of Leipzig and Berlin had convinced me that even advanced undergraduates could use the methods of the German seminary with great profit. My expectations were more than realized. At a little later period, a working library of nearly three thousand volumes was given by a friend of the department, and these books were made constantly accessible to students in the commodious seminary rooms of the new library building. Unfortunately there has been no publication fund by means of which papers of value could be given to the public. But the monographs of Professors Knight and Salmon, published by this Association in its first volume, are evidence of the quality of the work done.⁷⁶

Individuals who studied with Adams during those early years, including the future professors that he mentions (Knight and Salmon) would become influential historians during an era of great change in the American academy. Some of these changes would be reflected in the curriculum of the nation's elementary and preparatory schools, as well, as Adam's students began to educate teachers. Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes was at their forefront.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Charles Kendall Adams, "Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America," Web site of the American Historical Association viewed on February 16, 2008 at http://www.historians.org/INFO/AHA_History/ckadams.htm#author. Adams would later follow Andrew D. White as president of Cornell (1885-1892), but a heated disagreement about honorary degrees led to his leaving the New York school to serve as the president of the University of Wisconsin Madison where he remained until his death in 1902.

⁷⁷ Lucy Maynard Salmon and Alice Freeman Palmer, both leading female historians and educators of the day, took history classes at Michigan at this same time. Lucy Maynard Salmon would propose a six-year course of history study for elementary schools a few years later, and her work would be cited by the American Historical Association's Committee of Eight, which studied history education on the elementary level in 1911. She would also serve on the AHA's Committee of Seven which would have a seminal role in the development of history education in

Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes and the Source Method

Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes was the fifth child of the founder of Oswego State Normal and Training School, Edward Austin Sheldon, the foremost teacher educator of his day. At Oswego, Edward Sheldon, a former teacher and school superintendent, promoted manual training education and strict administrative and curricular organization of schools. "Scathingly critical of memoriter systems of teaching," he was a follower of Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi, especially the Swiss educator's pedagogical method known as "Object Teaching."⁷⁸ With its emphasis on sense perception, object teaching eschewed

the secondary schools. Salmon would become the chair of the history department at Vassar College. Mary Sheldon Barnes would later also study with Professor J.R. Seeley at Newnham College, Cambridge. Regarding the first graduate program in history in the United States, see William H. Cartwright. "Evolution of American History in the Curriculum," in Richard E. Thursfield, *The Study and Teaching of American History, Seventeenth Yearbook, 1946*, The National Association For the Social Studies (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1947). For a history of the introduction to the seminar method in history in the United States, see Herbert Baxter Adams, "New Methods of Study in History," *The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Second Series, II (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins, 1885) and Herbert Baxter Adams, "New Methods of Study in History," *Journal of Social Science* 18 (1884): 213-263.

⁷⁸ Thomas A. Barlow, *Pestalozzi and American Education* (Boulder, CO: Estes Es Press, 1977). For more on Edward Austin Sheldon, see Andrew Phillips Hollis, "Dr. E.A. Sheldon and the Oswego Movement," *Education* 18 (May 1898): 545-554; Stuart A. McAninch, "The Educational Theory of Mary Sheldon Barnes: Inquiry Learning as Indoctrination in History Education," *Educational Theory* (Winter, 1990): 47, and Edward Austin Sheldon, edited by Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Autobiography of Edward Austin Sheldon*, (New York, NY: Edward Ives, Co, 1911) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. Born in 1746 in Zurich, Pestalozzi spent much of his life thinking and writing about education. Believing that education should teach a person to think for himself, Pestalozzi's model curriculum was based upon Jean-Jacques Rousseau's plan in *Emile*. Pestalozzi promoted activities outside of textbooks such as drawing, writing, singing, physical exercise, model making, collecting, map making, and field trips as educational experiences. He believed that the teacher should recognize individual abilities and limitations of students and thought that his young charges should be grouped by ability rather than age. The Pestalozzian Method, at its core, held that an education should build upon a student's innate abilities, begin with observation, move to comprehension, and finally to the development and presentation of the student's own view. It was not until after he was 50 years of age that Pestalozzi was given an opportunity to put his educational principles to work. His resulting school in Yverdon became internationally famous. His views, now almost totally

aggregation of data and memorization and instead aimed at promoting student understanding. In this method, students were understood to be active participants in learning, drawing conclusions from their own inquiry, not empty vessels waiting to be filled by teacher and textbook. In the Pestalozzian view, genuine learning occurs only through concrete activities which possess tangible significance for students. In object teaching classes, schoolchildren would be shown objects and would be asked to name their qualities. Through the resulting dialogue, the instructor would lead the students from concrete to abstract ideas, while seeking to cultivate written and oral skills through lessons aligned to stages of the student's mental growth. Object teaching replaced recitation with an emphasis on reasoning and individual judgment, book centeredness with object centeredness, and textbook lessons with oral language lessons, among other attributes. Under Sheldon's leadership, the New York school's influence spread and the "Oswego Plan," or movement, influenced teacher training programs across the nation. Indeed, during its hey-day (1861-1886), Oswego became known as the "Mother of Normal Schools," as graduates of Oswego traveled the country opening other teacher training programs.⁷⁹

absorbed into modern education, were quite radical at the time. One of his best known quotations from his last work, *Swan Song*, is "Life itself educates."

⁷⁹ Brian LaValley, "SUNYCO's Heritage in Technology Education," viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.oswego.edu/academics/colleges_and_departments/departments/technology/about_us/history/index.html; See Ned H Dearborn, *The Oswego Movement in American Education* (New York, NY: Arno Press, 1969), Dorothy Rogers, *Oswego: Fountainhead of Teacher Education* (New York, NY: Appleton, 1961) Some of Edward Austin Sheldon's books include *A Manual of Elementary Instruction* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner, 1861), *Lessons on Objects* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner, 1863) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com, *First Reading Book and Phonic Cards* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner & Co, 1863), *Teachers' Manual of Instruction in Reading* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner?, 1875).

Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes graduated from her father's school and, in 1871, was a student at the University of Michigan, which had newly opened to women. Although interested in natural sciences, she enrolled in the school's Classical course, where she took graduate history courses under Charles Kendall Adams, who made use of the German-styled, seminary method of history teaching, the first institution to do so in the United States. After graduation from Michigan, Barnes returned to Oswego to teach. Instead of Chemistry or Physics, which she would have preferred, Barnes taught History, Latin, Greek, and Botany, eventually finding an intellectual home in History.

Barnes began teaching history at Wellesley College in late 1876. Undoubtedly influenced by her father's pedagogical philosophy, laboratory methods of teaching natural science, and her own seminar training at Michigan, it was at Wellesley where she first taught using the "Seminary Method" or, what she would later call, the "Source Method." In this method of instruction, Barnes used no textbook, but distributed duplicates of primary sources to her students, instead. Most of the class time was devoted to discussion, not lecture, and she emphasized problem solving over the memorization of pre-selected historical narratives. Because of conflicts at Wellesley and ill health, she remained at the college for only two and one half years, returning to teach at Oswego Normal in 1882. Three years later, she published her ground-breaking work, *Studies in General History*, and in 1886, she published *Studies in Greek and Roman History*.⁸⁰ In 1891, Barnes joined her husband, Earl Barnes (a former student), in teaching at Stanford

⁸⁰ Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in General History*, (Boston, MA: Heath, 1885) and Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in General History: Teachers' Manual* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1886). Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Greek and Roman History* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1886). "General history," is now better known by the term "world history."

where together they would introduce the source method.⁸¹ While at Stanford, Mary Sheldon Barnes, that institution's first female professor, delved deep in the seminar method, leading her Pacific Slope History Course students in not only discussing and investigating, but also collecting source material for their work, often through interviews.⁸² While at Stanford, she and her husband joined in writing *Studies in American History*, which was published in 1891 and re-issued in 1896. Mary also published *Studies in Historical Method* in 1896. In this work she attempted to spread her source method to the secondary schools by introducing historical methodology and

⁸¹ Earl Barnes was born in Martville, NY in 1861. In 1884 or 1885, while still a student, he married his former teacher, Mary Downing Sheldon, who was eleven years his senior, in 1884 or 1885. Barnes graduated from Indiana in 1889 and stayed on as a History instructor there, taking an M.S. from Cornell in 1891. When David Starr Jordan was named President of Stanford in 1891, he took Earl Barnes with him to be a professor of Education. Earl and Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes stayed on at Stanford, she an assistant professor of History, until 1897 when Earl Barnes was asked to resign after Jordan discovered that he had been involved in an extramarital affair. The Barnes left the country for Europe, leaving many to believe that the travel was for Mary's poor health. She died of heart disease in London on August 27, 1898, only a few months after the death of her father. In June 1900, Earl Barnes remarried and had four children by his second wife, Anna Kohler, an English teacher from Stockton, CA. They returned to Europe after the marriage. Earl Barnes never taught in the United States again, and supported himself through freelance writing and lecturing. He died in Hartford, Connecticut in 1935. "The Guide to the Earl Barnes' Papers," Stanford University Archives, viewed on February 24, 2008 at <http://content.cdlib.org/view?docId=tf82900674&chunk.id=bioghist-1.8.3&query=Barnes%20Earl&brand=oac> See also, "The Guide to the Mary Sheldon Barnes Papers" at Five Colleges Archives and Manuscripts Collection Web site, viewed on February 24, 2008 at <http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/sophiasmith/mnsss2.html> These papers are held by Smith College. Another collection of Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes papers are located at SUNY Oswego's Penfield Library along with another set of Earl Barnes Papers, Sheldon Family Papers, and the papers of Mary's four siblings. Earl Barnes' *The Woman in Modern Society*, published in 1912, has been digitized by project Gutenberg, <http://www.gutenberg.org/files/15691/15691-h/15691-h.htm> There is a brief biography of Earl Barnes: Edward Howard Griggs', *Earl Barnes: A Life Sketch and an Address* (Croton-on-Hudson, NY: Orchard Hill Press, 1935). Regarding Barnes' second marriage, see "Educators to Marry," *San Francisco Call*, June 24, 1900, viewed on February 26, 2008 at the "Chronicling America" Web site, <http://www.loc.gov/chroniclingamerica/>

⁸² Materials gathered by Barnes' classes are housed in the Mary Sheldon Barnes Pacific Slope Collection at Stanford University's Green Library.

analysis to teachers and non-historians.⁸³ Two years later, in the year of her death, she published *Collections of Sources in English for History Teaching*.⁸⁴ Barnes also wrote a number of pamphlets on the teaching of history, with one carrying a most telling title, *Can History Be Taught as a Natural Science?* This work was published before any of her textbooks, sometime before her marriage in 1885.⁸⁵ She found in science teaching a model for what should happen in history:

And as science has pushed her way out of the narrow textbook and the common schoolroom, with its dogmatic teacher, into the world of phenomena, and into special laboratories fitted with work-tables, collections, and apparatus, with specialist-students always at hand to assist and direct, so history is destined to push its way out of that same narrow textbook and common schoolroom, with its dogmatic teacher, into the world of human nature, and into special seminaries, fitted with maps, pictures, and books, with a work table for every student, the whole presided over by a specialist who can guide the student to his sources, and show him how to interpret them truly and critically. The college will realize this first; but in time the seminary is as surely destined as the laboratory to work its way in modified forms into every place where

⁸³ Robert E. Keohane, "Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origins of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School," *American Heritage* 2 (1948): 68-72 and 109-112; Robert E. Keohane, "The Great Debate Over the Source Method," *Social Education* 13 (1949): 212-218; Robert E. Keohane, "Mary Sheldon Barnes," in *Notable American Women, 1607-1950*, Edward T. James, Janet Wilson James, and Pail S. Boyer., eds., (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1971). Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1896); Mary Sheldon Barnes and Earl Barnes, *Studies in American History* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1891). She also published *History: A Definition and a Forecast* (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1895) and *Aids for Teaching General History, Including a List of Books Recommended for a Working School Library* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath & Co., 1894); *Proposal for the Study of Local History*, (Palo Alto?: 1890s?).

⁸⁴ Earl Barnes, Mary Sheldon Barnes, and Mary Downing Sheldon, *Collections of Sources in English for History Teaching*, (New York: N.P., 1898).

⁸⁵ A collection of her pamphlets on the teaching of history are cataloged together and held by the Stanford University's Cubberly Education Library. Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Can History Be Taught as a Natural Science* (N.P.: n.d.). The only known copy of this pamphlet is held by Johns Hopkins University's Milton S. Eisenhower Library.

history is taught. One aim will take us surely to this ideal end; namely the endeavor to see, to feel, the real thing.⁸⁶

At about the time these words were published by Barnes, Justin Winsor, founder of the American Library Association and the American Historical Association, told those who had gathered at a preliminary session to found the American Historical Association, “We are drawn together because we believe there is a new spirit of research abroad—a spirit which emulates the laboratory work of the naturalists.”⁸⁷

Barnes and Winsor were not alone in promoting a form of history education that emulated science teaching. Milo Tucker, too, found in the sciences a form of worthwhile pedagogy. He reported, perhaps more out of wishful thinking or desire rather than what was actually occurring, that “[f]ollowing the development of the biological laboratory, the historical laboratory is coming into use. . . . The movement of the nineteenth century has been the advancement of science. Along with this development have come greater scientific methods in all lines. History has been remodeled and recast on new and better plans of work. The subject of Biology has dealt with life forms. History is the record of the human experiences of man; and man is as good as a mollusk for study.” And talk of “history laboratories,” filled with maps and books, artifacts, replicas, and duplicates of

⁸⁶ Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method* (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath, 1899): 44-45, quoted in Stuart A. McAninch, “The Educational Theory of Mary Sheldon Barnes: Inquiry Learning as Indoctrination in History Education,” *Educational Theory* (Winter, 1990): 48.

⁸⁷ *Papers of the American Historical Association I* (New York, 1885): 11, quoted in Felix Gilbert, “Leopold von Ranke at the American Philosophical Society,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 130 (September 1986): 363.

original documents continued to turn up sporadically in the education literature throughout the 1910s.⁸⁸

In her suggestions to those teaching history in the schools, Barnes proposed “as far as possible, the school . . . should be made into a workshop, a place where things are made and done.”⁸⁹ She suggested a model for this making and doing by outlining a form of object teaching modified by the seminar and scientific inquiry approach to history. In this method, primary sources would essentially serve as “the object,” an impetus for critical thought. Barnes proposed that teachers would begin a lesson with the illustrative material such as maps, artifacts, and pictures to build student interest, then pose provocative questions, followed by a brief overview that would provide context for the subject under discussion. Next, Barnes suggested that original sources concerning that subject be distributed, and students would be asked to answer specific questions in their investigation of these sources, before summarizing their individual thoughts in general statements that would be evaluated by the teacher and their peers.⁹⁰ In her teachers’ manual, Barnes also explained that her method could be summarized by six points: 1) that secondary and primary sources were combined in one textbook in almost equal proportions; 2) for homework, students were expected to study this sourcebook to be able to answer study questions; 3) “recitation” would consist of critical questioning and

⁸⁸ Milo A. Tucker, “Modern Methods for Teaching History,” *Education* 20 (December 1899): 222; Also, W. MacDonald, “Suggestions for a Historical Laboratory,” *The Nation* 89 (October 7, 1909): 322-323.

⁸⁹ Mary D. Sheldon, *Studies in General History: Teachers Manual* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1892): 15, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896,” *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948): 70.

⁹⁰ David Warren Saxe, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Introduction of Social Sciences in the Public Schools,” *The Social Studies* (September/October, 1989): 201.

response to the students answers to these study questions; 4) conclusions from the discussions were to be summarized by both students and instructors, with summaries being entered into student notebooks; 5) additional reading in secondary works were to follow the reading of the primary sources and classroom discussion of the topic and; 6) the major aim of this form of study was to stimulate the student to study, think about, and discuss historical questions critically in order to develop observation, judgment, and generalization skills while also developing historical imagination.⁹¹ Barnes encouraged the use of a great many illustrations, suggested the incorporation of dramatic presentations, and promoted the use of student-made scrapbooks on historical topics, all to maintain the students' interest. She also constructed questions in such a way that students would need to analyze several documents to be able to infer the correct answer.⁹² (In other words, primary sources were not just illustrations to lectures nor were they objects for "seek-and-find" exercises.) In addition, Barnes promoted the use of local history to teach wider historical events: "There [in local history] lies, finally, the labor, the reality, the very ground of history. There the citizen finds his home in the great world of time as well as in the great world of space. There he learns how to interpret history

⁹¹ Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in General History: Teachers' Manual* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1886).

⁹² Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in General History: Teachers Manual* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1892): 1, 3, 5, 13, 17, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, "Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origins of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School," *American Heritage* 2 (1948): 70. At least one other contemporaneous college professor advised that instructors should use photographs in the teaching of history. See Harry Pratt Judson, "Teaching History in Secondary Schools," *Education* (September 1885): 22.

through the toil and heroism of some few men whose work he has seen, whose words he has read, in whose footsteps he himself daily treads.”⁹³

This method of history instruction was based upon Barnes’ own research at the Stanford Experimental School, which she described in her *Studies in Historical Method*. In this work, the pioneer educator attempted to introduce historical methodology to teachers and delve a bit deeper into the “historic sense,” or the psychological aspects of teaching and learning history. Summarizing her work, Barnes found that history was a suitable subject for teaching to students at least as early as age 7 (or when they began to read); that sense of time (chronology) was poorly understood by most children until the age of twelve or thirteen; and that the ability to infer cause and effect occurred about the same time. She noted that exhibition of strange relics or odd pictures raised instant curiosity no matter the age of the student; that boys and girls were equally interested in these historical curiosities; and that up until the age of thirteen, student curiosity should be aroused by the presentation of striking biographies, stories of great events, odd traditions, ancient times, and myths. She felt that such a curriculum would prepare younger students for her source method of instruction beginning about the age of fourteen or fifteen.⁹⁴

A standard, contemporary (and continuing) objection to the source method was that it took way to much classroom time. To which Barnes replied:

⁹³ Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method*, (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath, 1899): 16-22 quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896,” *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948): 109.

⁹⁴ David Warren Saxe, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Introduction of Social Sciences in the Public Schools,” *The Social Studies* (September/October, 1989): 201.

But it takes more time? Good friend, it does; and it takes more time to solve a problem in arithmetic than to read its answer; and more time to read a play of Shakespeare than to read that Shakespeare was the greatest dramatist of all the ages; and more time to read the American Constitution and the American newspaper, and to make up your own mind how to vote your own vote, than it does to be put into a 'block of five.' *But what is time for?*⁹⁵

Barnes intended for her students to build analytical skills, learning to weigh evidence and to generalize from an array of details. General truths could be taught, she believed, “through specific facts, and . . . making each individual pupil judge specific fact for himself.”⁹⁶ Furthermore, Barnes believed that historical facts that did not reveal something about the present were useless. She characterized the textbook writing and history teaching of most of her colleagues as leaving the student with “no proper conception of the living reality of the historic world,” and no skills for judging current civic events. “Facts to us are dead until they relate themselves to us and our world. This relation of facts to life and the world is what every soul and generation demands as light upon its pathway.”⁹⁷ As she noted:

⁹⁵ Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method*, (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath, 1899): 138 quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896,” *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948): 111.

⁹⁶ Mary Sheldon Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method*, (Boston, MA: D.C. Heath, 1899): 133, quoted in David Warren Saxe, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Introduction of Social Sciences in the Public Schools,” *The Social Studies* (September/October, 1989): 200.

⁹⁷ David Warren Saxe, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Introduction of Social Sciences in the Public Schools,” *The Social Studies* (September/October, 1989): 200

the study of history demands most serious work; like mathematics, it involves logic; like language, it demands analysis and fine discrimination of terms; like science, it calls for exact observation; like law, it needs the cool, well-balanced judgment; beyond all these, it requires the highest, fullest use of the sympathetic imagination. In fact, no study is more difficult; none calls more completely on all the mental powers; none affords the mind more generous play.⁹⁸

This serious work of history was not in repeating the stories crafted by others for “to read, or even to learn such sentences. . . is not to study, or even to touch the study of history. . . Before he can name his work ‘study’ the pupil must have found out some results for himself, by exercising his own powers upon the necessary ‘raw material’ of history.”⁹⁹ As one teacher who had used Barnes’ method stated, “The ability to interpret a few facts is worth more than knowledge of many. Much as we need wide readers, we need thinkers more.”¹⁰⁰

As can be seen, History, for Barnes, was not about the acquisition of facts, rather it was the development of what she called “historical sense,” the ability to analyze data, make generalizations from historical evidence, and grasp history’s sweep. It was through such an interaction with historical evidence, she believed, that students would be able to develop a personal connection to a progressive development of humanity. Mary Sheldon

⁹⁸ Mary D. Sheldon, *Studies in General History: Teachers Manual* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1886): v-vi, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896,” *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948): 69.

⁹⁹ Mary D. Sheldon, *Studies in General History: Teachers Manual* (Boston, MA: Heath, 1886): v-vi, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896,” *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948): 70.

¹⁰⁰ I.B. Burgess, “A Method of Teaching College Preparatory History,” (Syracuse) III (June, 1888): 293-305, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896,” *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948): 71.

Barnes' work is, perhaps, best memorialized by an unsympathetic student who unknowingly praised her by writing, "Her teachings . . . did not give us enough historical reading, I think, as she had, under the Normal School influences of her rearing, more interest in training the mind to draw right conclusions from data furnished than in enriching our stores of information."¹⁰¹

As has been shown, Mary Sheldon Barnes' source method was probably inspired at least in part by her father's strong belief in "object teaching." In the teaching of history, the object teaching methodology had been further influenced by—or, perhaps, it influenced (in reciprocal fashion) —the use of museum objects to instill and inspire a "feeling" for the past. This feeling was supposed to build a students' history skills by going beyond the memorization of facts and figures about the past. For example, Egerton Ryerson (1803-1882), Superintendent of Education for Canada West (now Ontario), observed that "The principal object [of history teaching] should be to show how it ought to be studied, and to excite a taste and interest for the study of it." At a time when museums were largely popular entertainment, he believed that showcasing items from the past in a laboratory or museum setting was the answer for exciting that taste and interest.¹⁰² He and others promoted the idea of using museums to help teach history, and it was an idea gaining in popularity on both sides of the Atlantic right at the time the

¹⁰¹ J.F. Scott, "Mary Sheldon Barnes," *Dictionary of American Biography*, I. (New York, NY: Scribners, 1928-1936): 632, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, "Mary Sheldon Barnes and the Origin of the Source Method of Teaching History in the American Secondary School, 1885-1896," *American Heritage* (October/December, 1948):112.

¹⁰² Egerton Ryerson, *Report on a System of Public Elementary Instruction for Upper Canada*, (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1847): 133 quoted in Michael Eamon, "A Genuine Relationship with the Actual: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, the Internet and the Internet in the Classroom," *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) (viewed on May 20, 2008 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html>).

Oswego Plan and its foundations in object teaching was at its height. British lecturer C. H. Wilson delivered a speech in Glasgow in 1855 on the formation of provincial museums, noting that “students occupied with history, might see in the Glyptothek [sic] of their College, each page illustrated by the ancients themselves—Grecian history by the Greeks, Roman history by the Romans. The arms, dresses, instruments, utensils, in fine, nearly everything which it is thought so important to read about in our seminaries of learning might be rendered as familiar to the eyes of the students as the description of the them is to their thoughts.”¹⁰³ Canada’s Ryerson would go on to establish a museum to aid in the work of Toronto’s Normal School, which worked to encourage the teaching of art, design, and history through the use of artifacts and art. In this methodology, teachers were taught to teach with objects, which also happened to be primary sources. It is unknown what direct influence this move for museums as teaching tools had on Mary Sheldon Barnes, but it is doubtful that she was oblivious to these activities.

Barnes’ not only strove to train young minds to make right conclusions, through her writings, she also provided a foundation and example to other teacher educators, among them Fred Morrow Fling who promoted the “Nebraska Method.”

¹⁰³ Cited in: Egerton Ryerson, "Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar and Common Schools, in Upper Canada, for the year 1855, with an Appendix; by the Chief Superintendent of Education," in *Appendix to the Fifteenth Volume of the Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, 20 Victori Anno. 1857, Appendix 58, (Toronto: G. Desbats and T. Cary, 1857): 22, quoted in Michael Eamon, “A Genuine Relationship with the Actual: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, the Internet and the Internet in the Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) (viewed on May 20, 2008 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html>).

Fred Morrow Fling and the “Nebraska Method”

George Elliott Howard (1849-1928), the University of Nebraska’s first professor of history, laid the groundwork for what would become known as the “Nebraska Method.” Howard was born in Saratoga, NY and graduated from the University of Nebraska in 1876. He spent the next two years studying in Munich and Paris, returning to his alma mater to teach in 1879. Bringing scientific history and its teaching methods to the prairie university, he was at the vanguard of higher education reform, pressing for the elective system and courses that stressed the independent inquiry of students. Howard remained at the University of Nebraska until 1891. From 1891-1901, he served as professor of History and later chair of the department at the newly organized Stanford University.¹⁰⁴

Howard’s time at Stanford coincided with Earl and Mary Sheldon Barnes’s tenure at that institution. There, at Leland Stanford Junior University, he merged his own ideas about teaching with theirs, influencing teaching back in Nebraska, where he maintained ties. When a Stanford colleague’s views were found to be obnoxious by Mrs. Leland Stanford, benefactor of his place of employment, that colleague was forcibly retired. Howard pronounced his support for his colleague and opposition to this breach of academic freedom by proclaiming during a class on the French Revolution, “I do not bow down to Saint Market Street. I do not doff my hat to the six companies. Neither am I afraid of the holy Standard Oil.” He went on to denounce the interference of Mrs.

¹⁰⁴ Railroad magnate, United States senator, and governor of California, Leland Stanford and his wife Jane Lathrop Stanford established on their horse farm in Palo alto a university in memory of their son Leland Stanford, Jr. who had died of typhoid in Italy a few weeks before his 16th birthday. The Stanfords quickly built their new school by attracting some of the nation’s best scholars by offering large salaries. They attempted to bring Andrew D. White, president of Cornell, west to run the new institution, but he suggested one of his own students, David Starr Jordan, for the task, instead.

Stanford in the running of the university. As a result, Howard, along with four other professors who publicly agreed with him, was forcibly retired. Howard returned to his old job at Nebraska—but not before his history seminary students passed a resolution commending his teaching.¹⁰⁵ Back in Nebraska, he re-joined the faculty, becoming a colleague of the man who had replaced him years earlier when he had left for Stanford. That man was Fred Morrow Fling. A University of Leipzig trained scientific historian, Fling would become an evangelist for the new form of history teaching in the schools.

Largely forgotten outside of the cornhusker state, Fred Morrow Fling taught European history at the University of Nebraska for 43 years.¹⁰⁶ He was called by one writer who knew him, “the henniest, fussiest man imaginable . . .” — but this writer also conceded that “his approach to historical fact was impeccable.”¹⁰⁷ Fling and his American history colleague at Nebraska, Howard W. Caldwell, became leaders in the movement to teach history in the schools through the use of primary sources. Together and separately, these two men built upon the work of Mary Sheldon Barnes and George Elliott Howard, publishing a number of source-heavy textbooks and teaching by their

¹⁰⁵ “Professor George Elliott Howard Receives Dismissal from Faculty . . .” *The San Francisco Call* (January 15, 1901): 1; “Professors Hudson and Little Retire from The Stanford University Faculty,” *The San Francisco Call* (January 16, 2001): 1; “Associate Professor Spencer Follows the Lead of Dr.s Ross and Howard . . .” *The San Francisco Call* (January 17, 1901): 1; “Stanford University Safely Passes Crisis . . .” *The San Francisco Call* (January 18, 1901): 1. More about Howard may be found at Robert E. Knoll, *Prairie University: A History of the University of Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995): 17.

¹⁰⁶ Ken Osborne, “Fred Morrow Fling and the Source-Method of Teaching History,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31 (Fall 2003): 468. For more on Fling, see Oliver B. Pollack, “Fred Morrow Fling: A One Hundred Year Retrospective on Historical Methodology,” *Nebraska History* 80 (Winter 1999): 166-168; W. G. Langworthy Taylor, “A Life of Historical Research,” *Nebraska Alumnus*, (December 1932): 4-6, cited in Robert E. Carlson, “Fred morrow Fling: His Career and Conflicts at Nebraska University,” *Nebraska History* 62 (Winter 1981): 481-496.

¹⁰⁷ Mari Sandoz quoted in Robert E. Knoll, *Prairie University: A History of the University of Nebraska* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995): 62.

methodology.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, Fling even taught history, initially, using Mary Sheldon Barnes' materials and pedagogy.¹⁰⁹ But, perhaps more significantly, they also promoted this form of pedagogy among the teachers of the state.

Like Barnes and Howard, Fling and Caldwell believed that primary sources should not be used simply for the illustration of lectures or for a sprinkling from the historical methodology pond. Fling was for full immersion. In his view, primary sources should be used to help students learn historical methodology, the nature of historical proof and argument. It was a rationale for the study of history and a form of pedagogy that he termed, "The Nebraska Method."

In the Nebraska Method, students learned history directly from collections of sources that had been selected and manipulated to suit their age and maturity. For example, Fling devised exercises in sources which provided different perspectives on the same historical subject. These exercises would require students to learn not only the "content of history" but they would also teach how different "histories" came to be from all of the potential histories that can be pulled from the evidence left by the past. Fling

¹⁰⁸ Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in American History Volume I: A Survey of American History* (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897); Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in American History Volume II: A Survey of American History* (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1898); Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History* (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897); Fred Morrow Fling, *Studies in European History, Greek and Roman Civilization* (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1899) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.google.books.com; Fred Morrow Fling, *A Source Book of Greek History*, (New York: D.C. Heath, 1907) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; Fred Morrow Fling, *Parallel Source Problems in The French Revolution* (New York: Harper, 1913) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; Fred Morrow Fling, "The Use of Sources in History Teaching During the Last Decade (1909-1919)" *The Historical Outlook*, X (9): 507-8. Fling used his *Outline of Method* when teaching future generals at the Army Officer School at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas how to look at Civil War sources in their study of previous battles, etc. Robert E. Carlson, "Fred morrow Fling: His Career and Conflicts at Nebraska University," *Nebraska History* 62 (Winter 1981): 486.

¹⁰⁹ Erling Messer Hunt," "Social Education 13 (1949): 214.

hoped that activities such as these would open the students' eyes "to the meaning of proof in history, to create an attitude of healthy skepticism and to put into their hands an instrument for getting at the truth that they will have occasion to use every hour of the day."¹¹⁰ It was a pedagogical theory that he had begun developing while teaching high school mathematics and history in Maine before becoming a university professor. For five years beginning in 1883, Fling taught math through problem solving and history through the traditional method of textbook, lecture, and memorization. According to his own accounts, he crammed names and dates with the best of teachers. On one occasion, Fling encountered a student who had a schedule conflict between history and French. She stated that she would drop history and take French because the former was just learning the textbook, and she could do that on her own.¹¹¹ This was disheartening to Fling. He felt that there had to be a better way to proceed with teaching the past and eventually found inspiration in the science teaching laboratories that were being developed at the time. As a result, he began to use Mary Sheldon Barnes' *Studies in General History* in his classroom. Later, graduate study in Germany, home to research-based education and scientific history, only increased Fling's interest along these lines. Reading Ernst Bernheim's handbook on historical methodology, *Lehrbuch der historischen Methode*, published in 1889, sealed his commitment. Bernheim, a German Jewish intellectual who taught at the University of Greifswald from 1883-1921, maintained that history is "Wissenschaft" and that its purpose is not aesthetic but informing. Despite the fact that he

¹¹⁰ Fred Morrow Fling, "One Use of Sources in the Teaching of History," *The Social Studies* 1, 1 (1909); reprinted in *The Social Studies* 85, 5 (1994): 206-210, quoted in Ken Osborne, "A New Old Method of Teaching History," *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm

¹¹¹ Ken Osborne, "Fred Morrow Fling and the Source-Method of teaching History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31 (Fall 2003): 470.

used similes drawn from the fine arts to describe the work of history, the German thinker held that the study of the past was scientific in the way it used evidence to reveal the world. His work had great impact on the development of “scientific history” in the United States. Like a number of his academic compatriots, Fling returned to America convinced that method was more important than content and that the building of analytical skills overshadowed the memorization of who did what to whom when. Analytical skills and a skeptical, inquisitive worldview would remain, he understood, when the facts would long be forgotten.

Because Fling believed these skills and this set of attitudes to be so important, he called for some topics in every history course to be taught entirely through the use of sources. As he would later write in an essay for secondary school history teachers: “The student of history and the teacher of history must learn of the writer of history. His method must be our method. This position is sound and is in harmony with the scientific spirit that characterizes all of our school work today. You may *read* history, if you will, but do not imagine that you are studying history, if you are not employing the method of the historian working directly with the sources and forming your own judgment.”¹¹²

To those who argued that only specialists in history should study it in this manner, Fling responded:

It is just as necessary that all students of history should do laboratory work in history by going to the sources, as that all students of botany, chemistry, and physics should do laboratory work in those lines. . . .It is not the intention to make historians of all our boys and girls, but rather to teach them to study what history they do study scientifically. And it is high time

¹¹² Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History*, (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897): 21.

that this work is being done. For if there is any one thing that we need more than another in our political life, it is men who are capable of determining what are facts and of telling what those facts mean.¹¹³

Toward this end, Fling devised a system by which students learned to question documents and provide a synthesis in a detailed, step-by-step process. The "fussy" Fling expected his students to follow this process rigidly. In his own University of Nebraska classes, which he began teaching in 1891, Fling divided his European history course into three hour-long sections devoted to single subjects. The first hour would be devoted to a lecture overview of the topic at hand. The second hour would be a group discussion of secondary sources covering the subject, and the third hour would be spent working in pre-selected, related transcriptions of primary sources, following his minutely prescribed method of analysis and synthesis. This analysis of primary sources would eventually lead to a paper, which replaced the traditional term paper. Fling believed that such contextualized source work would transform history from a content-only course to one in which students would pursue answers to open-ended questions in a rigorous, controlled fashion, not unlike what happened in the "bench sciences." Not only that, he held that by learning history through the historical method, students would better learn the "facts" of history, as well. Willa Cather, one of his students (who slightly disguised Fling in her work, *One of Ours*), found this detailed teaching method to be quite successful as did another student, the author Mari Sandoz. Sandoz, too, was inspired by Fling's laborious method of researching, evaluating, and keeping track of primary sources.¹¹⁴ A long-time,

¹¹³ Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History*, (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897): 21.

¹¹⁴ Willa Cather, *One of Ours*, (New York, NY: Knopf, 1922). Fling's method is also described in Charles H. Haskins, *The Historical Curriculum in Colleges, Minutes: Second Annual Convention of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland . . . 1904* (New York, NY:

part-time student at the University of Nebraska, Sandoz credited Fling's stress on primary sources for her own celebrated realistic fiction. Although she never graduated from the school, she became one of Nebraska's best-known writers (despite living much of the last part of her life in New York's Greenwich Village). Over a number of years, she composed a detailed and highly readable study of one small part of the American West, "The Trans-Missouri Series," which began with *Old Jules* and ended with *The Cattlemen* in 1958. A focus and concentration that, no doubt, Fling would have approved of.

Fling attempted to translate his process from the college classroom to the secondary schools. Beginning in 1894, probably under Fling and Caldwell's influence, the Teachers' Reading Circle in Nebraska enthusiastically adopted Mary Sheldon Barnes' *Studies in American History*. During the school year of 1896-97, history teachers from all over Nebraska attempted to teach history by Fling and Caldwell's "Nebraska Method." Again, Mary Sheldon Barnes' books were used as the foundation for these classes, which Caldwell and Barnes supplemented through articles in the *Northwestern Journal of Education*.¹¹⁵ In addition to the activities found in Barnes' book, the two Nebraska professors explained and promoted their own teaching process, which involved a great deal of written work (notes, outlines, summaries) on the part of students. Fling and Caldwell advocated a slightly modified version for the pre-collegiate students: first, students would be given the sources and a list of questions, which they would be expected to answer, using only the sources. "The work cannot be done without a

Knickerbocker Press, n.d.): 19-20. Mari Sandoz' best-known work is *Crazy Horse: Strange Man of the Oglalas* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1942).

¹¹⁵ R. U. Hilleman, "The Source Method in the Teaching of History," in *The Historical Approach to Methods of Teaching the Social Studies*, Fifth Yearbook, The National Council for the Social Studies (Philadelphia: McKinley Publishing Company, 1935).

collection of sources any more than botany can be studied without plants,” Fling explained.¹¹⁶ The students would then write their answers to these questions in a notebook, supporting these answers with evidence drawn from the sources. The next day, the teacher would lead a discussion based upon the same questions and the answers that the students provided, always drawing their attention to the sources, which provided them their evidence. This discussion was no recitation. Facts and figures were not to be stressed except in their role as historical evidence. Students were to have their notebooks open and be able to call upon them. (Fling had been disgusted by the account of one principal who had been appalled at the idea of open notebooks during a history class and had ordered them shut.) Students would be expected to take notes on this class discussion, compiling a more thorough list of evidence and conclusions that could just as often come from their own fellow students as their teacher. Once the discussion was over, the students would be asked to organize the topics and the evidence of this class discussion in an outline. These outlines would then be discussed and analyzed. Next, students would be expected to write their own brief narrative based upon these outlines, and the best of these narratives would be read to the class. Finally, the narratives would be compared to a traditional textbook account of the subject, and differences and similarities would be discussed. Fling maintained that the traditional textbook and the sourcebook supplemented each other; he believed that it was impossible to truly teach history without both.

¹¹⁶ Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History*, (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897): 23.

This entire question-answering, discussion, note-taking, outline-making, and narrative-writing process would then be documented in notebooks that would be divided into parts: answers, discussion notes, outlines, and narratives, supplemented with a student time card in the back. Students would use this timecard to keep track of the amount of time that they spent in their study of history. Teachers would be expected to evaluate the students' notebooks on a regular basis. Perhaps, most importantly, Fling instructed the teachers that "[The students] should be told that they are writing history."¹¹⁷ Indeed, he suggested that fairly advanced students should be encouraged to carry this process into the local community where they would gather evidence and actually write local history.¹¹⁸

In July of 1897, Caldwell and Fling presented findings from their year of work in the secondary history classrooms of Nebraska at a meeting of the National Education Association in Milwaukee. There, Professor Caldwell stated that "the desirability of doing source work to some extent I deem to be beyond the point of discussion. How much shall be done and how it shall be done are as yet open and debatable questions."¹¹⁹ He suggested that the lower years use the method as they had done during their year in the Nebraska schools, but that in later years of high school, it might be possible to teach history through the use of primary sources alone. Professor H. Morse Stephens of Cornell

¹¹⁷ Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History*, (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897): 27.

¹¹⁸ Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History*, (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897): 31.

¹¹⁹ Howard W. Caldwell, "Source Method of Studying History in High Schools," *Journal of the Proceedings and Addresses of the . . . NEA* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1897): 671-676, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, "The Great Debate Over the Source Method," *Social Education* 13 (1949): 214.

disagreed with Caldwell at this meeting. He felt that teaching history through the source method would be impossible. The schools lacked the resources, had no libraries to speak of, and—most importantly—teachers lacked the proper understanding of history and training to teach in this manner.¹²⁰ This criticism was biting, but Fling and Caldwell persevered because they trusted their methodology; they had seen it work successfully.

Like Barnes, Fling accepted the common belief of the day that by giving people a clearer understanding of the present, history prepared students for life in a democratic society, a type of society under great strains in the late nineteenth century. But, he felt that it was the analytical skills of history that produced these important outcomes as much as it was the examples and identity instilled by the “content” of history. It was a view of education that Fling traced back to Socrates. “The educated man is the man who possesses a trained intellect and a knowledge of the processes by which the true is distinguished from the false in the great mass of details that make up the baggage called information.”¹²¹

The Nebraska or Source Method had wide influence for a time—if not in the classroom, at least among those who wrote about education. In 1902, Ohio State University’s George W. Knight celebrated the fact that

¹²⁰ Robert E. Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13 (1949): 214. H. Morse Stephens was born in Edinburgh, Scotland, educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and lectured at Cambridge before immigrating to the United States in 1894 where he took a professorship in History at Cornell. In 1902, he moved to the University of California Berkeley where he was instrumental in developing the manuscript collections at the Bancroft Library. He was also on the American Historical Association’s Committee of Seven at the time which was preparing a report to the National Education Association on college entrance requirements in history. He is, perhaps, best known now for his work in documenting the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

¹²¹ Fred Morrow Fling, “Information Versus Method,” *University Journal* 4 (January 1908): 59-60 quoted in Ken Osborne, “Fred Morrow Fling and the Source-method of Teaching History,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 31 (Fall 2003): 472.

we may start with the premise, now fortunately not open to question, that the purpose of the study of history is not the acquisition of facts, nor does its value lie in the knowledge of facts as such; its purpose and its value are in the power to apply and to use those facts, to trace fact back to cause, and consequence back to force, to identify and group like causes, similar facts and analogous results. American history or any other history cannot be memorized; it must be analyzed into its causes, facts, forces, principles; it can not be recited, it must be discussed.¹²²

In that same year, the New England History Teachers Association observed,

"Skepticism, not belief, should be the attitude of mind that the use of sources should arouse."¹²³

In 1907, the University of Wisconsin's Frederic Austin Ogg, a former Indianapolis high school teacher, saw his *A Source Book for Medieval History*, published.¹²⁴ In the introduction of this work, he echoes the sentiments of Barnes, Fling and Caldwell, clearly explaining historical methodology and why such a method is

¹²² "George W. Knight, "What the Teacher of American History Should Be and Do," *School Review* (March 1902): 211 Knight, a descendant of a distinguished New England family, was a graduate of the University of Michigan (1878), taught in the local schools, began teaching at The Ohio State University (1885), and studied at the Universities of Halle, Freiburg, and Berlin (1889-1890), becoming head of the OSU's Graduate School (1904) and dean of its College of Education (1914-1920). He taught up until his death in 1932. "George Wells Knight," *Ohio History* 41 (1932?): 352, viewed on February 27, 2008 at *Ohio History: The Scholarly Journal of the Ohio Historical Society*, <http://publications.ohiohistory.org/>

¹²³ Charles Downer Hazen, et. Al. *Historical Sources in Schools: Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a Select Committee* (New York: Macmillan, 1902): 16, quoted in quoted in Ken Osborne, "A New Old Method of Teaching History," *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com.

¹²⁴ Frederick Augstin Ogg, *A Source Book of Medieval History*, (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1907). Ogg best known for his university-level textbooks, would serve at editor of the *American Political Science Review* from 1926 until 1949. Harold Zink, "The Growth of the American Political Science Review," *American Political Science Review* 49 (June 1950): 257-265.

important to impart to secondary students. "If the object of studying history were solely to acquire facts, it would, generally speaking, be a waste of time for high school or younger college students to wander far from text-books."¹²⁵ History should also be studied, he believed, "for the broadening of culture, and for certain kinds of mental training" of which the most valuable were a concern for accuracy, an ability to sift through conflicting interpretations of events, a habit of tracing things back to their origins, and a commitment to 'fairness and impartiality in judging historical characters.'"¹²⁶ As Ogg put it, "So far as practicable the student of history, from the age of fourteen and onwards, should be encouraged to develop the critical or judicial temperament along with the purely acquisitive."¹²⁷ In 1910, M. W. Keatinge, a Reader in Education at Oxford University, called for a "diluted" form of Fling's method. He argued that while most students would never use their scientific training once out of school, history taught ways of seeing the world that people would use daily. "If school is to

¹²⁵ Frederick Augustin Ogg, *A Source Book of Medieval History*, (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1907): 10 quoted in Ken Osborne, "Voices from the Past: teaching History through the Sources 1907 Style," *Canadian Social Studies*, 38 (Fall 2003), viewed on May 2, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_1/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm.

¹²⁶ Ken Osborne, "Voices from the Past: teaching History through the Sources 1907 Style," *Canadian Social Studies*, 38 (Fall 2003), viewed on May 2, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_1/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm.

¹²⁷ Frederick Austin Ogg, *A Source Book of Medieval History*, (New York, NY: American Book Company, 1907): 11 quoted in Ken Osborne, "Voices from the Past: teaching History through the Sources 1907 Style," *Canadian Social Studies*, 38 (Fall 2003), viewed on May 2, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_1/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm A native of Indiana, Ogg graduated from Depauw University with a PhD in 1899 and took a PhD from Harvard in 1908, receiving an A.M. in 1900 from Indiana University (where Earl Barnes had been chair of the department of history briefly in the 1890s). He began teaching political science and history at the University of Wisconsin in 1914, continuing to teach there until his death in 1951. His *Introduction to American Government* became a standard college textbook. Wisconsin Historical Society, *Dictionary of Wisconsin History*, viewed on November 10, 2009 at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/dictionary/index>

educate for life, it appears that the department of social science is many times of greater value than that of physical science, and if this is so, a sound method of teaching history is of the first importance."¹²⁸ Keatinge's "education for life" would involve teaching not only the content of history, but also historical methodology. He did not claim that schools should train students to be historians, and he did not fully dismiss the textbook and lecture approach to history teaching either, but Keatinge did feel that history taught with the aid of primary sources would instill analytical skills that could be extrapolated to other important areas of life.¹²⁹ To help promote this form of history education, in 1912 the English educator produced a textbook supplemented with reproductions of documents, statements of problems, and exercises to foster historical inquiry in the history classroom.¹³⁰ Other works were also produced in this vein. For example, there was a series entitled *Parallel Source Problems*, which appeared between 1912 and 1918,

¹²⁸ Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History*, (London: A&C Black, 1910): 35, quoted in Ken Osborne, "Voices from the Past. Maurice Walter Keatinge: A British Approach to Teaching History Through Sources," *Canadian Social Studies*, 38 (Winter 2004), viewed on April 15, 2006 http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm

¹²⁹ Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History*, (London: A&C Black, 1910): 40. Essentially, Keatinge promoted what would later become known as the "patch" or "post hole" approach to history course design, favoring broad surveys of the past dotted with opportunities for intensive study of specific topics. Such a methodology allows students to gain broad historical knowledge while learning basic historical methodology.

¹³⁰ Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History*, (London: A&C Black, 1910) and Maurice Walter Keatinge and N.L. Frazier, *A History of England for Schools With Documents, Problems and Exercises*, (2nd, A &C. Black 1920), cited by R. E. Aldrich, "New History: An Historical Perspective," in Alaric K. Dickinson, Peter K. Lee, and Peter J. Rogers, *Learning History* (London: , 1984): 210-224. More on Keatinge and his push for the source method in history may be found in Ken Osborne, "Voices From the Past. Maurice Walter Keatinge: A British Approach to Teaching History Through Sources," *Canadian Social Studies*, 38 (Winter 2004), viewed on April 15, 2006 http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm; Maurice Walter Keatinge and N. L. Frazier, *Documents of British History, 1399-1603 With Problems and Exercises*, (A. &C. Black, 1912).

where each volume carried a few "problems." (The classic in American history classrooms being, "What happened at the Battle of Lexington?" supplemented by conflicting accounts of that seminal event.) Each text supplied a selection of sources (sometimes contradictory) and commentary, all were accompanied by exercises and questions, which required students to analyze the selected documents and produce their own historical narratives based upon them.¹³¹ As Keatinge explained, "Our pupils must be given materials to work upon and plenty of them. The documents from which history has been written, and is to be written, are to be had for the asking . . . Our subject, then, must be reduced to problem form, and our pupils must be confronted with documents, and forced to exercise their minds upon them."¹³² As late as the 1920s, there were those still championing the Source Method. Professor of History and Education at the University of Chicago Rolla Tryon observed in his 1921 history pedagogy text that:

[i]t is not the passive reading of a narrative of history, but is the downright study of the problems presented in the evolution of a nation. In this method the pupil is not called upon to fill his mind with a number of facts, but he is called upon to work out the problems that any historian must solve. He is put into the workshop or laboratory of the historian. Then narrative method can do little more than train the memory.... The source method does as much in training the memory as the old method, but, more than this, the other faculties are brought into use.¹³³

¹³¹ Albert Beebe White and Wallace Notestein, *Source Problems in English History* (New York, NY: Harper, 1915) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; Frederick Duncalf and August Charles Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Mediaeval History*. (New York, NY: Harper, 1912) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; A.C. McLaughlin, W.E. Dodd, M.W. Jernagan, A.P. Scott, *Source Problems in American History* (New York, NY: Harper, 1918);

¹³² Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History* (London, 1910: 38.

¹³³ Rolla Milton Tryon, *The Teaching of History in Junior and Senior High Schools*, (Boston: Ginn and Company, 1921): 78, viewed on August 9, 2008 at WWW.books.google.com

As will be shown, despite having found a number of vocal proponents, the educational establishment never accepted Caldwell and Fling's methods. With the coming of World War I, Fling's interests turned elsewhere, and he ceased to promote his "Nebraska Method."¹³⁴ Teachers had found it difficult to employ, most resisted it in favor of doing what they had always done, and the difficulty in assessing student abilities in this form of history troubled educational administrators. By the mid 1920s, the Nebraska variation on Barnes' Source Method had all but disappeared from the schools and education literature. Even in Nebraska, where it had been most widely embraced, Fling's approach to history teaching had ceased to be used. Only one professor in one Nebraska university classroom continued to employ it fully up until the first years of the Great Depression, and then Fling died.

Where Barnes emphasized how to glean information from sources through critical inquiry, Fling had emphasized questioning the very validity of those sources. But essentially, what set Fling's brand of "Source Method" apart from Barnes was not any large theoretical or philosophical consideration but rather his forceful advocacy. Both Fling and Barnes shared the belief in the ability of history to teach analytical skills and instill a problem-solving, inquisitive worldview in students—along with some of the facts of the past, which are so easily forgotten. Their work at the end of the 19th century would inspire a debate within a larger contemporary educational reform movement, which would be revisited off and on by other educational reformers for the next century.

¹³⁴ Howard W. Caldwell and Clark E. Persinger, *A Source History of the United States* (Chicago, IL: Ainsworth and Company, 1909): 4. Fling became involved in a controversy at the University of Nebraska when, in his zealous patriotism during the years surrounding World War I, he questioned the loyalty of other professors to the United States. He later was asked to come to Washington, DC to help compile the source material to be used in writing the official history of the first World War for the United States Army. Robert E. Carlson, "Fred Morrow Fling: His Career and Conflicts at Nebraska University," *Nebraska History* 62 (Winter 1981): 481-496.

The History Ten of the Committee of Ten

In 1892, the National Education Association (NEA) created the Committee of Ten with ten prominent educators as members. Harvard's Charles Eliot, the leading reformer of American higher education of the day, and the U.S. Office of Education's William Torrey Harris, founder of the first kindergarten in America and promoter of school libraries (and inventor of the sectional bookcase), chaired the committee.¹³⁵ This group was to investigate the status of secondary education and to recommend national standards in various school subjects.¹³⁶

¹³⁵ Born in North Killingley Connecticut, William Torrey Harris attended Yale for two years and then began his education career in 1857 as an Elementary teacher in the St. Louis public schools, rising through the ranks to become Superintendent of the St. Louis Schools in 1868. At the same time, his interest in Philosophy grew, and he became one of the country's leading promoters of Hegel's ideas. A leader in what became known as the St. Louis Philosophical Movement, he founded the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy* in 1867. As editor of this journal, he highlighted and influenced the work of thinkers such as John Dewey, William James, Josiah Royce, and G. Stanley Hall. In St. Louis, he and Susan Blow created the first kindergarten in the United States, making it a national model. As a promoter of school libraries, he influenced Melvil Dewey's work in book classification and invented the sectional bookcase. He was also a promoter of the Pestalozzian method of object teaching. A believer in universal public education, he served four different presidents during his seventeen year tenure as United States Commissioner of Education. He was the chief writer of the Committee of Fifteen report, which appeared in 1895 and provided the outline for what would become elementary education in the United States for decades to come. He is perhaps best known today for his thoughts concerning student discipline. He believed that schools should develop a child's morals and fit him or her to be a good citizen. In his view, correct behavior and self discipline were paramount. "William Torrey Harris," *Education Encyclopedia* viewed on February 29, 2008 at <http://education.stateuniversity.com/pages/2030/Harris-William-T-1835-1909.html>; Richard Kohlbrenner, "William Torrey Harris: Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools," *History of Education 2* (Autumn 1950): 18-24 and Richard Kohlbrenner, "William Torrey Harris: Superintendent of the St. Louis Public Schools Part II," *History of Education 2* (Winter 1951): 54-61. For more about Harris see, Thomas Henry Clare, *The Sociological Theories of William Torrey Harris* (St. Louis, MO: The author, 1935), Kurt F. Leidecker, *Yankee Teacher: The Life of William Torrey Harris* (New York, NY: Philosophical Library, 1946), and Neil Gerrad McCluskey, *Public Schools and Moral Education: The Influence of Horace Mann, William Torrey Harris and John Dewey* (New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 1958).

¹³⁶ The National Education Association was founded in 1857 and reborn in 1884, when its annual meeting rose from a few hundred attendees to several thousand.

There was little standardization in secondary school curricula at the time. Transferring credit from one school to another was difficult and evaluating students for college entrance from a variety of institutions was even more difficult. The Committee of Ten sought to address these issues and others through greater standardization of what was taught when. To do so, it created nine subcommittees with ten members each to delve deeper into specific areas of secondary school study. Those nine subcommittees explored the following nine subject areas: Latin, Greek, English, other modern languages, mathematics, physical sciences, natural sciences and, finally, history, civil government, and political economy. The last subcommittee was known as the “History Ten.” Each subcommittee was charged with holding three fact-finding meetings and answering eleven questions concerning the teaching of its assigned subject. The History Ten subsequently met in Madison, WI to begin developing recommendations for the Committee of Ten’s final report.¹³⁷ The History Ten proposed that, while “one object of historical study is the acquirement of useful facts . . . , the chief object is the training of the judgment, in selecting the grounds of an opinion, in accumulating materials for an opinion, in putting things together, in generalizing upon facts, in estimating character, in applying the lessons of history to current events, and in accustoming children to state their conclusions in their own words.”¹³⁸

¹³⁷ Chara Haeussler Bohan, “Early Vanguards of Progressive Education: The Committee of Seven and Social Education,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 19 (Fall 2003): 73-94. See also National Education Association, *Report of the Committee on Secondary School Studies* (Washington, DC: GPO, 1893). The Committee of Ten’s members included Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles Kendall Adams, James Harvey Robinson, Edward Bourne, Jesse Macy, William Scott, Woodrow Wilson, among others, aided by Frederick Jackson Turner.

¹³⁸ *Report . . . on Secondary School Studies . . .* U.S. Bureau of Education, whole number 205 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893): 162-203, quoted in Robert Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13 (1949): 213.

The History Ten was chaired by Mary Sheldon Barnes' former history professor Charles Kendall Adams (then the president of the University of Wisconsin) and included other leading academics such as Woodrow Wilson, then a young Princeton professor, James Harvey Robinson, and Albert Bushnell Hart.¹³⁹ The formation of the committee led to a great debate about the purpose of history education, and especially the use of primary sources in that education.

At a convocation held at the State University of New York in 1892, Columbia College's Professor E. R. A. Seligman, attacked Mary Sheldon Barnes' belief that history could be taught using the seminar method below the graduate level. Such a form of education, he maintained, worked only when it had original research at its core and where there was a "certain equality" between student and teacher. That being the case, he felt that it was undoubtedly ill-suited for the instruction of college and high school students. In response, James H. Canfield, Chancellor of the University of Nebraska (at that time home for all of one year to Fred Morrow Fling), noted that not all colleges or students are similar, and that a good teacher, using the appropriate methods, could teach mature undergraduates using such a method. Another convocation participant, Professor E. B. Andrews of Brown University, agreed. One year later, R. H. Dabney reviewed Mary Sheldon and Earl Barnes' *Studies in American History*, and made a sweeping

¹³⁹ Hart was the secretary of the Madison Conference and had the greatest influence on the History Ten's report as its author. Born in Clarksville, PA, he graduated from Harvard in 1880, studied in Paris, Berlin and Freiburg, receiving his PhD from the latter in 1883, returning to his Alma Mater as an instructor of History in the same year and eventually working his way to full professor of that subject in 1897. A prolific writer, he wrote many sourcebooks for the study of history by college students. He was a great friend and supporter of his classmate Theodore Roosevelt, and among his most famous students were Franklin Roosevelt and W.E.B. Dubois.

condemnation of the Source Method.¹⁴⁰ “There is a widespread notion at the present that the one end and aim of education is to teach pupils of any age, condition and sex to think for themselves and to have opinions of their own on any imaginable subject,” an undertaking of which he did not at all approve.¹⁴¹ While noting that the American version of the German seminar method of teaching was but a shallow imitation, he did grant that “even children should be allowed to use their reasoning facilities, but I deny that the cultivation of their faculties should be the aim of the teaching of young pupils.” He admitted that the use of primary sources could generate greater skills of judgment, but that the result of such teaching would be a “hothouse plant,” in other words, a special, frail variety of student that would not stand up to the everyday stresses of the world. He asked,

Do not the colleges already turn out a number of young sciologists who imagine themselves original thinkers and investigators? It would be better to inculcate, at least in young schoolboys, greater respect for the opinions of their elders than to puff them up with the vain idea that they are thinking for themselves; better to put into their hands an authoritative narrative, enlivened with a reasonable number of citations from the sources of history, than to let them imagine that they are capable of writing history for themselves.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ Richard Heath Dabney and Earl Barnes had both been chairs of the University of Indiana’s History Department in the late 1880s and early 1890s. Dabney was born in Memphis, Tennessee in 1860 and attended the University of Virginia 1878-1881, receiving his M.A. He then studied in Germany for two years and received a PhD from Heidelberg in 1885. From 1886-1889, he taught at Indiana and joined the faculty at UVA in 1889, where he remained until his death in 1945. He was that institution’s dean of Graduate Studies from 1905-1923, and was a prolific writer for newspapers and magazines.

¹⁴¹ Richard Heath Dabney, *Educational Review*, VI (November 1893): 394-397, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13(1949): 213.

¹⁴² Richard Heath Dabney, *Educational Review*, VI (November 1893): 397.

The Virginia professor felt that while it was proper to use sources to pique interest in students, the “main thing is for them (the boys) to *learn* (italics in original) what is in the book, and to gain from it a keen desire to learn more.”¹⁴³ Others felt that history should be taught broadly, providing as full a sweep of the past as possible, and that the more analytical and intense study of small portions of history would provide a much more narrow and less sweeping view of the past. As Rock Island, Illinois’ high school principal Edward Van Dyke Robinson explained in 1898:

If the object of historical study be exclusively the mastery of the processes of historical interpretation and criticism, it is perfectly true that the history of some one nation would be preferable to general history [now known as world history]. Not only so, but a single period would be better still, and a single document studied intensively month after month would be best of all. But such intensive study presupposes maturity of mind which cannot be expected in secondary schools, and a wide knowledge of the subject as a whole—the very thing it is now proposed to get along without. Moreover, even were this not the case, such technical skill would be relatively useless for all pupils not destined to become scholars by profession. And the chief function of the secondary schools is not the training of scholars but the education of men and citizens. The discipline demanded of history, as of all subjects, is, therefore, not technical but general. It is that training of the mind and heart which will be most valuable in the most difficult and most neglected of all fine arts—the conduct of one’s life.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ R.H. Dabney, *Educational Review*, VI (November 1893): 394-397, quoted in Robert E. Keohane, “The Great Debate over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13(1949): 213.

¹⁴⁴ Edward Van Dyke Robinson, “An Ideal Course in History for Secondary Schools,” *School Review*, 6 (November 1898): 676. Robinson would later become a professor at the University of Minnesota.

Committee of Ten member, Woodrow Wilson, also warned that “We must avoid introducing what is called scientific history in the schools, for it is a ‘history of doubt,’ criticism, examination of evidence. It tends to confuse young pupils.”¹⁴⁵

It should be noted that much of the opposition to the various forms of “source method,” “Nebraska Method,” “seminary teaching,” and other interpretations of scientific history upon history pedagogy were not attacks on the efficacy of those methods among upper-level college students or graduate students. Most who opposed this form of teaching did so for undergraduates and secondary school students, largely in the belief that these scientific history-influenced methods first required students to have a firm grasp on traditional historical narrative—the “who,” “what,” “when” and “where” of the past. They believed that most students below the upper college years did not possess the necessary knowledge base to be able to fully benefit from the research and interpretive nature of the methods promoted by Fling, Barnes and others. Still, the influence of the scientific historians, led by the committee’s chair Charles Kendall Adams, was strong enough to have a decisive impact on the History Ten’s final report.

In their report to the Committee of Ten, the History Ten recommended that the scope of history in the schools be expanded beyond the study of the traditional subjects of military and political history and that this expanded subject matter begin to be taught in earlier grades. The committee recommended that students should be taught history beginning in grade 7, and that the use of textbooks be limited to the provision of a broad understanding of history and chronology of events. Despite the warnings and opposition of Wilson, Dabney and others, the committee emphasized that these works should not be

¹⁴⁵ Woodrow Wilson in the minutes of the 1892 Madison Conference, quoted in Peter Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 71.

the sole source of teaching methodology and also suggested that teachers use several different textbooks so that students would become accustomed to comparing texts and authorities about single subjects. Multiple texts would also impress upon students the idea that no single book provides a complete understanding of the past. The committee recommended that in “all practicable ways, an effort should be made to teach the pupils in later years to discriminate between authorities, and especially between original works and secondary sources.” The committee members explained that “[i]t is not expected that pupils in grammar or high schools are to be historical writers, or that they are to suppose that they are carrying out historical investigation to its widest extent; but we confidently and urgently recommend the use of this historical method because of its peculiar educational value.” The group meeting in Madison, while making allusion to science and science teaching, also suggested that history in the last high school year be devoted to the study of government and “a special period (of history) studied in an intensive manner.” In this special period, instructors would “teach careful, painstaking, examination and comparison of sources . . . and give the pupil a practical power to collect and use historical material, which will serve him and the community throughout all his after life.”¹⁴⁶ The committee stated its belief that teachers should teach history in order to “broaden and cultivate the mind” rather than to simply provide students with the traditional facts to be memorized. The Committee of Ten accepted the report of the History Ten and included it in the former group’s overall report, which went on to support active learning with students using maps and primary sources, and going on field

¹⁴⁶ *Report . . . on Secondary School Studies* . . . U.S. Bureau of Education, whole number 205 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1893): 170, 164, 188-189, 177, quoted in Robert Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13 (1949): 213-214.

trips, but noting that “a few things should be learned by heart . . . to serve as a firm ground on which to group one’s knowledge . . . Without [these facts] the pupil’s stock of information will have no more form than a jellyfish.”¹⁴⁷

The Committee of Ten’s work formalized history as an appropriate study for secondary students, de-emphasized the traditional study of Greeks and Romans, and described the purposes and benefits of studying the past. By doing so, it had the potential for greatly affecting the development of secondary school curriculum, but while the History Ten’s recommendations for the use of primary sources made the final report and while the initial run of 30,000 copies of that report had to be supplemented by an additional print run of 10,000 copies, these recommendations were all but ignored by the schools. As it turns out, the secondary school history curriculum would be more affected by another report commissioned by the National Education Association (NEA), and written by a committee of the American Historical Association known as the Committee of Seven.

The Committee of Seven

In 1896, four years after the History Ten/Committee of Ten’s report, August F. Nightingale, chairman of the National Education Association’s Committee on College Entrance Requirements, asked the American Historical Association (AHA) to provide a report on the teaching of history in the schools. Only twelve years old, the AHA saw this assignment as an opportunity to answer history’s critics while securing a place for the study of the past in the new secondary school curricula rapidly being developed. The

¹⁴⁷ National Education Association, *Report of the Committee on Secondary School Social Studies* (Washington, 1893): 167, quoted in Jane Lancaster, “The Public Private Scholarly Teaching Historian,” *Journal of American History* (December 1994): 1061.

resulting document, written by what would become known as the “Committee of Seven” and published in 1898, was a comprehensive “investigation of the subject of history as it is studied and taught in the schools.”¹⁴⁸ Through its report, the Committee of Seven (whose members included Andrew W. McLaughlin, chair, Herbert Baxter Adams, George L. Fox, Albert Bushnell Hart, Charles H. Haskins, H. Morse Stephens, and Lucy Maynard Salmon) effectively gave birth to modern history education in the United States.¹⁴⁹

In creating its much-cited document, the Committee of Seven met five times for several days each and heavily debated such topics as tracking, course sequencing, the preparation of teachers, and the place of primary sources in teaching.¹⁵⁰ The last topic, especially, elicited significant differences of opinion. At the same meeting at which the Committee of Seven was created, the AHA devoted an evening program to history teaching at the college level, and the role of primary sources in that instruction was heavily debated during the “questions and answers” following the presentations.

¹⁴⁸ Committee of Seven, *The Study of History in Schools* (Washington, DC, 1899): 429, viewed on August 8 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. This committee employed a survey to gather information about the teaching of history in the schools, before providing its own recommendations. Herbert Baxter Adams had made a study of history in American Colleges and Universities a few years earlier. See Herbert Baxter Adams, *The Study of History in American Colleges and Universities*, U.S. Bureau of Education, Circular of Information No. 2, 1887 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1887).

¹⁴⁹ In a study of Social Studies commissioned by the American Historical Association in 1935, the author noted that history education in the United States had been “100% dictated” by the Committee of Seven’s report for at least 20 years following its publication. Another author has called the committee’s work, “the most influential report ever prepared in the field of Social Studies curriculum.” More than seventy years later, this sentiment still rings true. Rolla M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects, Part XI, Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association* (New York, NY: Scribners, 1935): 22 and Edgar B. Wesley, *Teaching the Social Studies*, (Boston, MA: Heath, Second edition, 1942): 208.

¹⁵⁰ Chara Haeussler Bohan, “Early Vanguards of Progressive Education: The Committee of Seven and Social Education,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 19 (Fall 2003): 87.

Professor Henry Baxter Adams, yet another German-educated scientific historian who led what would become one of the best known graduate history seminars of its day as a professor at Johns Hopkins and who trained a number of the next generation of influential American historians (and who would go on to serve on the Committee of Seven), stated during this exchange that it was “enough for the ordinary collegian, if he is introduced to a few good books of history and politics.”¹⁵¹ There was certainly no need to saddle him with historical research methodology. Columbia’s James Harvey Robinson disagreed. He stated that there were three requirements for good history instruction: 1) a teacher to provide lectures and supervise class discussions, 2) a brief overview of the subject being studied, and 3) a list of required readings from “contemporaneous accounts of the subjects to be dealt with.”¹⁵² The latter was done in an attempt to show different perspectives, allowing students to understand the interpretive nature of the enterprise. The debate continued that evening and spilled over into the fact finding and deliberations of the Committee of Seven’s work.

During one of the Committee of Seven’s information gathering sessions at Vassar (where Mary Sheldon Barnes’ University of Michigan fellow student, Lucy Salmon, was chair of the History Department), history teachers were asked, among other questions,

¹⁵¹ Herbert Baxter Adams was particularly influential in the creation of the Committee of Seven’s final report. Born in Shutesbury, MA in 1850, a graduate of Amherst with a PhD from Heidelberg in 1876, was a founder of the AHA and chief leader of the organization during its first 20 years. See Oliver M. Keels, “Herbert Baxter Adams and the Influence of the American Historical Association on the Early Social Studies,” *International Journal of Social Education* 3 (1988): 37-49.

¹⁵² *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1896*. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1898): 1, 15-16, 253, 270-271.

“Can history be taught from the Sources in secondary schools?”¹⁵³ And at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, following the creation of the Committee of Seven, a three-man panel discussed the extent to which primary sources should be used in education below the graduate level. Indiana University Professor J. A. Woodburn (who had taken his PhD in History at Johns Hopkins) stated that there were four reasons for incorporating sources into history teaching: 1) making history more real for the student, 2) intensifying the impression of events and thus helping retain facts 3) cultivating a taste for research and 4) promoting the exercise of independent judgment. In an article published a year later, Professor Woodburn noted that the process “which gives out right answers to a problem without requiring investigation and solution, like a key to arithmetic, is not an educational process. The process of reasoning and investigation by which he does so is usually more valuable than the result obtained.”¹⁵⁴ In the same AHA meeting, Professor E. P. Cheyney, a University of Pennsylvania history professor who had edited his own *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History*, maintained that primary sources were properly used below the graduate level to illustrate or supplement lectures or textbook readings “and wherever they will teach a lesson of historical judgment without at the same time destroying the unity and continuity

¹⁵³ *Proceedings of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Association of Colleges and Preparatory Schools of the Middle States and Maryland, 1897* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1898): 152-154.

¹⁵⁴ *American Historical Review* III (April 1898): 406-407 and *Annual Report of the American Historical Association . . . 1897* pp. 43-49. James Albert Woodburn grew up in Bloomington, Indiana, attended Indiana University, taught school, and then took a PhD in History from Johns Hopkins in 1890 where he remained until his retirement in 1924. Late in life, Woodburn would take up the cause of the League of Nations.

of the students' course."¹⁵⁵ In other words, primary sources should help bring life to a narrative being told by an authoritative source, not be presented as the basis of such a narrative.¹⁵⁶ Professor Fling, also on the AHA panel, recounted what had happened during the previous school year in Nebraska classrooms, and advocated that primary sources be made a staple of history teaching, both secondary and collegiate. Despite Fling's efforts, "the general view [of those attending the meeting] seemed to be that [the proper use of primary sources] was rather as a vivifying adjunct to textbooks, lectures and the reading of authoritative historians."¹⁵⁷

On the day following this AHA panel discussion, the University of Michigan's Andrew C. McLaughlin (a graduate of the University of Michigan and its history seminary), chair of the Committee of Seven, reported the committee's findings to the association. Speaking for the committee, he recommended use of a textbook with supplementary readings in every course. He held that primary sources were principally useful in making what was under study seem more real and tangible to the student and could be used by the teacher as illustration.¹⁵⁸ Fred Morrow Fling, who was present at the

¹⁵⁵ E.P. Cheyney, ed., *Translations and Reprints from the Original Sources of European History* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1897) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. Edward Potts Cheyney was from Pennsylvania, graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1883, visited German universities following graduation, and studied at the British Museum before returning to his Alma Mater to teach.

¹⁵⁶ *American Historical Review* III (April 1898): 406-407 and *Annual Report of the American Historical Association . . . 1897* pp. 43-49.

¹⁵⁷ *American Historical Review* 3 (April 1898): 406-407 and *Annual Report of the American Historical Association . . . 1897* pp. 43-49.

¹⁵⁸ Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin was born in Beardstown, IL, graduated from the University of Michigan in 1882, stayed on as a History instructor and rose to the rank of professor (1891). He was married to the president of the university's daughter. In 1906, he joined the University of Chicago as chair of the Department of History, retiring from that position in 1929. He won the Pulitzer Prize in 1936 for his *A Constitutional History of the United States*. His daughter, too,

meeting, “expressed his regrets that the Committee’s recommendations on the use of sources were not more decided and more radical. He contended that if the pupils were not brought in to more immediate contact with the sources, such materials would never be used at all, even for the purposes of illustration. He declared that all of the tendencies in America and Europe were in the direction of the source method.” In reply, Albert Bushnell Hart, another member of the Committee of Seven (and author of the History Ten’s report on history, civil government, and politics for the Committee of Ten), reiterated that primary sources were chiefly beneficial on the secondary level in their role as illustration. Professor Lucy Salmon and Wisconsin’s C. H. Haskins, both members of the Committee of Seven who had spent the previous summer in Europe studying history instruction, respectfully denied Flings claims about the use of the source method abroad—at least on the pre-collegiate levels.¹⁵⁹

Their reluctance to make primary sources central to the study of history at the secondary level having been noted, some members of the Committee of Seven still favored a great deal of reading from source material. Others felt that high school students

would become a Pulitzer-prize winning historian and his son was a professor of law at Harvard. Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin. *A Constitutional History of the United States*. (New York, NY: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935).

¹⁵⁹ *American Historical Review* III (April 1898): 406-407. Michael Whelan, “A Particularly Lucid Lens: The Committee of Ten and the Social Studies Committee in Historical Context,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 12 (Spring 1997): 263. Born in Meadville, PA in 1870, Charles Homer Haskins was a child prodigy, mastering Latin and Greek at a tender age. He studied medieval History in Paris and Berlin, graduated with a PhD in History from Johns Hopkins at the age of 20, and taught there, moving to the University of Wisconsin, Madison in 1890 and remaining until 1902 when he took a position with Harvard, remaining there until 1931. He was a close advisor to his college friend Woodrow Wilson and is generally considered America’s first medievalist. As one writer has noted, “From the outset of his life as a teacher, he made it his business to relate, as closely as he could, his work as a scholar to the guidance of his pupils and the furtherance of historical study.” Frederic Maurice Powicke, “Charles Homer Haskins,” *English Historical Review* 52 (October 1937): 649-656.

lacked the knowledge and maturity to “form correct notions without some systematic survey of the field.”¹⁶⁰ Most were unwilling to go so far as Fling in the use of primary sources, and in direct response to the work of Barnes and especially Fling, the committee did not endorse the “Source Method,” which it defined as teaching exclusively from primary sources.

We believe in the proper use of sources for proper students, with proper guarantees that there shall also be secured a clear outline view of the whole subject studied; but we find ourselves unable to approve a method of teaching, sometimes called the “Source Method,” in which pupils have in their hands little more than a series of extracts, for the most part brief, and not very closely related. The difficulty with this system is, that while it suggests the basis of the original record upon which all history rests, on the other hand it expects valuable generalizations from insufficient basis. . . . Indeed, the attempts to teach history wholly from the sources ignore the fact that the actual knowledge of the facts of history in the minds of the most highly trained teachers of history comes largely from secondary books. . . . The use of sources which we advocate is, therefore, a limited contact with a limited body of materials, an examination of which may show the child the nature of the historical process and at the same time may make the people and events of bygone times more real to him. We believe that some acquaintance with sources vitalizes the subject, and thus makes it easier for the teacher and more stimulating for the pupil¹⁶¹

Thus, the Committee of Seven did recommend using historical sources for illustration and occasional exercises in criticism and analysis and stated that students should read sources in connection with a good textbook, not so much to learn the art of historical

¹⁶⁰ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 101.

¹⁶¹ American Historical Association, *The Study of History in the Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Seven* (New York: Macmillan, 1899): 104, quoted in Ken Osborne, “A New Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm. The full report of the Committee of seven may be seen at <http://www.historians.org/pubs/archives/CommitteeofSeven/index.cfm/>

research, but “the art of thinking historically.”¹⁶² Indeed, the Committee of Seven put forth the proposition that the study of the past fostered a distinct intellectual competency, which it designated as “history-mindedness.” The committee explained that “history-mindedness” was a sensitivity to cause and effect in human affairs, the way many factors interact, combine and evolve into the present, an understanding that “nothing is, but everything is becoming.” The study of history, as the committee presented it, provided a subtlety of intellect, a historical sense that would prepare a student to meet “the political and social problems that will confront him in everyday life.”¹⁶³ History, as the Committee saw it, was a unifying part of the entire school curriculum:

Like literature, it deals with man, and appeals to the sympathy, the imagination, and the emotional nature of the pupils. Like natural science, it employs methods of careful and unprejudiced investigation. It belongs to the humanities, for its essential purpose is to disclose human life; but it also searches for data, groups them, and builds generalizations from them. Though it may not be a science itself, its methods are similar to scientific methods, and are valuable in inculcating in the pupil a regard for accuracy and a reverence for the truth. It corrects the formalistic bias of language by bringing the pupil into sympathetic contact with actualities and with the mind of man as it has reacted on his environment. It gives breadth, outlook, and human interest, which are not easily developed by the study of natural phenomena.¹⁶⁴

With this understanding of history’s role, the committee proposed the now famous four-blocks of history instruction: ancient, medieval, modern, and American, with the

¹⁶² Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 102.

¹⁶³ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, 438-439, 453.

¹⁶⁴ Committee of Seven, *Study of History*; 445-446 quoted in Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

subject being taught in four years of continuous study and focusing on the development of “liberty” in human affairs. Teachers would trace the thread of freedom from ancient times through medieval European history and the history of England to the history of the United States where their students would find liberty in its greatest and most brilliant form. Emphasis would be on the “unity” of western experience. The search for greater freedom, which was understood to provide a sort of shared societal goal across the generations, would substitute for the influence of religion as a prism for viewing human experience. This “freedom narrative,” while offering a clear organizational principle for teaching the sweep of human history, also provided a sequential development to history that fit nicely with the requirements of the fledgling graded school movement, where instruction was progressively “stepped” in public high schools from grades 9-12.

Columbia Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, responding to the report, was happy that the “grimly humorous idea” that “boys and girls of tender age can learn history by ‘investigating sources’ had been checked,” but Earl and Mary Sheldon Barnes’ colleague (and Fred Morrow Fling’s future colleague), Professor George E. Howard of Stanford, on the other hand, argued that the pupil, like the trained historian, needs perspective, and seeks out authorities for it, but that “investigation is not something outside of history, but it is included in history, and it is essential to the grasping of the real meaning of history.”¹⁶⁵ While Howard felt that the Committee of Seven had been wrong to minimize

¹⁶⁵ *American Historical Review* V (January 1890): 322-323 quoted in Robert Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13 (1949): 216. George Howard, “The Study of History in the Schools,” *Educational Review* XIX (March 1900): 266. Nicholas Murray Butler, called “Nicholas Miraculous Butler” by his friend Teddy Roosevelt, took all of his degrees at Columbia (the PhD in 1884) where he spent his entire career, founding Teacher’s College and serving as President from 1902-1945, and editing *Educational Review* for thirty years. He was active in Republican politics and the world peace movement, winning the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1931.

the role of primary sources in history teaching, it was Fred Morrow Fling, not surprisingly, who had the strongest words for the committee's report. The Nebraska professor thought it wrong that the committee would devote so much time on course content and not enough on teaching method. According to Fling, the report basically said nothing new about how to teach history. "The committee placed too many restrictions upon the use of sources to suit me. 'The proper use of sources for the proper pupils, with proper guarantees' in which the committee believes, might suggest that a source is a dangerous thing for the average pupil to come in contact with."¹⁶⁶ Fling denied that anyone was attempting to teach history entirely from the sources. Instead, according to the Nebraska professor, they were trying to teach history as far as practical from the sources—and there was a great deal of difference between the two. Answering those who felt his method too selective and lacking continuity, he noted that those who write textbooks are just as selective in their sources as those who use the source method. Fling stated that there seemed to be a belief among members of the committee that the source method downplayed the role of historical fact. He argued that those who learned the entire historical process maintained as much historical fact in the long run as those who did not. He also took on the role of the textbook, and argued that a well-done source book could provide the same sort of overview and continuity as would an authoritative text. "A book made up of source extracts and facts is not without organization, and it can be used without a good narrative. The connections are lacking and the generalizations are not there and with good reason. It is the business of the teacher to teach the student how to

¹⁶⁶ Fred Morrow Fling, "The Study of History in Schools," *North-Western Monthly* X (September 1899): 1-4, quoted in Robert Keohane, "The Great Debate Over the Source Method," *Social Education* 13 (1949): 216.

generalize on this material and how to bind it together. It can be done because it has been done, again and again.”¹⁶⁷ Despite his fuming, Fling had lost the argument, but by engaging in it, he had caused educators to think about the use of primary sources in education and to comment upon the extent to which they should be used. It was more than a modest step.

In 1905, the American Historical Association sponsored the first conference related to the teaching of history in the elementary schools. Not surprisingly, a committee to look into the issue further was created. The Committee of Eight performed research, including a survey of nearly 300 school superintendents in the country, and published a report seven years later. Not surprisingly, this report called for an increase in the amount of time spent on the teaching of history, especially American history, to young children.¹⁶⁸ The bibliography of useful texts that formed a portion of the report was heavily salted with “sourcebooks” of one kind or the other. But these sources were to give a “feel” or excite an interest in the past. They were to be used for their illustrative, rather than their evidential purposes:

At every stage of the work, more or less should be done with pictures, but they should be carefully selected with reference to their suggestive value in illustrating life personal, industrial, and social. If too many are used the pupil's imagination will not have an opportunity for due exercise in recalling the exact situation. Other means of giving a sense of reality and

¹⁶⁷ Fred Morrow Fling, “The Study of History in Schools,” *North-Western Monthly* X (September 1899): 4, quoted in Robert Keohane, “The Great Debate Over the Source Method,” *Social Education* 13 (1949): 217.

¹⁶⁸ Chara Haeussler Bohan, “Digging Trenches: Nationalism and the First National report on the Elementary History Curriculum,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 33 (2): 266-291. Members of the Committee of Eight included James Alton James, Henry C. Bourne, Eugene C. Brooks, Mabel Hill, Julius Sachs, Wilbur Gordy, J. H. VanSickle, and Henry W. Thurston.

appealing to the feelings are found in visiting historic scenes and in reading source material like letters, journals, diaries, and other personal accounts from the pens of men and women who took part in the events they narrate or witnessed the scenes they portray. But the value of the study of original sources in grammar schools may be easily overrated; for, after all, historic material, whether it consists of letters, journals, manuscripts, or facts gathered by the historian, must be interpreted by the pupil in order that he may appreciate the inner spirit of the life which is described. Although a certain freshness and stimulus come from the accounts written by eye-witnesses or by the participants in the events, yet these accounts are only symbols and must themselves be interpreted before the truth can be discerned. For such interpretation the young mind will find the best help in the illuminating pages of the great historian, whose genius has been applied to reproducing with imaginative power the men, the manners, and the institutions of by-gone days.¹⁶⁹

Primary sources had been relegated to illustration to “real” history, names, dates and the narrative found on those “illuminating pages of the great historian.”¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ Committee of Eight, *The Study of History in the Elementary Schools; A Study of the American Historical Association* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner Sons, 1912).

¹⁷⁰ The place of primary sources was not a core concern of this committee. The major issue during the Committee of Eight’s deliberation was whether elementary children should study a traditional form of history or whether it should be more of a study of the child’s place in social issues of the day. The traditional study was favored by the committee and traditional history in the elementary schools became standard for a generation. More of this is discussed in the Social Studies section of this study. See Also Ronald Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Should We Teach the Children?* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004): 17. Two years following the creation of the Committee of Eight and at the request of the Headmasters’ Association, the American Historical Association created another committee, the Committee of Five. Headed by the University of Michigan’s Andrew C. McLaughlin, this committee again surveyed the effectiveness of the secondary school history curriculum. In addition to finding that many of the Committee of Seven’s recommendations had been adopted all over the country, it also recommended that; 1) the study of modern history be expanded, adding a full-year course of modern European and English history since 1760 to the curriculum; and 2) the study of government be a separate subject from history. Arthur S. Link, “Presidential Address: The American Historical Association: 1884-1994: Retrospect and Prospect,” *American Historical Review* 90 (February 1985): 1-17; The Committee of Five, *The Report of History in Secondary Schools by the Committee of Five* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1911).

Primary Sources as Illustration Holds Sway, James Harvey Robinson, Exemplar

While the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven maintained that history-mindedness did not necessarily manifest itself in an array of technical skills for the "doing of history" and did not advocate the steeping of students in historical methodology, as its report and the corresponding debate had shown, the committee and others still felt that the *judicious* use of primary sources in history classrooms helped to make the subject more interesting. This was a widespread belief among historians and educators that grew as the years progressed. Humboldt College, Iowa's Arthur Cromwell, despite believing in the superior nature of the source method, didn't believe that it was logistically possible to teach all of history using it, and favored a combined model of analysis of authoritative secondary sources, primary sources, and traditional memory work. He observed: "[T]he source method has introduced into our history work a valuable element, no teacher doubts who has observed a fair trial of the methods; that it has introduced an element that is with us to stay is equally certain . . . There may be times in the study of history when it is necessary for the child to take the generalizations of others, but . . . it is a sin to prevent his getting the growth that comes from making his own generalization."¹⁷¹ H. M. Gwatkin, Dixie Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Cambridge (one of the senior history professorships at that venerable institution) stated at the turn-of the Twentieth Century that the purpose of history teaching was "to rouse interest, to give the guiding facts, and to teach the principles of research and criticism,"

¹⁷¹ Arthur D. Cromwell, "The Source, or Scientific, Method in History," *School Review* 11 (October 1903): 680-681.

and he leaned heavily toward the latter items in that list.¹⁷² Gwatkin was not alone in his sentiments. A 1902 report from the New England History Teachers' Association (one of the regional history teacher groups spawned by the American Historical Association, which largely developed out of the work of the Committee of Seven) reached the same conclusion: "We believe that the study of history is greatly deepened and enriched by a judicious use of original material; that a greater sense of the reality of the past and a wider use of mind result; that from the greater robustness and individuality of the study a deeper and more permanent interest in it is most likely to ensue."¹⁷³ But while they believed that use of primary sources in the teaching of history was important and necessary, those same New England educators were quick to note that the use of those sources "must be limited, and be strictly subordinate to that of texts."¹⁷⁴ This was a theme echoed by other educators. Howard University's Charles H. Wesley believed that sources were important in history education—again, up to a point: "a limited use only must be made of them because of the intellectual character of the pupils in our schools and

¹⁷² In Frederic William Maitland et. Al, *Essays on the Teaching of History* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University press, 1901) cited by R. E. Aldrich, "New History: An Historical Perspective," in Alaric K. Dickinson, Peter K. Lee, and Peter J. Rogers, *Learning History* (London: Heinemann, 1984): 210-224 and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com.

¹⁷³ Charles Downer Hazen, et. Al. *Historical Sources in Schools: Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a Select Committee* (New York: Macmillan, 1902): 16, quoted in quoted in Ken Osborne, "A New Old Method of Teaching History," *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com

¹⁷⁴ Charles Downer Hazen, et. al., *Historical Sources in Schools: Report to the New England History Teachers' Association by a Select Committee* (New York: Macmillan, 1902): 7, quoted in Ken Osborne, "A New Old Method of Teaching History," *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com

colleges. They come to us from smaller schools, with meager equipments of knowledge and little power for endeavor in historical work, and with as little knowledge of how to attack the subject-matter itself.”¹⁷⁵ As Harvard’s Albert Bushnell Hart put it in 1896 in one of his own source-rich history textbooks: "Of the three offices of sources in teaching—furnishing material, furnishing illustration, and giving insight into the spirit of the times—all are important. It is not to be expected that any but the most highly trained specialist will found all or his chief knowledge of history on sources; but parts of the field may thus be underlaid by actual contact with the material."¹⁷⁶ As these quotations show, a shift had taken place. The source method, with its emphasis on analysis, was all but gone and in its place was the use of sources as illustrative material—just as their primary use had been described in G. Stanley Hall’s history teaching methods text of 1883, before the work of Barnes.¹⁷⁷ Even Fling’s old colleague at Nebraska, Howard W. Caldwell gave way to the sentiment, and in a 1909 textbook written with Clark E. Persinger, the Nebraska professor changed the nature of the sources he included; in the new text, primary sources were for illustrative purposes.¹⁷⁸ In the "source as illustration" method, teachers used writings

¹⁷⁵ Charles H. Wesley, “The Problem of Sources and Methods in History Teaching,” *The School Review* (May 1916): 332-333.

¹⁷⁶ Albert Bushnell Hart, *American History Told by Contemporaries: 1 Era of Colonization, 1492-1689* (New York: Macmillan, 1896): 18, quoted in Ken Osborne, “A New Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm. See also, Albert Bushnell Hart, ed., *Source-Book of American History* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1899) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com.

¹⁷⁷ G. Stanley Hall, ed., *Methods of Teaching and Studying History* (Boston, MA: Ginn, Heath, 1883).

¹⁷⁸ Howard W. Caldwell and Clark E. Persinger, *A Source History of the United States* (Chicago, IL: Ainsworth and Company, 1909). Persinger was an anti-war activist at the beginning of World War I. At the behest of the Nebraska State Council of Defense (including Fred Morrow Fling), Persinger and three other professors were dismissed from the University of Nebraska for their

from the past to capture the attention of a classroom, maintain interest in a subject, and give the students a “feeling” for earlier times and people. While there may be a bit of analysis involved in the illustrative use of primary sources, it is not the same sort of “scientific” exploration of evidence that earlier proponents of the source method had promoted.

Columbia University’s James Harvey Robinson is a good example of someone who advocated the heavy use of primary sources for illustrative purposes. Born in Bloomington, Illinois and educated at Harvard and in German universities, he received his PhD from Freiburg in 1890. Robinson taught history at the University of Pennsylvania beginning in 1891 and moved to Columbia in 1895. He was one of the leading proponents of “new history,” which grew out of scientific history. “New History” sought greater interaction between history and other social sciences such as anthropology, sociology, and psychology, all the while expanding historical inquiry from the narrow confines of the military and politics. As a foundation of what came to be known as “Social History,” Robinson’s “New History” held that the lives of everyday people should be studied—not just the extraordinary tales of great men performing great deeds. It was an approach that the Columbia professor detailed in his *New History*, which was published in 1912. Six years later, he attempted to carry these ideas further by helping found the New School for Social Research.¹⁷⁹

anti-war work. (The Council of Defense had targeted eleven professors.) As late as September 2008, the University of Nebraska Board of Regents declined to rescind this decision. Frank Edler, “Letters to the Editor,” *Daily Nebraskan*, October 7, 2008.

¹⁷⁹ James Harvey Robinson, *New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, NY: MacMillan Co., 1912). Located in and around New York City’s Greenwich Village, The New School for Social Research was founded in 1919 as a modern, progressive, free school where students could “seek an unbiased understanding of the existing order, its genesis,

Robinson had been a member of the AHA's Committee of Seven where he had been an advocate for the use of primary sources—just not to the extent that would have pleased Fred Morrow Fling—and he would later go on to write a series of well-received textbooks. It was through these textbooks that his association with the illustrative use of primary sources was secured—as was his retirement. (The proceeds from his extremely popular texts allowed him to move from the classroom and spend even more time in research and writing.) In 1904, Robinson wrote, "No improvement in the methods of history instruction in our high schools and colleges bids fair to produce better results than the plan of bringing the student into contact with the first hand accounts of events, or, as they are technically termed, the primary sources."¹⁸⁰

Instead of providing exercises by which students would analyze primary sources, Robinson presented excerpts of sources designed to reveal the feel or ethos of a time and place. In the preface to one of his source textbooks, Robinson notes that finding “apt and varied illustrations of the conditions and trend of events,” is much easier for the later period than the earlier, and the brief paragraphs with which he goes on to introduce his sources are filled with phrases such as, “Probably no other book gives so lively a notion as does *The Prince* of the prevailing political spirit at the beginning of the sixteenth

growth and present working.” Throughout its history, the school has sought to synthesize progressive scholarship across the social sciences and humanities. Founders included Charles Beard, Thorstein Veblen, James Harvey Robinson, and John Dewey. Many of the early faculty came from Columbia University where a loyalty oath during World War I was the impetus for some faculty members to leave its ranks and begin forming the new school. “Research School to Open,” *New York Times* (September 30, 1919.)

¹⁸⁰ James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1904): 4, quoted in Ken Osborne, “A New Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm and viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google. Com

century.”¹⁸¹ For Robinson and others who believed in the illustrative power of primary sources, there was something about the original, the phraseology and connection to the past, that captured a person’s attention and held it; almost no work by a historian writing about that original could equal it: “It makes no great impression upon us to be told that the scholars of Dante's time had begun to be interested once more in the books of the Greeks and Romans; but no one can forget Dante's own poetic account of his kindly reception in the lower regions by souls of the ancient writers whom he revered—Virgil, Homer, Ovid, Horace—people 'with eyes slow and grave, of great authority in their looks,' who 'spake seldom and with soft voices.’”¹⁸² These direct views on the past were, according to Robinson, “often more vivid and entertaining than even the most striking descriptions by the pen of gifted writers like Gibbon or Macaulay.”¹⁸³

Robinson also believed that, if selected and used properly, primary sources could capture the interest of students through connections to everyday people in everyday life—the familiar—instead of using the exotic and sensational, to which he believed teachers resorted too often, reducing history to “a series of headlines, a sort of museum of the bizarre, an old-style cabinet of curiosities.”¹⁸⁴ In 1912, Robinson wrote, “There is a kind of history which does not concern itself with the normal conduct and serious

¹⁸¹ James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History: A Collection of Extracts from the Sources*, Vol. II (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1906): v and 9.

¹⁸² James Harvey Robinson, *An Introduction to the History of Western Europe* (Boston, MA: Ginn, 1902): 13, quoted in Ken Osborne, “Primary Sources A new Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm.

¹⁸³ James Harvey Robinson, *Readings in European History* (Boston: Ginn, 1904): 5.

¹⁸⁴ Ken Osborne, “A New Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm

achievements of mankind in the past, but, like melodrama, purposely selects the picturesque and lurid as its theme." He believed that everyday life, if presented in the right way, could be every bit as dramatic as the story of kings in battle or congressmen in smoke-filled rooms, and more importantly, such a history would provide more useful information about the present that could be used by those who studied it.¹⁸⁵ History, as Robinson understood it, was "to help us understand ourselves and our fellows and the problems and prospects of mankind." And primary sources were the best way to arrive at this understanding: "Every line gives some hint of the period in which the author lived and makes an impression on us, which volumes of second-hand accounts can never produce."¹⁸⁶

Earl and Mary Sheldon Barnes had addressed the idea of sources as illustration more than ten years earlier when they noted that good source books were available at the time, but wondered, "[H]ow shall we use them? As supplementary reading or as specimens? Are we to consider the picturesque, curious, or beautiful illustrations to attract the eye to the solid work of history? Or are we to consider them as the very stuff of history, with which we must work intimately before we can interpret the life of a man through any wider area than that revealed by our own personal experience?"¹⁸⁷ Others may promote primary sources as illustrative attention-grabbers, but to the Barneses, they were the stuff of history, not its illustration. It could be argued that Robinson selected his illustrative excerpts in much the same way that other historians selected the extraordinary

¹⁸⁵ James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1912): 9 and 15.

¹⁸⁶ James Harvey Robinson, *The New History* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1912): 13.

¹⁸⁷ Earl Barnes and Mary Sheldon Barnes, "Collections of Sources in English for Teaching of History," *Educational Review* (April 1898): 338.

tales or extraordinary men to recount, a practice that he decried. While Robinson called for a study of regular people doing mundane things, his illustrative snippets from the sources were often anything but the parts of the mundane record of human existence. Of course, perhaps because of this, his collections of illustrative works did manage to capture the attention of the teachers, if not always the students.

Chapter 2.

Primary Sources Retrench

“History Is, Indeed, an argument without end.”
Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.

Assessment and the Search for “Definiteness”
Rise of Social Studies: Less Time for History?
Behaviorism

By World War I, textbooks like Robinson’s, which used sources primarily for illustrative purposes or as supplements to lectures and textbooks, were fairly widely available, so available, in fact, that by 1915, the University of Minnesota’s Augustus Charles Krey listed sourcebooks, along with maps, pictures, and other aids as one of the “essential factors” in effective history teaching.¹⁸⁸ Teacher education also reflected the

¹⁸⁸ Some examples: James Munro, *Canada: 1535-Present Day*, (London: Bell, 1913) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; William Stearns Davis, *Readings in Ancient History* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1912); Arthur O., *Readings in the History of Education: Mediaeval Universities*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1909) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; all cited by Ken Osborne, “Voices From the Past. Maurice Walter Keatinge: A British Approach to Teaching History Through Sources,” *Canadian Social Studies*, 38 (Winter 2004), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm. Other source books of the day include Guernsey Jones, *Civilization in the Middle Ages With an Introduction to the Source Study Method*, (Chicago: Ainsworth & Co., 1900) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; Mary Tremain, *A Survey of English History: With an Introduction on the Source Study Method* (Chicago: Ainsworth & Co, 1901); F. Duncalf and A.C. Krey, *Parallel Source Problems in Mediaeval History*. (New York: Harper, 1912); A. C. McLaughlin, W.E. Dodd, M.W. Jernagan, and A.P. Scott, *Source Problems in American History* (New York: Harper, 1918); Albert Beebe White and Wallace Notestein, *Source Problems in English History* (New York: Harper, 1915) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. Frederic Austin Ogg, *A Source Book of Mediaeval History* (New York: American Book Company, 1907) is the subject of an insightful essay by Ken Osborne. See Ken Osborne, “Voices from the Past: Teaching History Through Sources, 1907 Style,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003)

new concern with the use of sources. By the early 1900s, most methods books on history teaching recommended using some form of sources in the classroom.¹⁸⁹ Between the 1890s and 1920s, historians and those who trained teachers had come to such a consensus in the use of primary sources to supplement traditional classroom instruction that one American book reviewer in 1910 noted in passing that, “It is now generally conceded that the teaching of history may be deepened through the judicious use of source material.”¹⁹⁰ Again the word, “judicious.”

Despite this consensus within the literature about the importance of primary sources in history education, the classrooms of the United States were not inundated with reproductions of old letters and diaries, even as supplementary, illustrative materials for traditional lecture and textbook-based lessons. Despite the examples propounded by the

viewed on April 17, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_1/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm; A.C. Krey, *Bulletin for Teachers of History* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1915): 11. Augustus Charles Krey was born in Germany in 1887 and as a young man immigrated with his family to Wisconsin. He took all of his degrees from the University of Wisconsin between 1907 and 1914. During most of that time, he was also teaching high school. In 1910, he was an instructor at the University of Texas and in 1912 at the University of Illinois. In 1913, he began his career at the University of Minnesota where he remained throughout the rest of his career. A medievalist, in 1925, he was named chairman of the American Historical Association’s Committee on History in the Schools, a position he held until 1929, when he was named chair of the AHA’s Commission on the Investigation of Social Studies in the Schools. His interest in history teaching resulted in his teaching of the “Methods” course in the University of Minnesota’s College of Education. Krey died in Houston, TX in 1961.” Finding Aid to the August Charles Krey Papers,” University of Minnesota Archives, viewed on March 2, 2008 at <http://special.lib.umn.edu/findaid/xml/uarc00973.xml>

¹⁸⁹ One of the most prominent of these texts from this time period is Henry Johnson’s *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools*, 1915. Johnson taught at Teachers College, Columbia and felt that a knowledge of historical methodology was essential for students to fully understand the content of history.

¹⁹⁰ J. A. James, Review of *A Source History of the United States*, in the *American Historical Review* 15, no. 3 (1910): 675-676, quoted in Ken Osborne, “A New Old Method of Teaching History,” *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm

methodology texts that they *might* have read while in normal school, classroom teachers still lacked sufficient subject knowledge and training in historical methodology to use sources in their classes; and despite the number of published source texts, the raw material for primary-source rich classes were equally rare in cash-strapped schools. While student investigation of primary sources had been popular in the professional literature, it was a teaching methodology that never thoroughly penetrated into the classroom; there were too many logistical barriers to overcome. As one teacher in 1910 England explained, her eighteen year-old students were “instructed rather than educated, drilled rather than developed, receptive not originaive, docile not independent, and possessed of a fatal likeness to one another.”¹⁹¹

As the optimistic 1920s became the considerably darker (in many ways) 1930s, even the professional journals and conference presentations mentioned the use of primary sources less frequently. There were many reasons for this. As will be shown, growing concerns with how best to objectively assess learning in history, the rise of social studies (which devoted already scarce class time to other subjects, although ones closely related to history), and the influence of Behaviorism on teaching methodologies, were among the chief factors that led some thinkers and writers on history education to emphasize the memorization of historical facts, thus downplaying even further the role of primary sources in teaching.

¹⁹¹ Quoted in Gordan R. Batho, “Sources,” *Handbook for Teachers of History*, W.H. Burston and C. W. Green, eds (London: Methuen, 1962): 95-108.

Assessment and the Search for “Definiteness”

Seeking to standardize college entrance requirements, a group of university presidents, largely under the direction of Harvard’s Charles Eliot and Columbia’s Nicholas Murray Butler, created the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB, now known as the College Board) in 1900. The CEEB accepted the standards for secondary schools which had been adopted by the National Education Association (NEA) in the previous year as a result of the work of the Committees of Ten and Seven. The history section of these new NEA standards was, essentially, the report of the Committee of Seven, even though that report had stated, “we do not feel that we should seek to lay down hard-and-fast entrance requirements in history.”¹⁹² The American Historical Association (AHA) committee was especially reluctant to make such hard and fast rules about history requirements because a great many of its members feared that enforcing such a requirement would lead to types of examinations, which would give even greater emphasis to the “history as memorization” theme that had long characterized pedagogy in the subject. There was the danger that if they were too specific about what a high school student should know about the past to enter college, some teacher somewhere would simply come up with a list and start his or her students reciting a sing-song mnemonic of a ditty lurking somewhere nearby. The members of the Committee of Seven knew of no way to easily assess, in a large-scale manner, the knowledge and skills most prized by history teachers and historians, which, taken together, they had termed, “history-mindedness.” This does not mean that some in their profession had not tried to do so.

¹⁹² Committee of Seven, *Study of History*, pp. 490-491, quoted in Robert Orrill and Linn Shapiro, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

Professor A. D. Cromwell of Humbolt College experimented with examining his high school student's analytical skills in History during the late 1890s, reporting his results to Fred Morrow Fling, who had subsequently published a portion of his colleague's findings in his and Howard Caldwell's book, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History*. Cromwell reported:

With a view to finding what the history teaching of the common schools was doing to train students to form independent judgments, and, where necessary, to suspend judgment for want of evidence, I tested last month a number of students ranging from sixteen to twenty-five years of age, some of whom were teachers. These pupils came from Iowa, Minnesota, Kansas, and South Dakota. I used the tests that Mrs. Barnes had used on children, because I wanted to find out whether pupils who had grown up without training of their judgment in historical events or facts were wiser than children at the age of twelve or thirteen. Of course, my tests were not sufficient to establish a fact, but they indicate that such young men and women at the age of twenty are not wiser in judgment or different in natural interest from children of the age of twelve or thirteen.¹⁹³

Cromwell had simply copied two accounts of the firing on Fort Sumter on the board, one from an official dry report from Major Anderson who had been in charge of the facility and another of no known origin that was highly romantic and factually spurious. He had simply asked his students which was better. Their responses, some of which he reported to Fling, showed that they took little to no interest in the evidentiary

¹⁹³ Fred Morrow Fling and Howard W. Caldwell, *Studies in European and American History: An Introduction to the Source Study Method in History* (Lincoln, NE: J.H. Miller, 1897): 310 viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. This book is composed of the papers generated by the introduction of the Source Method in the schools of Nebraska, which were first published in the North-Western Journal of Education during 1896-1897. After sixteen years teaching teachers at the small Humboldt College in Iowa, Cromwell was hired by the United States Department of Agriculture to act as an agricultural explorer on the island of Puerto Rico and to teach the teachers of that island. "Among the Faculty," *American Educational Review* 33 (October 1911): 196. Founded in 1870, Humboldt College closed in 1881, was reopened in 1895, and moved to Minneapolis in 1916, finally closing for good in 1978.

aspects of the reports, commenting instead upon their literary merits. His findings showed, not surprisingly, that few students had the ability to analyze sources and form conclusions, no matter the number of history classes that they had managed to sit through. At the time of the publication of these results, Cromwell and Fling carried great hopes for remedying this situation. And, although this did not come about, those that contemplated testing like the kind Cromwell carried out did know this: It was not the kind of assessment that could be standardized for college entrance requirements. As a result of this reality, the History Seven urged that colleges be flexible in their history entrance requirements. They proposed that “written work done in connection with the study of history in the schools,” might suffice in place of examinations. (This last suggestion seemed to anticipate a portfolio-like, authentic assessment methodology that would begin to be discussed by educational theorists much later in the century.) In response to the historians’ test dodging, the College Board asked for more “definiteness” about the *content* that should be taught in the four, one-year blocks identified by the AHA’s Committee of Seven. The board wanted to know what *content* the entering students should know. The AHA was diplomatically silent on the subject, declining to respond (and continuing to do so for years). Despite the lack of input from the professional historians, the CEEB went forward with developing its entrance examination and right at 1,000 students took the first entrance tests in 1901. History was among the first subjects tested. Students were expected to answer questions in brief essay format, supplying pertinent historical details in their responses. The test was designed to assess knowledge of historical people, places, and events, although at least one of its creators hoped to have it measure something much more elusive, history-mindedness.¹⁹⁴ That

¹⁹⁴ Timothy A. Hacsí, “Document-Based Question: What is the Historical Significance of the

creator was Lucy Maynard Salmon, member of the American Historical Association's Committee of Seven and the chief examiner of the College Board's first history tests.

Born and raised in Felton, NY, Lucy Maynard Salmon came from an educated family and graduated from the local Falley Seminary before attending the University of Michigan where she was a fellow student with Mary Sheldon Barnes in Charles Kendall Adams' history seminary. After graduating, Salmon taught in various Midwestern schools, before returning to Michigan for a Master's degree in History in 1882. From 1886-1887, she studied for her PhD under Woodrow Wilson at Bryn Mawr, joining the faculty at Vassar in the fall of 1887 where she would remain for the rest of her life. (In the 1890s, she would spend several years studying in Germany.) Salmon eventually also came to join the "New History" camp of James Harvey Robinson, and one of her favorite primary sources to use in her teaching was the laundry list, as it was intimately associated with daily life. She was also known for taking her students on "field trips" to her kitchen

Advanced Placement Test?" *Journal of American History* 90 (March 2004): 1393. See also John A. Valentine, *The College Board and the School Curriculum: A History of the College Board's Influence on the Substance and Standards of American Education, 1900-1980* (New York, 1987) and Frederick B. Davis, "A Brief History of the College Board Entrance Examination in History," *The Social Studies*, (March, 1934): 127-33, Wilson Farrand, "A Brief History of the College Entrance Examination Board," in *The Work of the College Entrance Examination Board, 1901-1925* (New York, NY: 1926): 21-30; Michael Johanek, ed., *A Faithful Mirror: Reflections on the College Entrance Board and Education in America* (New York, 2001). The tests assessed content knowledge, but did not include the soon to be ubiquitous multiple choice test. Multiple choice tests were quite a new invention then. Although an early form was developed by E.L. Thorndike of Teacher's College, Columbia University, Frederick J. Kelly, the director of the Training School at the State Normal School in Emporia Kansas, is generally given credit for its full development and promotion, leading to the widespread use of this form of test. He developed the "Silent Reading Test," as multiple choice tests were first known in 1915, in response to concerns about the subjectivity of grading (which had become more of a concern because grades were being used for entrance requirements into colleges). Some sort of standardization was needed. In addition to their supposed objectivity, teachers could grade faster and more efficiently using them. The military adopted their use in World War I, solidifying their place in the American educational pantheon. It was not until the 1920s that the College Boards used multiple choice questions; before that time, the College Boards were a series of brief essay questions. Multiple choice tests grew out of the same ethos, which gave rise to scientific management and efficiency engineering in the rapidly industrializing United States.

in Poughkeepsie to show them the history found there.¹⁹⁵ By drawing her students' attention to the supposed mundane, Salmon attempted to show them how to find the extraordinary in the everyday. This is perhaps best illustrated by her works on domestic service, the first scholarly treatment of the subject.¹⁹⁶ Salmon also espoused Barnes' and Fling's views on history pedagogy. She encouraged scholarly independence in her undergraduate students, training them to consult primary sources and to compare and criticize several secondary interpretations before formulating their own conclusions. As one brief biography of Salmon recounts:

Her courses were designed less to convey historical facts than to train students in the process of historical investigations. She taught her students how to discriminate, judge and analyze sources and to produce independent work. She believed that "if a child is sent to school to learn he may never learn how to learn." Salmon's courses also emphasized the continuity and unity of history insisting that "In weighing the merits of different fields of history as a subject of study the element of time in and of itself is the least important."¹⁹⁷

In 1890, Salmon wrote about the teaching of history in colleges and prep schools, following this with a similar article on the teaching of the subject in elementary schools

¹⁹⁵ Clara H. Bohan, "The Teaching Methods of Woodrow Wilson and Lucy Salmon," in Lynn M. Burlbaw and Sherry L. Field, *Explorations in Curriculum History Research*, a volume in O. L. Davis, Jr., ed. *Research in Curriculum and Instruction* (Greenwich, CT: IAP, Information Age Publishing, 2005): 128.

¹⁹⁶ Murry R. Nelson, "Lucy Maynard Salmon (1853-1927): Pioneering Views on Teaching History," *Social Studies* 87 (January/February, 1996).

¹⁹⁷ "Lucy Maynard Salmon," *Vassar Encyclopedia*, viewed on April 5, 2008 at http://vcencyclopedia.vassar.edu/index.php/Lucy_Maynard_Salmon In 1906. For more on Salmon see, Louise Fargo Brown, *Apostle of Democracy: The Life of Lucy Maynard Salmon*, (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers, 1943) and Chara Haeussler Bohan, Alan R. Sadovnik (editor), and Susan F. Semel (editor) *Go To The Source: Lucy Maynard Salmon and the Teaching of History* (New York, NY: Peter Lang Publishing, 2004).

during the following year.¹⁹⁸ In the latter, she argued that history should be taught to young children along with literature and geography. She stated that teachers should begin teaching history to the youngest students through biographies and then move to more sweeping narratives. She also wrote that even young children should be exposed to the sources that informed these narratives so that they would understand the basic nature of the subject. This was a practice that she extended into her own teaching. As the 1894-1895 catalog from Bryn Mawr explained about the purpose of the history classes, most of which were taught by Salmon:

The object of instruction is first to emphasize the difference between reading history and studying history; second, to acquaint each student to independent work with the best methods of historical study; third, to show in the study of different nations the development of the present from past conditions; fourth, to indicate the organic relation of history to other branches of knowledge.¹⁹⁹

Because of this philosophy of teaching, Salmon was removed from the head of the History Department at Vassar, and college authorities attempted to replace her with a professor whose teaching methods were more traditional. The college administration said that it had made this attempt to emphasize the fact side of history over the source work in the subject. Salmon responded strongly, and

¹⁹⁸ Lucy Maynard Salmon, "The Teaching of History in Academies and Colleges," *Academy* 5, pages 283-292; (this was also published in *Woman and Higher Education* (New York, NY: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1893); and "The Teaching of History in Elementary Schools," *Educational Review* Volume 1, pages 438-452.

¹⁹⁹ Bryn Mawr Catalog, 1894-95, quoted in Clara H. Bohan, "The Teaching Methods of Woodrow Wilson and Lucy Salmon," in Lynn M. Burlbaw and Sherry L. Field, *Explorations in Curriculum History Research*, a volume in O. L. Davis, Jr., ed. *Research in Curriculum and Instruction* (Greenwich, CT: IAP, Information Age Publishing, 2005): 126. In contrast to Salmon, Woodrow Wilson, on the other hand, was much more traditional in his teaching and relied upon meticulous lectures.

she was allowed to retain her position, but the emphasis and teaching methods of the department had greatly shifted. Salmon's teaching was later remembered by former students for the discussions she led around a "long table." The "long table" became her teaching "trademark" of sorts.

In the 1880s, Salmon had written about the need for uniform standards for college admissions, influencing the creation of College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB). In 1902, nearly fifteen years later and following her work with the Committee of Seven, she was asked to chair the committee to prepare the history examination for the College Entrance Examination Board. Salmon attempted to create an examination that would assess the history-mindedness that she so believed in, but the tests turned out to be little more than essay exams in which students packed in as many names and dates as possible. But even though they did not appear in the evaluation tools created by the CEEB, it is possible to see what kind of history exams Salmon truly believed in. From 1902 until her death in 1927, she made use of open-ended, "big-picture" questions that required students to provide evidence of knowledge of content but also of historical methodology. For example, she might ask six questions, among them, "How far is Captain John Smith entitled to credence?" And "How far did Jefferson draw upon facts in the writing of the Declaration of Independence?" Then, she would ask that her students choose one of these questions and write an essay *showing the process* that they would follow in attempting to answer it, noting whether they would seek materials in the library, material presumed to be in existence somewhere else, or material presumed to be lost. In another form of an exam, she would walk into the classroom with a bundle of newspapers, toss one on each desk, and ask that each student reconstruct as far as possible the life and interests of the

community where it was published *and* then describe how the paper fails to describe probable interests of the community and why it does so. In January 1914, for example, she asked students to evaluate the textbook they were using: "1. Give in bibliographical form the name of the textbook used. 2. State what principles can be applied to test the authoritativeness of any textbook. 3. Apply these tests to the textbook used. 4. Why is the study of the textbook the first step in the study of any period of history? 5. What classes of material are needed to supplement the textbook in the study of a. frontier life, b. the Stamp Act, c. the Philadelphia Convention?" In another exam, she asked students to discuss the Vassar College catalog as a historical document; in another, to locate what historical records could be found in the students' own back yards, or in the houses in which they lived.

Here is one of her exam questions that was repeated at Vassar by the editor of a collection of some of Salmon's essays:

1. Make out a set of ten questions that will illustrate the work of the semester. The questions should have a logical sequence and express one central idea they may be framed as single, or as group questions; it is not necessary to consider the length of time or the preparation required to answer them; the textbook may be consulted in preparing the questions. 2. Why is this an examination? 3. What proportion of the questions could you answer?²⁰⁰

As Salmon explained:

The department of history at Vassar College has always stood for a type of examination that is not a "corkscrew process of extracting information . . ." We have always believed that the examination paper should not be so much a test of what the student knows as a test of what he can do; that it should show the ability of the pupil or student to handle historical material, to solve simple historical problems, and to interpret historical

²⁰⁰ Nicholas Adams, "In Quest of the Perfect Exam," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 47 (Issue 21): B5.

situations; that it should test the pupil or student in regard to his mental independence, his intellectual curiosity, his powers of observation, his reconstructive imagination . . . ²⁰¹

These are the kind of exams that presume that facts can be found somewhere and need not be memorized. But they are also not the kind of exams that can be mechanically scored and easily measured. It is no wonder that the early College Board Entrance Exams, despite being graded by Salmon, quickly became tools of regurgitation. And, even at that, students routinely did poorly on them simply because the possible subjects for memorization were so voluminous, and the ability to remember details in most students is quite limited. Lucy Maynard Salmon soon became a critic of the very entrance exams she had helped to create.²⁰²

With this first standardized test behind it, the College Entrance Examination Board continued to ask for guidance for better exams and more specific subject areas for testing from the AHA on a regular basis for nearly twenty years, never getting any “definite” responses about the historical content all students should know before entering college. During this time, the failure rate on the history portion of the College Boards was significantly higher than any other subject test. Finally, in 1916, the College Board formed its own commission to study the question, and that committee eventually called for greater room for the study of other social sciences in the secondary school curriculum. The result of this recommendation will be described later. Despite the work of the

²⁰¹ Lucy Salmon to Adam Leroy Jones, 27 October 1922, Salmon Paper Box 59, folder 23, Vassar College Special Collections, quoted in Clara H. Bohan, “The Teaching Methods of Woodrow Wilson and Lucy Salmon,” in Lynn M. Burlbaw and Sherry L. Field, *Explorations in Curriculum History Research*, a volume in O. L. Davis, Jr., ed. *Research in Curriculum and Instruction* (Greenwich, CT: IAP, Information Age Publishing, 2005): 129.

²⁰² Murry R. Nelson, “Lucy Maynard Salmon (1853-1927): Pioneering Views on Teaching History,” *Social Studies* 87 (January/February, 1996).

College Board—or perhaps because of its work—concerns over how best to assess educational outcomes in history persisted, and history mindedness remained at its core, at least initially.

To assess “history mindedness,” one first needed to understand more definitely what that term entailed. In 1915, building upon the work of the AHA’s Committee of Seven and the later AHA Committee of Five (which reviewed the work of the Committee of Seven), the director of the University of Chicago’s Department of Education, psychologist Charles Hubbard Judd published *Psychology of High School Subjects*.²⁰³ In this work, the University of Leipzig-trained scientist delved deeper into the nature of “history- mindedness.” As has been shown, this ability or set of abilities, had been written about in one form or another by Barnes, Fling, Robinson, Salmon, and the Committee of Seven, among others. Judd delineated a set of intellectual capabilities, which, taken together, he believed comprised at least part of the historical enterprise. Thus, in his work, he ruminated on the nature of chronological thinking and the difficulties of causal judgment in history (which he deemed more difficult than its counterpart in the sciences), as well as the dangers of dramatic reenactments, and the motivational role of social history. Judd was especially concerned with “presentism,” which is defined as inflicting present values and beliefs upon previous epochs. Historians attempt to understand the past on its own terms while not being colored by the

²⁰³ Judd was born in India, the child of Methodist missionary parents, graduated from Wesleyan University in Connecticut in 1894, and studied at the University of Leipzig, completing his PhD in 1896 at the age of 23. Judd taught at New York University, the University of Cincinnati, and was named director of the Yale Psychological Laboratory in 1907 (being voted best lecturer by the students). Swept along by the progressive education movement, he went to the University of Chicago in 1909 to head that school’s Department of Education, a position he held until his retirement in 1938. A leading proponent of the scientific study of education of his day, his best-known work is the *Psychology of Social Institutions* (New York, NY: The MacMillan Company, 1926)

morals/worldview of the present day. Two years following the publication of Judd's *Psychology of High School Subjects*, J. Carleton Bell, Professor at the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers (later City College of New York) and managing editor of the *Journal of Educational Psychology*, also tackled “history-mindedness,” calling it “the Historic Sense.” Noting that history provided an opportunity for reflection and thinking (which he claimed was not a common occurrence in much of education), Bell observed that the same set of primary source documents could be provided to a group of students with some being able to provide a coherent explanation of what occurred while others could only present a muddle of facts. Notice that Bell associated his “Historic Sense” with analysis of primary sources. He wanted to know what thinking was at the root of this analytical skill, whether it was the result of differing native abilities or the result of training, and, if the latter, what the best method would be to foster these abilities further.²⁰⁴ As Sam Wineburg, a leader in the study of teaching and learning of history has noted, Bell identified what still interests educational psychologists in the field of history: “what is the nature of historical understanding and what determines success in tasks that have more than one right answer? What role might instruction have on improving a student’s ability to think?”²⁰⁵

²⁰⁴ J. Carlton Bell, “The Historic Sense,” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, (May 1917): 317-318; Sam Wineburg, “Crazy for History,” *Journal of American History* 90 (March 2004).

²⁰⁵ Sam Wineburg, “The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History” in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): Since 2002, Sam Wineburg has been a professor of Education and History (by courtesy) at Stanford University. Wineburg’s faculty Website: <http://ed.stanford.edu/suse/faculty/displayRecord.php?suid=wineburg>

In a companion piece to his article, Bell and his colleague David F. McCollum identified five components of the “Historic Sense”: 1) the ability to understand present events in light of the past, 2) the ability to sift through the documentary record and create a straightforward and probable account of what happened, 3) the ability to appreciate a historical narrative, 4) reflective and discriminating replies on thought questions on a given historical situation, and 5) the ability to answer factual questions about historical personalities and events.²⁰⁶ The last, they noted, was the most narrow “and in the estimation of some writers the least important type of historical ability” but it was “the one most readily tested.”²⁰⁷ Bell and McCollum went on to study this last component of the “historical sense” simply because it was the easiest to measure. It was also one of the few aspects of the historical sense that did not require some interaction with historical evidence. Based upon a list of names, dates and events from history that teachers had said every student should know, the two psychologists devised the first, non-College Board, large-scale test of factual knowledge in United States history and administered it to fifteen hundred students in Texas. The researchers gave their test to fifth through seventh graders, in high schools, and in colleges. The results were shabby, to say the least. The average score for those in the upper elementary grades was 16%, after a year of high school history 33%, and in college 49%. The authors concluded that the study of history led to only a “small, irregular increase” in test scores.

²⁰⁶ J. Carleton Bell and David F. McCollum, "A Study of the Attainments of Pupils in United States History," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 8 (May 1917): 57-74.

²⁰⁷ This is related in both Sam Wineburg's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001), as well as in his “Crazy for History,” *Journal of American History* 90 (March 2004).

Bell and McCollum's test for factual knowledge formed the foundation for a research agenda that fit quite nicely with the emphasis on educational assessment that had started in the mid 1910s and was accelerated by World War I. When the United States entered the "war to end all wars," military recruiters discovered that they lacked an efficient way to determine intellectual capacities of the troops that were being called up. Educational researchers stepped forward to offer their service, and a generation of scholars turned their energies toward the study of measuring student performance and intelligence, especially in regards to objectivity and efficiency. These efforts had their effect on history education. For example, in 1913, Daniel Starch and Edward C. Elliott of the University of Wisconsin, sent copies of answers to essay exams in history to 200 high schools in the Midwest and asked the lead history teacher to grade them based upon their school's standards. What the two researchers discovered was not too surprising. The grades awarded by these teachers varied enormously and corresponded to the variation found in earlier research into the objectivity of assessment (or lack thereof) in English and Math essay exams. Starch and Elliott stated unequivocally, "The immense variability of marks tends obviously to cast considerable discredit upon the fairness and accuracy of our present methods of evaluating the quality of work in school."²⁰⁸ It also, presumably, pointed to the further difficulties of examining students for college entrance. In 1914, J. Madison Gathany, head of the history department at the Hope Street High School in Providence, Rhode Island, reported that he had been giving his students essay questions that might appear on his exams days, if not weeks, in advance, and that this seemed to be more fair, and less of a waste of students' time. He noted that this practice furnished a

²⁰⁸ Daniel Starch and Edward C. Elliott, "Reliability of Grading Work in History," *The School Review* (December 1913): 680.

real incentive to work, and obviated the necessity for traditional review recitations before testing. He stated that most of his test questions required the use of materials outside of texts, and that this led students to use their textbooks as reference sources and not the only source for their historical knowledge.²⁰⁹ (It also meant, essentially, that students could wait upon the test questions, do quick "research" to answer them, memorize these answers, and regurgitate on test day—but perhaps, the real learning took place in preparing those answer in the first place—the research outside of the textbooks.)

In 1917, Bell's colleague at Brooklyn Training School, Garry C. Myers, looked more closely at the wrong answers being given by students on these types of history exams and found that they were often the result of statements of fact wrongly connected, not a total lack of knowledge about the subject. He demonstrated this by asking 107 college women to name one fact about fifty individuals from history. These young women, many of whom would become teachers, often confused figures whose names sounded familiar and, while they recognized some aspects of a person's story (such as being in the military), they often did not place the historical figure in the right time period (connecting them to the wrong war). Although, his research had the potential for providing greater understanding of other aspects of the "historic sense," Myers used his findings to emphasize the memorization components of history education. He came away from his study believing that teachers should take great care with their recitations and that students could be aided in the memory work of history, if they kept facts in proper relation. They could do this, Myers believed, by developing memory "hitching

²⁰⁹ J. Madison Gathany, "The Giving of History Examinations," *Education* 34 (April 1914): 514-521.

posts,” a manner of mentally organizing information.²¹⁰ In other words, his study of the failures of history tests led to recommendations for more efficient memory training.

In 1919, Oak Park High School’s Earle Underwood Rugg criticized standardized tests in history, especially those that assessed memorization of historical facts. In their place, he proposed a form of multiple choice examination in which students were asked to choose from a list of potential causes for some historical event or series of events. He argued that this type of test would assess analytical thought more closely than simple fact-recall questions.²¹¹

In the same year L.W. Sackett of the University of Texas revisited Bell and McCollum’s American history tests and, using their data, proposed his own scale that attempted to eliminate the subjective factor in history grading. He had earlier provided a similar scale for a standardized test in Ancient History.²¹² Sackett’s work was laudable in its statistics, but questionable in its attempt to bring objectivity to the assessment of historical learning. In 1920, C.L. Harlan, too, tried to understand how to measure historical knowledge, noting, “The field of history with its many principles, facts, and details, is almost unlimited in extent. It is difficult to determine what the minimum essentials are. No teacher expects her pupils to assimilate and retain all the details of any

²¹⁰ Garry C. Myers, “Delayed Recall in History,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* VIII (May 1917).

²¹¹ Earle Underwood Rugg, “Character and Value of Standardized Tests in History,” *The School Review* 27 (December 1919): 757-771. Rugg, like his brother Harold Rugg, was an educational reformer identified with the Progressive Education Movement. He identified 11 standardized tests in history.

²¹² L. W. Sackett, “A Scale in United States History,” *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 10 (1919): 345-348. Sackett was a professor at the University of Texas at Austin.

history lesson. Yet there is little agreement as to what facts and principles a pupil should permanently acquire. There are some even who would claim that they do not teach history at all for the facts and principles which it contains but rather for the ideals and points of view which it may engender.” Harlan rejected this idea and stated his belief that every subject had some basic set of information at its core: “Successful achievement in any subject implies at least the acquisition, by the pupil, of essential knowledge in that subject. There may be many other outcomes from the study of history such as ideals, perspectives, points of view, and appreciations, but in the last analysis they are all dependent upon the essential facts and body of information presented to the pupil.” Still, he noted that exercises which tested memory alone were not sufficient, and he went on to describe the elements of good standardized history tests. In addition to tests of memory, he felt that there should be tests of association, organization, generalization, inference, judgment, and comprehension of terms—but he was rather vague in how to go about building such an assessment animal.²¹³ A. S. Barr of the Detroit Public Schools was a bit more specific. He developed a standardized test for history, which had two forms and C. W. Odell of the University of Illinois studied the “Barr Test” to ascertain whether the two forms were equivalent in their testing ability; each version of the Barr Test had five subcomponents (comprehension of historical material, chronology, relative value of historical evidence, relative importance of events, and relation of cause and result).²¹⁴

²¹³ C.L. Harlan, “Educational Measurement in the Field of History,” *Journal of Educational Research*, 2 (1920): 849-853.

²¹⁴ These elements foreshadow Seixas’ delineation of “history thinking.” Barr’s “comprehension of historical material” and “relative value of historical evidence” is closely equivalent to Seixas’ epistemology and evidence; while his “relative importance of events” is quite similar to Seixas’ “significance.” Barr’s “chronology” comes close to Seixas’ “continuity and change,” and his

Showing the influence of the times, one of the main areas of interest for Odell was the efficiency of Barr's tests, in other words, how long it would take for a teacher to mark the papers. He concluded that "tests which are intended to cover more than the informational side of history can probably never be made as easy to give and score as tests upon the operations of arithmetic or in spelling for instance."²¹⁵ (Tell that to Lucy Maynard Salmon who struggled over her Vassar essay exams every semester.) Odell never addressed how well the test actually measured student historical knowledge, or if it assessed the core knowledge which he maintained every history student should know. In 1923, D. H. Eikenberry was among the first to continue large-scale fact testing in history, replicating Bell and McCollum's original research. He got the same results. As his and subsequent tests have shown, few students retain the "who," "what," "when," and "where's" of history, if they ever learned them in the first place.²¹⁶

"relation of cause and result" is Seixas' "historical agency." Barr does not identify any element similar to Seixas' "empathy and moral judgment" or "progress and decline."

²¹⁵ C.W. Odell, "The Barr Diagnostic Tests in American History," *School and Society*, 16 (1922): 503.

²¹⁶ Dan Harrison Eikenberry, "Permanence of High School Learning," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 14 (1923): 463-481. Another example of the concern for the creation of good, standardized objective tests in history may be found in Howard R. Anderson and Everett F. Lindquist, "The Improvement of Objective Testing in History," *Classroom and Administrative Problems in the Teaching of the Social Sciences, Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (Philadelphia, PA: McKinley Publishing Co, 1932): 97-117 and Roy Arthur Price, "A Study of the Validity of Three Types of Objective Tests in the Teaching of History," *Classroom and Administrative Problems in the Teaching of the Social Sciences, Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (Philadelphia, PA: McKinley Publishing Co, 1932): 118-131. For more on the historical content knowledge of American teenagers, see Dale Whittington, "What Have 17-Year-Olds Known in the Past," *American Educational Research Journal*, 28 (1991): 759-80. There seems to have never been a time in American history when young students of the nation's story(ies) knew that particular tale's proper nouns and action verbs, much less have been able to speak about the character motivation and development that drove the plot(s).

Concern with the best way to teach the facts of history even led some researchers to openly question the efficacy of that time-worn history classroom staple, the essay. Fred R. Gorman and Dewitt S. Morgan set up an experiment using three classes, all taught by the same teacher. One class was given no written work, another was given a single “unit” of written work, and a third class was given two units of essay writing. The researchers found that those who had been given the least amount of written work actually had the best retention of historical facts.²¹⁷ As Sam Wineburg has pointed out, the researchers’ assignments were designed to evoke far from thoughtful responses, leaving him to wonder “where the confusion truly lay: with muddled teachers or with zealous researchers hell-bent on demonstrating the ineffectiveness of written assignments.”²¹⁸ It could also be that essay assignments simply took time away from memorizing facts that would be quickly forgotten after the exams. Concern with fact memorization was given even greater emphasis by the president of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) and the then editor of the *Journal of Educational Research*, University of Illinois professor, B. R. Buckingham, in 1920. Professor Buckingham rejected the idea that fact memorization missed the most important aspects of historical knowledge. To prove his point, he performed research and found a correlation between higher order thought and knowledge of facts.²¹⁹ He administered the “Van Wagenen Test

²¹⁷ Fred R. Gorman and DeWitt S. Morgan, “A Study of the Effect of Definite Written Exercises Upon Learning in a Course of American History,” *Indiana School of Education Bulletin* 6 (1930): 80-90.

²¹⁸ Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 36.

²¹⁹ B.R. Buckingham, “A Proposed Index in Efficacy of Teaching United States History,” *Journal of Educational Research* (, 1920).

of Historical Information and Judgment” to elementary and high school students. Based upon this research, Buckingham stated his belief that what usually is thought of as higher order thinking skills might actually be something as simple as greater abilities in fact memorization. He proposed that schools actually aid the development of higher order thinking skills when they teach and assess abilities in fact memorization. His conclusion did not sit well with all educators, and F.S. Camp, superintendent of schools in Stamford, Connecticut, stated his belief that it was possible to write history questions that forced students to know the facts but also use higher order thinking—and he was quite certain that the two were not the same thing.

In 1931, Robert Weaver and Arthur E. Traxler of the University of Chicago’s Laboratory Schools, noted that during recent years, the use of “objective tests” in the social sciences had become widespread, but that there were still critics of these tests who felt that they only assessed memory and recall at the expense of understanding and comprehension. “If this criticism is true, objective tests cannot be justified in United States history for, obviously, the main objectives of instruction in this subject are understanding and comprehension rather than memory and recall.”²²⁰ The two developed an essay test and an “objective test” (fill in the blank, short answer, etc.) on the same time period and subject of history. They found that “when an essay test and an objective test are carefully made and when the scoring of the essay examination is kept objective as possible, these tests have about equal merit in measuring understanding of pupils in United States history.” They also found that the objective tests took a whole lot less of the teacher’s time to create and grade, concluding that “the evidence indicates that

²²⁰ Robert B. Weaver and Arthur E. Traxler, “Essay Examinations and Objective Tests in United States History in the Junior High School,” *School Review* 39 (1931): 689.

objective tests have a legitimate place in the testing program in United States history in the seventh grade.”²²¹ Weaver and Traxler’s “objective test” was found to be equal to the essay test, of course, because they were assessing the same thing—retention of facts, dates, and figures—as well as the causal relationships all dictated by the teacher and memorized by the student. The difference between the two tests were simply in the way the students reported to the teacher what they had memorized, not in the way they demonstrated the deeper historical understanding and comprehension that the researchers had alluded to in their work.

The issue of how best to measure historical knowledge was so important to the field that in 1934, the American Historical Association’s Commission on the Social Studies, which had been created to study what should be taught under the “Social Studies” umbrella (and which will be dealt with in more detail later in this study), published a book-length report on the topic.²²² The text did address “historical-mindedness,” and defined it as “the habit of judging events and practices in light of the times in which they occurred.”²²³ This ability, the writers maintained, was a matter of acknowledging cultural patterns and, as such, they believed, historical mindedness only differed from sociology or cultural anthropology in the “time element.” But analyzing patterns of culture, with or without the time element, proved to be a difficult task even for

²²¹ Robert B. Weaver and Arthur E. Traxler, “Essay Examinations and Objective Tests in United States History in the Junior High School,” *School Review* 39 (1931): 695.

²²² Truman L. Kelley and August C. Krey, *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences, Part IV: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1934). The tests described by the book were given trial runs in North Carolina schools.

²²³ Truman L. Kelley and August C. Krey, *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences, Part IV: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies of the American Historical Association* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1934): 53.

the university professor writers, and figuring out a way of assessing a student's ability to work with those patterns was even more difficult for them. Nearly as difficult was the testing of "skills," which the report divided into three parts: 1) those related to the acquisition of information, 2) those related to the evaluation of information, and 3) those related to the expression of social learning. For all of its discussion of the efficacy of multiple choice tests, "New Type Tests," (short answers) and heavy statistical analysis, the report failed to provide convincing arguments for the ability of standardized, short answer tests to measure higher-level thinking skills in history. There was enough doubt among researchers and thinkers on the subject that the report carried an appendix, which attempted to answer the frequently voiced concerns of the assessment "nay-sayers."

The Testing and Measurement report of the Commission on the Social Studies and similar research that led up to it rarely measured the "history-mindedness" that Barnes and Fling and even the Committee of Seven and Bell had described. In effect, the concern with objectivity and standardization in assessment, the search for "definiteness," as the College Board had called it, did just as the members of the Committee of Seven feared. It led writers and thinkers on history education to turn their attention more toward fact memorization and away from the other elements of the historic sense, the analytical and critical abilities that could best be taught by an interaction with primary sources that had been identified by Barnes, Fling, and Bell and assessed through portfolios of student analytical and creative work that had been created based upon that interaction, a method which had been proposed by the Committee of Seven.

Rise of Social Studies: Less Time for History?

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, John Dewey (who later would be James Harvey Robinson's colleague at the New School for Social Research) and other advocates of what would become known as "progressive education," attempted to affect history teaching methodology as a part of their more extensive educational reforms. Beginning before World War I and running up through World War II, the progressive education "movement" was an amorphous set of interrelated and sometimes conflicting approaches to teaching and learning, all of which tended to reveal some aspect of Dewey's belief that learning is a personal "incursion into the novel."²²⁴ Progressive educators promoted a wide variety of often experimental, "proto-constructivist" reforms, which went by names such as the Dalton, Winnetka, and Gary Plans, and the project, unitary, contract, and laboratory methods.²²⁵ Despite their variety, most of these forms of "new teaching" shared an emphasis on active learning (student learning by doing), valued critical and analytical thought over memorization, and gave special attention to individual student needs and abilities. In short, progressive educators sought to create schools that

²²⁴ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1916): 1558. As has been noted by Ken Osborne, Dewey is now thought of as the leader of the Progressive Education movement, but at the time the promoters of this form of pedagogy looked "not so much to Dewey, as back to Herbart, Froebel, Pestalozzi, and other such historical figures, and its most influential exponents were the now largely forgotten school superintendents, school administrators, and professors of education in universities and normal schools, who actually converted it from abstract philosophy to concrete teaching strategies and learning resources, such as Willard Wirt at Gary, Indiana; Carleton Washburne at Winnetka, Illinois; Jesse Newlon at Denver; Frederick J. Gould in England; F.W. Sanderson at Oundle, an English public school; Sir John Adams at the University of London; M. W. Keatinge at Oxford; Célestin Freinet in France; Henry Johnson at Columbia; and many others." Ken Osborne, "'New Teaching' or 'Idealistic Twaddle?' A 1920s Model of History Teaching," *Canadian Social Studies*, 35 (Spring 2001) viewed on May 2, 2008 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_35_3/index35_3.htm#Columns.

²²⁵ W.H. Kilpatrick of Teachers College, Columbia University, was the chief promoter of the most influential of these, the project method of teaching. See W.H. Kilpatrick, *Foundations of Method: Informal Talks on Teaching*, (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1925).

would serve democratic society by creating a “critical, socially engaged intelligence” and “a respect for diversity.”²²⁶ While it is not known how widespread the use of primary sources was in history teaching in the few but influential progressive schools, these institutions’ overall philosophy closely complemented the reasons and goals of those who had earlier promoted the Source and Nebraska methods of history instruction. For example, the history room of the progressive (Gary Plan) Emerson School in Gary, Indiana in 1916 was described by a visitor as being

almost smothered in maps and charts, most of them made by the children themselves, in their effort to ‘learn by doing,’ and to contribute their part to the school community. A huge Indiana ballot, a chart of the State Senate, a diagram of the State administration, a table showing the evolution of American political parties, with many war maps and pictures, covered the walls. The place is a workshop rather than a classroom, with broad tables for map-drawing, and a fine spread of papers and magazines. The ninth-grade Gary children are, in fact, conducting what some progressive colleges have introduced as ‘laboratory work in history.’²²⁷

²²⁶ John Dewey Project on Progressive Education, “A Brief Overview of Progressive Education, viewed on May 22, 2006 at <http://www.uvm.edu/~dewey/articles/proged.html>. For more on Progressive Education, See Robert B. Westbrook, *John Dewey and American Democracy* (Cornell Univ. Press, 1991); Ronald W. Evans notes that there were four or five different strands of progressive education, including the Rousseauists (fully child-centered), Social Reconstructivists (who sought to remake the social order through education), the social efficiency or life adjustment strand, the administrative or bureaucratic strand, and the centrist, mainstream progressive movement. Ronald W. Evans *The Social Studies War: What Shall We Teach the Children?* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004): 38. Two works by John Dewey strongly influenced the progressive education movement: *The School and Society* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1899) and *Democracy and Education* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1916).

²²⁷ Randolph Silliman Bourne, *The Gary Schools*, (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1916): 117, quoted in Ken Osborne, “Voices from the Past: ‘New Teaching’ or ‘Idealistic Twaddle’? A 1920s Model of History Teaching,” *Canadian Social Studies*, 35 (Spring 2001), viewed on May 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_35_3/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm Bourne’s work may be viewed at WWW.books.google.com

With such a philosophy of education, it would seem that the use of primary sources to teach history would have blossomed in these institutions, and like many progressive education ideas, a form of “Source Method” would have gone on to have an influence in wider educational circles. That did not happen, and at least one reason was another progressive education idea: the social studies.²²⁸

Before World War I, emerging social sciences such as sociology, economics, and political science rarely appeared in the secondary school curriculum. When they did, they were often included as portions of history classes, particularly in American history, and especially in parts of those American history courses that emphasized what would become known as “civics.” This was an area of study that grew at this time—at least in part—because of the increasing number of immigrants to the United States who needed to be trained in the ways of participatory democracy; the nation’s leaders and educators

²²⁸ A much more thorough account of the rise of Social Studies in the schools is provided by Hazel Whitman Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform, 1880-1980* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1981), David Jenness, *Making Sense of Social Studies* (New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1990), D.W. Saxe, *Social Studies in Schools: A History of the Early Years* (Albany, NY: University of New York Press, 1991), Ronald Evans, *The Social Studies Wars: What Shall We Teach Our Children*, (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004), and Larry Cuban, “History of Teaching in Social Studies,” in J. Shaver, ed., *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning* (New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing, 1991): 197-209. Early but useful histories of social sciences in the schools may be found in Henry Johnson, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in the Schools* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1932) and Rollo M. Tryon, *The Social Sciences as School Subjects* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1935). The two latter sources were published as part of the work of the American Historical Association’s Commission on the Social Studies, which will be briefly discussed later in this section of the paper. The history of Social Studies is a fractious realm, and scholars have been heated in their interpretation and assessment of its rise. One of the most vocal critics of Social Studies has been Diane Ravitch, former Assistant Secretary of Education under Lamar Alexander in the Administration of George H.W. Bush. She is a professor at New York University and a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and Brookings Institution. For a taste of a recent debate surrounding Social Studies, see *Where Did Social Studies Go Wrong*, published by the Thomas B. Fordham Institute and viewed on May 15, 2006 at <http://www.edexcellence.net/institute/publication/publication.cfm?id=317&pubsubid=891> Ronald W. Evans has critiqued Diane Ravitch’s views in “Diane Ravitch and the Revival of History: A Critique,” *Social Studies* 80 (May-June 1989): 85-88.

felt that their new neighbors needed to be Americanized.²²⁹ Indeed, the Committee of Seven had addressed the role of these allied subjects in its report, stating that they should be *a part of* the study of history on the secondary school level.²³⁰ As these social sciences developed, however, their professional practitioners began to question their disciplines' relationship to history, and many began to reject historical methodology.²³¹ (These disciplines were just at the beginning of their formal organization at the time. The American Economic Association began in 1885, a year following the AHA; the American Political Science Association began in 1903; The Association of American Geographers, 1904, and the American Sociological Society, 1905.) As some researchers have pointed out, the new fields often defined themselves by "drawing attention to what they argued were the shortcomings of historical thinking. Historians, they said, were given to literary narrative and romance, while social scientists were devoted to factual analysis and reality. The latter was empirical science, the former a kind of sentimental humanism."²³² Many of these social scientists felt that while their disciplines addressed social problems, history "reflected a flawed evolutionary faith that counted on social ills'

²²⁹ Linda W. Rosenzweig, "Perspectives on History Education in England," *The History Teacher* 17, (February 1984): 175. Following World War I, there was a great concern for the training of students in "full-blooded Americanism." A leader in this movement was a professor of Education at the University of Michigan, C.O. Davis. For an example of his work, see C.O. Davis, "Training for Citizenship in the North Central Association of Secondary Schools," *Yearbook of the National Association of Secondary School Principals* (1920): 45-64.

²³⁰ Robert Orrill and Linn Shaprio, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education," *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

²³¹ Dorothy Ross, *The Origins of American Social Science* (Cambridge, 1991): 386-389.

²³² Robert Orrill and Linn Shaprio, "From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education," *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

giving way to the slow drift of historical progress.”²³³ Put simply, in the social scientists’ view, history tended to downplay present-day societal problems, and many of them felt that it was exactly these problems that the schools should address.

Many progressive historians agreed with their social science colleagues. Indeed, some of the leading historians in the nation had long promoted the idea of teaching a more “useful” history—a history that would provide greater insight into contemporary problems. A substantial shift toward this view came in 1908, when the AHA held a “Conference on History” to revisit the Committee of Seven’s work. Conferees discussed what some believed to be the report’s overemphasis on Ancient history, the relatively small amount of time spent on modern history, the place of civics in the curriculum and what type of history should be taught to the vast majority of students not proceeding on to college. As a result of these discussions, at least one of the nation’s most influential historians, James Harvey Robinson, rethought his position on traditional history teaching, and became convinced that history in secondary schools should address current social problems—become more useful.²³⁴ As has been noted, “useful history” was a theme in history education that had been endorsed by many of the subject’s reformers, most of whom had also promoted greater incorporation of primary sources as a way of building students’ analytical skills. This “useful” theme, however, was carried to even greater

²³³ Robert Orrill and Linn Shaprio, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

²³⁴ Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies War: What Should We Teach the Children?* (New York, NY: Teachers College press, Columbia University, 2004): 15. Evans here cites Robinson’s famous, *The New History: Essays Illustrating the Modern Historical Outlook* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1912).

lengths by progressive educational reformers such as David Snedden, professor of Education at Stanford University and later at Teachers College, Columbia University and Thomas Jesse Jones, professor at the Hampton Institute and later director of the Phelps Stokes Fund.

David Snedden was born in 1868 on a cattle farm in Kern County, California. He lived the life of a farm boy, being educated at home by his mother, and did not venture into a formal classroom until he was fourteen years old. This “practical” life and home schooling doubtlessly had an impact on his later pedagogical beliefs. Snedden entered a six-year classical course of study at St. Vincent’s College in Los Angeles and worked as prodigiously at his books as he had on the farm, graduating in three years with a Master’s degree. While at St. Vincent’s, Snedden discovered Herbert Spencer and devoured all of his works, excited by Social Darwinism. Snedden went on to Stanford where his advisor was Earl Barnes, the husband of Mary Sheldon Barnes who had studied under John Dewey at Columbia. Snedden was also greatly influenced by Stanford’s Professor Edward A. Ross, head of that school’s Political Economics Department. It was Ross who steered Snedden toward exploring in greater depth Spencer’s “What Knowledge is of Most Worth?”²³⁵ (In “What Knowledge is of Most Worth?,” Spencer argued that five

²³⁵ It was Professor Edward Ross that Mrs. Leland Stanford had forcibly retired from the Stanford faculty, which would lead to the resignation of other professors including George Howard who returned to the University of Nebraska as has already been discussed. Herbert Spencer declined an offer to attend Cambridge University and was largely self-taught through his own extensive reading. Spencer was an extreme individualist, believing in the power of the individual. He did not support public education. Because he believed in competition, he thought that there should be competitive private academies with the best students going to the best academies. He opposed rote memorization and felt that children should learn through exploring under the guidance of a teacher. Schools should teach so that children would be successful in living; science should be emphasized, literature and history downplayed. Andreas M. Kazamias, *Herbert Spencer on*

activities should be promoted by the schools: 1) self preservation, 2) Performance of occupations, 3) child-rearing, 4) social and political participation, and 5) recreation and leisure.) It was also Ross who coined the phrase and developed the major ideas behind “social efficiency,” which Snedden would spend most of his career in promoting through papers and speeches.²³⁶ Snedden graduated from Stanford with an M.A. in 1897 and went on to take his M.A. at Teacher’s College Columbia in 1901, studying under one of the country’s foremost Social Workers, Edward T. Divine. At Columbia, he wrote “The Juvenile Reform School,” as his thesis. He spent many years as a teacher, principal and superintendent in California schools, taught at Stanford (1901-1905) and at Teacher’s College, Columbia University (1905-1909).

Snedden was the most articulate advocate for Ross’ “social efficiency” in education, an approach to the schools which sought to downplay education along disciplinary tracks and to reconstruct the curriculum, training students to meet the needs of a modern, industrial society, particularly through studies of social issues and vocational training.²³⁷ It was the belief of social efficiency advocates that each individual

Education (New York, NY: Teacher’s College Press, 1966). Herbert Spencer, “What Knowledge is of Most Worth?” *Westminster Review* (1859).

²³⁶ Ross’ ideas regarding social efficiency and social control are best illustrated by his *The Old World in the New*, which describes how southern European cultures are inferior to northern European cultures. Edward Alsworth Ross, *The Old World in the New: Significance of Past and Present Immigration to the American People* (New York, NY: The Century Company, 1914) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com For more on Ross, see Edward Alsworth Ross, *Seventy Years of It: An Autobiography of Edward Alsworth Ross* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936); Julius Wineburg, *Edward Alsworth Ross and the Sociology of Progressivism* (Madison, WI: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1972); and Sean H. McMahon, *Social Control and Public Intellect: The Legacy of Edward A. Ross* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1999).

²³⁷ Walter H. Drost, *David Snedden and Education for Social Efficiency* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967).

should find his or her own proper role to play in the rapidly developing, highly specialized, industrialized world that was developing. If each person found their appropriate niche, they would be happier and society would run smoother. No institution was better placed to help each individual determine their appropriate place than the schools. Snedden believed that there should be separate schools for those who would be producers (vocational education) and those who would be consumers (liberal education), and he took juvenile reform schools as his educational model, viewing all schools as similar instruments of social control. He believed that schools should make students “fit to carry on the group life.” As has been pointed out by numerous critics, while undoubtedly well-meaning, this patriarchal world view and educational system inevitably placed ethnic minorities among the producers and the children of the privileged back among the privileged, “tracked” into educational pathways marked “consumers.” Social efficiency was a form of social control which sought to meld the immigrant masses and former slaves into accepting their place with the promise of a, slow evolutionary, cultural “rise.” Snedden saw little value in the study of history toward that end, especially a history that asked students to survey evidence, be critical, analyze, and develop their own view, and practice making a case for that view.²³⁸ Thus, Snedden and like-minded reformers sought to replace history with a subject that emphasized social issues of the day while examining those issues’ historical roots. Cornell historian, George

²³⁸ Snedden’s view on history in the curriculum can be found in “Teaching of History in Secondary Schools,” *The History Teachers Magazine* 9 (November 1914): 277-82; quote 280; “History and Other Social Sciences in the Education of Youths Twelve to Eighteen Years of Age,” *School and Society* 115 (March 10, 1917): 271-313 both cited by Robert Orrill and Linn Shaprio, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

Burr, hearing Snedden speak on history education, reported, “this is much like history with the history left out.”²³⁹

Snedden’s history-less version of history got a serious boost in 1918 by a report, known as the *Cardinal Principles*, prepared by the National Education Association’s Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (CSRE). According to the *Principles*, the high school’s mission was no longer the development of “intellectual power” in the student but the shaping of that student to fit the needs of democratic life “through activities designed for the well-being of his fellow members and society as a whole.”²⁴⁰ This contradicted the philosophy behind earlier national curriculum design efforts, particularly the work of the Committee of Ten and Committee of Seven, both of which had found versions of “History-mindedness” to be a central intellectual power, one of many which the schools sought to develop. The seven cardinal principles of education according to the CSRE were health, command of fundamental processes (reading, writing, arithmetic), worthy home-membership, vocation, citizenship, worthy use of leisure, and ethical character. These *Principles* were heavily influenced by the writings of John Dewey who felt that instruction in the schools was flawed because it focused on the subject matter first, followed later by an attention to student needs and interests.

²³⁹ George L. Burr, “What History Shall We Teach,” *The History Teachers Magazine* 9 (November 1914): 286 quoted in Robert Orrill and Linn Shaprio, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html>

²⁴⁰ Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, *Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education* (Washington, DC, 1918): 8, 9, 10-11, viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. For Dewey’s influence on the report see, Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies War: What Shall We Teach the Children* (New York, NY: Teacher’s College Press, 2004): 23.

To inform its work, the CSRE had created a “Committee on Social Sciences in the Secondary Schools” in 1915. The committee was headed by the U.S. Bureau of Education’s Thomas Jesse Jones. Jones was born in Wales in 1873, and at the age of 11, he immigrated to the United States. He grew up in a small Ohio town, graduated from Marietta College, took a bachelor’s degree in Theology from Union Theological Seminary in New York City in 1899 and received both a Master’s and PhD in Sociology from Columbia University where Franklin H. Giddings, who remained a lifelong mentor and influenced Jones throughout his life, was the latter’s advisor. (Giddings taught Sociology at Columbia from 1894 until his death in 1931. A brilliant teacher, he is best known for his “consciousness of kind” theory, which holds that each person has an in-born sense of belonging to particular social groups.) For his dissertation research, Thomas Jesse Jones intensely studied one New York City block of lower class tenement dwellers. He shared the mainstream views on race and ethnicity found in the American academy of his day and believed that Northern European culture was the highest form of civilization, and other ethnicities and races were in various stages of cultural evolution, rising at different rates to, perhaps, someday come to equal the northern Europeans in intellectual abilities, morals, and ways of life. With this understanding of the world, Jones devoted his life to help other races and ethnicities, particularly African Americans, reach what he believed to be their full potential as a people.²⁴¹

²⁴¹ For a thorough discussion of the two schools of thought regarding social evolution and education, particularly as it applied to the education of African Americans and was displayed in the life of two the chief advocates of those schools of thought, see Donald Johnson, “W.E.B. Dubois, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930,” *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 2000): 71-96.

In 1902, Jones became an associate chaplain and instructor of Economics at Hampton Institute in Virginia, which was largely a technical school at the time, devoted to providing vocational training to former slaves, helping to pull them from their economic misery. Jones soon became the chaplain of the institute and head of his department. There, drawing upon his social evolution beliefs, he abandoned the former history curriculum, which he believed to hold little relevance for his students, and which—if taught correctly—would be too mentally demanding for most of them. Jones knew that most of his students had not benefitted from a thorough educational preparation before attending Hampton, and they were, in his belief, largely not yet prepared as a people for the more advanced intellectual pursuits, among them the proper study of the past. He replaced history at Hampton with a subject of his own design, which he felt would more directly meet the needs of his students. As a result, he developed the first “social studies” course in order to socialize his students in “the essentials of a good home, the duties and responsibilities of citizenship, the meaning of education, and the meaning of labor.”²⁴² The goals of the course were to train for the common good, social-civic responsibility, and preparation for life. This form of social studies asked students to seek to answer questions such as “Who is my neighbor?” and “How can I make a living.”²⁴³ Hampton’s emphasis was not on instilling academic abilities, but the right

²⁴² Thomas Jesse Jones, *Social Studies in the Hampton Curriculum* (Hampton, VA: Hampton Institute Press, 1908): 5 quoted in Donald Johnson, “W.E.B. Dubois, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930,” *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 2000): 71-96.

²⁴³ Donald Johnson, “W.E.B. Dubois, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930,” *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 2000): 87. This is also reflected in Thomas Jesse Jones, *Negro Education: A Study of The Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the United States* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1917) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com

social attitudes. As countless subsequent critics have pointed out, such a course of study sought to instill “Anglo Saxon,” protestant, middle-class values, first on African Americans, then urban immigrant children, and finally the entire nation’s student body. Some critics have also suggested that social studies in this frame was infused with the belief that students should accept their station in life since it was a result of evolutionary forces beyond their control while working toward bettering their grandchildren’s future by adopting the “higher” values of another’s culture.

Joining Jones on the Social Sciences Committee was James Harvey Robinson. Robinson embraced social efficiency and its philosophical foundations, as well. As he wrote, “. . . given a group of boys and girls whose economic and social position is preordained to the ranks of the great majority of men and women who ‘do common things,’ the history instruction should be organized, not on the traditional basis of chronology and politics, but on that of their own immediate interests.”²⁴⁴ Under Jones’ influence, the committee’s name was soon changed from “social sciences” to “social studies,” and the final report of the committee could have been mistaken for a description of the curriculum at Hampton Institute, right down to the recommended text books. The Committee on Social Studies promoted community civics, called for less teaching of ancient history, and stressed that the main reason for teaching social studies was for “social efficiency.”²⁴⁵ In *The Cardinal Principles*, the CSRE endorsed its Committee on

²⁴⁴ quoted in Donald Johnson, “W.E.B. Dubois, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930,” *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 2000): 71-96.

²⁴⁵ Thomas Jesse Jones had taught Social Studies at Hampton Institute before working with the federal government. He would later become the director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. Donald Johnson, “W.E.B. Dubois, Thomas Jesse Jones, and the Struggle for Social Education, 1900-1930,” *Journal of Negro History* 65 (Summer 2000): 71-96.

Social Studies' recommendation that history be incorporated into a synthesis of social science disciplines with coursework focusing on current issues and social problems interspersed with a hefty dose of modern history. The committee also proposed that history be studied for two years instead of the four years which was standard at the time for most high school curricula.²⁴⁶ (Some school systems had already been moving in this direction. The state of New Jersey first broke history's four-year block created by Committee of Seven in 1916 by reducing the study of history to three years, and as early as 1901, one writer noted that more and more schools were adding social science subjects to their curricula by the year.²⁴⁷) Students would study civics in the ninth grade and "problems of democracy" in the twelfth; they would study European history in the tenth grade and American history in the eleventh—but even this history was not taught for its own sake and on traditional topics, but on issues of more "immediate interest" and more easily understood by the great mass of students. After all, this four-course sequence would be taught in comprehensive high schools where students would be tracked into vocational and college-bound groups, but where they would also come together in a handful of classes, the social studies and history sequence being one. Since this was the case, teachers knew that the coursework needed to be adjusted so all would benefit.

Another blow to history as a separate subject came three years later when a group of faculty from Teachers College, Columbia University formed the National Council for the

²⁴⁶NEA Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education's Social Studies Committee's report: *The Social Studies in Secondary Education. Report of the Committee on Social Studies of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education of the National Education Association*. United States Bureau of Education, Bulletin no. 28, 1916 (Washington, DC: United States Bureau of Education, 1916).

²⁴⁷ Rolla M. Tryon, "One Hundred Years of History in the Secondary Schools of the United States," *The School Review* 42 (February 1934): 100; E.H. Hill, "The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Secondary School," *Education* 21 (1901): 497-502.

Social Studies, to provide an organization for those interested in “training for citizenship.” History teachers were beginning to lose their identity, becoming something new, social studies teachers.

Around the time of the publication of the *Cardinal Principals*, economists, political scientists, and sociologists began to be even more vocal about the amount of time devoted to history in the schools, and their national organizations began to call for more attention to be given to their subject areas. Beginning in 1916 (and almost in concert), the American Political Science Association, the American Economic Association, and the American Sociological Society all published reports criticizing the leading role played by history in education.²⁴⁸ In response to the reports of these social scientists and the CSRE, the American Historical Association passed a resolution in 1923 to constructively promote history as a study separate from social studies; the same resolution also stated the Association’s support of social studies as a new field of secondary school study. It appears that a majority of the AHA hoped that both history and social studies would be taught—and both be taught separately. But at least one scholar, Henry Johnson of Teacher’s College, Columbia University, author of one of the most influential history teaching methodology texts, was vociferous in his opposition to social

²⁴⁸ American Economic Association, “Report of the Joint Commission on the Presentation of Social Studies in the Schools,” *Papers and Proceedings of the 36th Annual Meeting of the 36th Annual Meeting of the American Economic Association*, 14 (1924): 177-182; American Political Science Association, *The Teaching of Government: Report to the American Political Science Association by the Committee on Instruction* (New York, NY: Macmillan, 1916); R. L. Finney, “Tentative Report of the Committee on the Teaching of Sociology in the grade and High Schools of America,” *Social Education* 19(1920): 255-262.

studies, stating that it was absurd to base a curriculum upon the present and its problems, as current events are always changing.²⁴⁹

In 1924, the AHA created a subcommittee of its Committee on History in the Schools to again survey secondary schools to determine the state of history education. The subcommittee published its report in the June 1924 issue of the *Historical Outlook*, the magazine for history teachers sponsored by the AHA.²⁵⁰ The subcommittee's report noted a "rising tide of discontent" with the Committee of Seven's venerable block of four and showed schools struggling to incorporate more civics and studies of "Modern Problems," "Problems of Democracy," or "Social Problems" into their curricula. The tone of the subcommittee's report was not anti-social studies, indeed, the report treated history as a member of the social studies family, but there were still hints at attempts to incorporate the other subjects under the umbrella of history. This would not come to pass. Meeting from 1928 through 1934, an AHA Commission on the Social Studies, sponsored by the Carnegie Corporation, sought to answer just what should be taught under the social studies label. The commission included historians (among them, social studies critic Henry Johnson), social scientists, professors of education, and one superintendent of schools. Its chair was historian Augustus C. Krey who had published primary source-rich history texts as well as a book on the education of youth for social efficiency. Henry Johnson compiled a history of social studies in the schools for the Commission where he

²⁴⁹ Henry Johnson, "The School Course in History: Some Precedents and Some Possible Next Steps," *Proceedings of the Conference of Teachers of History*, *Annual Report of the American Historical Association*, 1917: 29-229. He would later offer a more scathing assessment of Social Studies; see Henry Johnson, "Report of the Committee on History and Education for Citizenship: Part II, History in the Grades," *Historical Outlook* 12 (1921): 93-95. Henry Johnson, *An Introduction to the History of the Social Sciences in Schools* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932).

²⁵⁰ Edgar Dawson, "The History Inquiry," *Historical Outlook*, 15 (June 1924): 239-272.

began with the story of Joshua in the Old Testament, continued on through classical antiquity to Joseph Priestly, Frederick the Great, and Karl Muller, explaining each as advocates for the study of history. In his portion of the multi-volume report, Johnson questioned how best to “fit the past to the present” and how to use the past to explain the present—and he wasn’t so sure it could be done satisfactorily. Despite Johnson’s contributions, the commission’s most influential member was progressive historian Charles Beard (who was also a social reformer and political scientist with close connections to Teachers College, Columbia). Beard became the most vocal proponent for subsuming history into social studies, a subject which he seems to have understood as a patchwork quilt of separate disciplines rather than one unified field of study. A diverse body of 16 members, the Commission could never define any distinct, substantive program of study for the new field. It did, however, manage to publish several large reports, which tended to emphasize teaching social studies using an amalgam of social science disciplines as opposed to the “modern problems” approach. In this “amalgamated” approach, history would be the synthesizing subject.

The final report of the Commission on Social Studies was definitely a child of the Great Depression.²⁵¹ It was highly controversial, especially the portions that dealt with social order and the nature of society (which predicted that individual property rights would be abridged in the future, among other things).²⁵² Even though the report went

²⁵¹ A.C. Krey, *Conclusions and Recommendations of the Commission*, American Historical Association, Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools (New York, NY: C. Scribner’s Sons, 1934).

²⁵² For a more full discussion of the controversy generated, see Ronald W. Evans, *The Social Studies War: What Shall We Teach Our Children?* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2004): 57-59.

through several rewrites, it failed to satisfy all members of the commission, with some refusing to sign the final document. As a result of the diverse opinions on the commission and, perhaps, the philosophy of many of its members who believed in individualized approaches to meet specific needs—rejecting the idea that one general curriculum could meet all of society’s needs, as well as each child’s needs—the report did not provide the schools with clear guidance regarding scope and sequence of study. The commission’s final report did, however, indicate broad-based support for the inclusion of more social science in the schools. Most tellingly, perhaps, was the fact that following the Commission’s report, the AHA turned over its professional journal for history teachers to the National Council on Social Studies, and in 1934 the title of this publication changed from *The Historical Outlook* to *The Social Studies*.²⁵³ The College Entrance Examination Board shortly thereafter recommended that schools consult the thirteenth part of the Commission on Social Studies’ report that was prepared by Leon Carroll Marshall and Rachel Marshall Goetz, known as *Curriculum-Making in the Social Studies for the Schools*.²⁵⁴ In this report, the authors downplayed traditional history and suggested that

²⁵³ Robert Orrill and Linn Shaprio, “From Bold Beginnings to an Uncertain Future: The Discipline of History and History Education,” *American Historical Review* 110 (June 2005), viewed on April 11, 2006 at <http://historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/110.3/orrill.html> One of the individuals who was thinking about the future of social studies at the time was a man by the name of James A. Michener. Before becoming a prolific writer of popular history, he penned, *The Future of Social Studies: Proposals for an Experimental Social Studies Curriculum*, (Cambridge, Mass: The National Council for Social Studies, 1939) He continued to think about history and, late in life, suggested that not every student should be expected to know huge amounts of historical facts, but instead should know enough to be able to “structure” a sweep of history; he also stated that he believed it important for students to study one period of history in depth. Cleta Galvez-Hjornevik, “James A. Michener: Reaffirmations of a Permanent Liberal,” *Social Education* 51 (April/May 1987): 250-255.

²⁵⁴ Leon Carroll Marshall and Rachel Marshall Goetz, *Report on the Commission of Social Studies, Part 13* (New York, NY: Charles Scribner and Sons, 1936). Rachel Marshall Goetz was later a speech writer for Adlai Stevenson during his run for the United States presidency. Her father, Leon Carroll Marshall was a professor at the Institute of Law at Johns Hopkins University

students learn the ways of living that are common to all people or the “universal social processes,” using a wide variety of topics from the social sciences. Soon, textbooks began to reflect the change, as well, with leading progressive educator Harold Rugg’s series, *Man and His Changing Society*, leading the way (first as a series of pamphlets).²⁵⁵

Rugg, a native of Fitchburg, MA, was born in 1886 and worked in a textile mill before attending Dartmouth. He originally trained as a civil engineer, turning later to sociology and education. He was an instructor of Civil Engineering then decided to take his PhD in Education at the University of Illinois. His brother, Earle Rugg, a history teacher in Oak Park, Illinois, convinced his brother to turn his attention to Social Studies, and he joined the faculty of Teachers College in 1920, where contact with the avant garde of Greenwich Village and the progressive education faculty members of Columbia had a profound influence on him. Brother Earle Rugg would later become a doctoral student at Teachers College and together the two Ruggs would produce their long-running and highly influential textbook series. These textbooks began life as a series of social science

and was a well known educator in the field of economics, commerce, and administration. He was born in Zanesville, Ohio in 1870 and educated at Ohio Wesleyan University and Harvard. From 1907 to 1928, Marshall held various positions at the University of Chicago, including dean of the graduate school of business. In 1928, he was appointed to professorship of law and director of the Institute of Law at Johns Hopkins, a position that he held until its closing in 1933. In 1934, President Franklin Roosevelt selected Marshall to become a member of the National Labor Board and the National Recovery Administration. Marshall left Hopkins in 1939 and retired from American University in 1948. Leon Carroll Marshall died in 1966 in Bethesda, MD.

²⁵⁵ For more on Rugg, see Peter F. Carbone, *The Social and Educational Thought of Harold Rugg*, (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1977). See, *Abstracts of Social Science Textbooks* (New York, NY: National Association of Manufacturers, 1941). An early discussion of the breaking down of the individual social science disciplines and history in the schools into a “fused” Social Studies may be found in Howard E. Wilson, “The Fusion of the Social Studies in the Junior High School: A Critical Analysis,” *Some Aspects of the Social Sciences in the School, Yearbook of the National Council for the Social Studies* (Philadelphia, PA: McKinley Publishing Co, 1931): 118-131. Wilson felt that “fusion” “is not, in and of itself, superior to subject organization of materials.” (p.130). By 1940, the Ruggs had completed eight textbooks for the elementary schools and six for secondary schools.

pamphlets prepared at the Lincoln School, Teacher's College, Columbia University. The Ruggs's books emphasized problem-centered approaches to social issues while giving their historical antecedents. This textbook series would have a profound influence on the development of Social Studies. A continuing dialog between those favoring a discipline approach and those advocating a social problems approach eventually led to a more defined, but always changing, Social Studies curriculum. (Rugg's textbooks had their critics. In 1941, the National Association of Manufacturers called attention to treatment of private enterprise by Social Studies texts, Rugg's among them.)

The curricular shift to social studies from history not only left less time in the curriculum for the study of the past, but it also changed the type of past that was studied in the schools, moving from surveys of largely political and military history toward historical exploration of current social issues.²⁵⁶ While the use of primary sources could easily adapt to this shift in subject focus, and perhaps would enhance the study of the roots of social problems, for most educators there was simply too little space left in the school day to accommodate the fairly time-consuming primary source methodology of teaching. Simply put, the move from the Committee of Seven's four-year block of history classes to what grew out of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education's social studies proposals gave less time in the school day to the study of history, and time-intensive primary source activities became even more rare in the schools than they had been previously. The proponents of primary sources in the education literature all but disappeared.

²⁵⁶ An influential critic of this shift in focus was historian Allan Nevins. At the beginning of World War II, he lambasted the schools for de-emphasizing American history. Allan Nevins, "American History for Americans," *New York Times Magazine*, May 3, 1942.

There were, however, a few exceptions to the de-emphasis of primary sources that occurred during the 1920s and 1930s. One was the publication of T. L. Kelly and A.C. Krey's *The Construction of Exercises in the Use of Historical Evidence*, which was appeared in 1934, and the other was the short-lived movement to build public, including student, resistance to propaganda. This movement, sponsored by the Institute for Propaganda Analysis (IPA), flourished between 1937 and 1942, largely in response to the rise of National Socialism (Nazis) in Germany.²⁵⁷ The Institute for Propaganda Analysis was created in 1937 by Clyde R. Miller, Edward Filene and Kirtley Mather. Chair of Harvard's Department of Geology, Mather came to prominence as a social activist scientist during the Scopes Trial and went on to become one of the nation's outspoken public intellectuals. A pioneer in adult education and the use of educational films and radio, he refused to sign the loyalty oath proposed by the Massachusetts Legislature in the 1930s and later opposed Joseph McCarthy. (Loyalty oaths of teachers and teacher educators came about largely in response to the Social Reconstructivist Movement, whose leaders were on the faculty of Teachers College, Columbia University.) By 1936, 21 states had enacted special loyalty oaths. Edward Filene, president of Filene Son's Company, the prominent department store, was a long-time peace activist and social reformer. Clyde R. Miller, progressive journalist and educator who taught at Columbia University's Teacher's College, was the author of the IPA's much quoted and cited "Seven Devices Framework of Propaganda." The IPA's bulletins, *Propaganda Analysis*, proved popular almost from the first gaining more than 5,000 subscriptions in its first

²⁵⁷ For more on the IPA see J. Michael Sproule, "Authorship and Origins of the Seven Propaganda Devices: A Research Note," *Rhetoric and Public Affairs* 4, no. 1 (2001): 135-143 and J. Michael Sproule, *Propaganda and Democracy* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

year. Some of the IPA's major works include *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, *Group Leaders' Guide to Propaganda Analysis*, *Propaganda: How to Recognize and Deal with It*.

The IPA believed that "[i]t is essential in a democratic society that young people and adults learn how to think, learn how to make up their minds. They must learn how to think independently, and they must learn how to think together. They must come to conclusions, but at the same time they must recognize the right of other men to come to opposite conclusions. So far as individuals are concerned, the art of democracy is the art of thinking and discussing independently together."²⁵⁸ Supported by a large number of social scientists, historians, journalists and educators, the group sought to build the public's ability to think critically in the face of what the founders believed to be increasing amounts of domestic propaganda which threatened democratic values. In response to this threat, the IPA built an educational program based largely upon published bulletins, which were used in group discussions sponsored by civic organizations and in the classes of colleges and leading high schools. Promoters of "propaganda analysis" essentially believed that citizens needed to know how to use and evaluate sources of information, especially the mass media. One of the best ways to build these skills in a student, some felt, was to study the use of propaganda in history, while building analytical skills through the exploration of primary sources.²⁵⁹ The National Social Studies Association supported IPA's efforts. The entire 1937 yearbook of the

²⁵⁸ Alfred McClung Lee, Elizabeth Briant Lee, Institute of Propaganda Analysis, *The Fine Art of Propaganda*, (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace, and Co., 1939).

²⁵⁹ Robert Keohane, "Historical Method and Primary Sources" in Richard E. Thursfield, *The Study and Teaching of American History, Seventeenth Yearbook, 1946*, The National For the Social Studies (Washington, DC: National Education Association, 1947): 328.

National Council for the Study of Social Studies was devoted to education against propaganda. In this issue, Donald McMurry of Russell Sage College made the case for proper history instruction as an anecdote to the unsavory persuasion of propaganda, using terms familiar to the proponents of primary sources in education:

History abounds with competing ideas and interests that have brought forth floods of propaganda . . . [A historian] must try to distinguish between fact and special pleading. If he writes a textbook he can announce the results of his investigations to high school students, and they can learn them, but to learn the result is not to master the process by which it was obtained. This process, the method of the critical historian, is perhaps only organized common sense, but its spontaneous use seems to be sufficiently uncommon to suggest the need of artificial stimulation through instruction and practice in solving problems. If this instruction is reserved to graduate students in history only, most students never encounter it at all.²⁶⁰

McMurry went on to promote the analysis of primary sources in much the same terms as had Flood and Barnes, noting that such skill would allow a student to gain a better knowledge of the nature of history while “familiarizing himself with a technique which he can apply to his sources of information about the Civil War in Spain, the political campaign of 1936, or other current events, as well as to happenings of a hundred years or more ago. Constant comparisons with current problems can emphasize the idea

²⁶⁰ Donald L. McMurry, “The Evaluation of Propaganda by the Historical Method,” Elmer Ellis, editor, *Yearbook of the National Council for Social Studies: Education Against Propaganda: Developing Skill in the Use of the Sources of Information about Public Affairs*, (Washington, DC?: National Council for the Social Studies, 1937): 134-146; see also “Propaganda and the Teaching of History,” *Educational Research* 247 (January 1928) 113-120 and J. B. Conant, “Defenses Against Propaganda: History is a Mirror,” *Vital Speeches* 4 (June 15, 1938): 542-544.

that the method is not one that must be confined to the events of the distant past.”²⁶¹ To prove his point and to provide an example of how a teacher might proceed, he described the venerable “what happened at the Battle of Lexington” exercise, using that event’s famous contradictory primary sources, a classroom activity promoted by Barnes, Food, and Salmon.²⁶²

The IPA came under attack almost from the beginning for promotion of what detractors felt was “destructive skepticism” rather than “intelligent reflection,” and infighting among its leaders hastened its demise. The approach of World War II brought added difficulties for the group. Being true to its philosophy, the IPA would have to promote the questioning of the United States’ propaganda as well as that of the enemy. Despite this, the leaders maintained that the organization disbanded in 1942 not because of the onset of the war but due to financial difficulties. As a result, propaganda analysis in social studies, whether based upon historical sources or not, never took hold in the schools.

In 1943, the *New York Times*, responding to the criticism of noted historian Allan Nevins who had a year earlier complained that the history of the United States was being poorly taught by the nation’s schools, tested 7,000 college freshmen at 36 different

²⁶¹ Donald L. McMurry, “The Evaluation of Propaganda by the Historical Method,” Elmer Ellis, editor, *Yearbook of the National Council for Social Studies: Education Against Propaganda: Developing Skill in the Use of the Sources of Information about Public Affairs*, (Washington, DC?: National Council for the Social Studies, 1937): 135, viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com

²⁶² An investigation into the sources describing the Battle of Lexington is probably the most often used exercise in primary sources. McMurry used sources from A.C. McLaughlin, William E. Dodd, Marcus W. Jernegan, and Arthur P. Scott, *Source Problems in United States History* (New York, NY: Harper & Bros, 1918): 3-54.

institutions of higher learning. The journalists and their readers were shocked to find that only six percent of the test takers could name all 13 original colonies; only 13 percent knew that James Madison was president during the War of 1812; and only 15% knew that William McKinley was president during the Spanish American War. Some students thought that the U.S. had purchased Alaska from the Dutch, Hawaii from Norway, and Louisiana from Sweden. (That must be where all of those tall blondes in the French Quarter come from!) And only a quarter of the test takers could name two contributions to the country made by Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln. Responding to these results in the context of fighting the largest war in the history of humankind, Nevins declared, “We cannot understand what we are fighting for unless we know how our principles developed.” The *Times* simply called the nation’s youth “appallingly ignorant.”²⁶³ An article on the following day blamed this ignorance in part upon “social studies extremists.” Hugh Russell Fraser, an official of the United States Office of Education and chairman of the Committee on American History was quoted as saying, “Responsibility for the present appalling neglect of American history in the high schools and elementary schools of the nation must go to the social studies extremists. They have acted toward United States history instruction like the proverbial bull in the china shop.” He and others argued that the study of history (apparently memorizing the “who, what, when and where” of the past) did not lend itself to the teaching techniques used in social

²⁶³ “Ignorance of U.S. History Shown by College Freshmen,” *New York Times*, April 4, 1943; Allan Nevins, “American History for Americans,” *New York Times Magazine* 95 (May 3, 1943). This particular story regarding history education is related several times in the works of Sam Wineburg. See, Sam Wineburg, “Extra! Extra! History Repeats Itself,” *Cliopatra, a Group Blog, history Network News*, viewed on November 9, 2009 at <http://hnn.us/blogs/comments/20292.html> See also, Dale Whittington, “What have 17-year-olds Known in the Past?” *American Educational Research Journal*, 28, (1991): 759–780.

studies. Whether this historical ignorance could be blamed on a shift in emphasis away from more “pure” history and toward the teaching of social studies or not, factual tests over several decades show that students do not retain—for any significant amount of time—historical facts and figures memorized for school tests.²⁶⁴ But it can’t be ignored that time spent studying social studies does take away from the time that could be spent in the “clock-intensive” work of “doing history.” In schools concerned with “subject coverage,” the more subjects you have to cover, the less time you can devote to any one subject.

Concerns with widespread, reproduce-able, objective assessment and the rise of social studies were not the only factors which made the use of primary sources in secondary education rare. One of the greatest deterrents to their promotion, perhaps, was a philosophy of education, which dominated the classrooms during much of the post-World War II Twentieth Century, Behaviorism.

Behaviorism

Just before World War II, many of the elements of progressive education began to be questioned, and following the war, the United States entered a particularly conservative social era. Faced with a political rival in the Soviet Union, which was widely understood to be rapidly advancing technologically and scientifically, critics of the nation’s educational system were in no mood to experiment further with unorganized

²⁶⁴ The Times performed a similar survey of 194 schools in 1976. Despite the interest in history generated among the general populace by the nation’s big birthday, the results were largely the same. “Times Test Shows Knowledge of American History Limited,” *New York Times*, May 2, 1976.

classrooms, individual learning plans, group projects, problems-based teaching paradigms, and other methodologies of progressive educators. Seeking to arm the nation scientifically, these critics wanted students to learn more and faster, and they wanted to be able to easily and efficiently measure the education that had taken place. Behaviorism, a "school" of psychology and an educational philosophy, both promoted and met the needs of this worldview. Oddly enough, the major school of thought about human learning which would come to challenge and eventually dethrone Behaviorism in educational psychology, if not always in the American classroom, grew out of the same desire to better educate the nation as a defense against the inevitable opponent of the communist east. Developing later and taking longer to catch on in the classroom, that school of thought will be dealt with later.

A school of psychology, Behaviorism demands behavioral evidence for mental processes. In other words, in its "purest form," Behaviorism holds that psychology is the science of behavior, not a science of the mind, and human behavior, behaviorists believe, is formed by externalities (the environment) and not internalities. Thus, behavior is an iterative process, the result of stimuli from the environment and human response to those stimuli. Growing out of the British Empiricism of the likes of Locke and Hume and influenced heavily by the research of animal behaviorist Ivan Pavlov of bell-ringing fame, the tenets of Behaviorism were first formulated by John Broadus Watson, originally of Greenville, SC and a former student of John Dewey's at the University of Chicago. Watson began teaching at Johns Hopkins in 1907, and in 1913, published "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It," more commonly known as the "Behaviorist Manifesto." The first paragraph of this work concisely states the Behaviorist's position:

Psychology as the behaviorist views it is a purely objective experimental branch of natural science. Its theoretical goal is the prediction and control of behavior. Introspection forms no essential part of its methods, nor is the scientific value of its data dependent upon the readiness with which they lend themselves to interpretation in terms of consciousness. The behaviorist, in his efforts to get a unitary scheme of animal response, recognizes no dividing line between man and brute. The behavior of man, with all of its refinement and complexity, forms only a part of the behaviorist's total scheme of investigation.²⁶⁵

The thinker most closely associated with Behaviorism is B. F. Skinner who made his early reputation by testing Watson's theories in the laboratory.²⁶⁶ Skinner would build upon Watson's views regarding reflex and conditioning to develop "Radical Behaviorism," which can be summarized as "everything an organism does is behavior." Skinner recognized that not all human behavior can be attributed to the classical conditioning found in Pavlov and Watson's experiments. Instead, he proposed "operant conditioning," the idea that people do certain things because previous activities (operants) resulted in a set of consequences. Future behavior would be based upon the likelihood that those set of consequences would occur again. Thus, individuals could be trained by using the right combination of stimuli and reinforcement: incentives, rewards, and punishments. Although Behaviorist ideas have always been present in education (if not labeled as such), they were given added authority by the research and promotion of Skinner and other leading scientists and philosophers, allowing educators to re-embrace what a previous generation of pedagogical thinkers (including most progressive educators) had been calling into question. By the time Behaviorist ideas had permeated

²⁶⁵ John B. Watson, "Psychology as the Behaviorist Views It," *Psychological Review* 20 (1913): 158-177.

²⁶⁶ B. F. Skinner, *The Behavior of Organisms: An Experimental Analysis* (New York, New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938).

the schools, they were on the decline in Psychology, but their impact on education was profound, nonetheless. By emphasizing specific, observable, learning outcomes, Behaviorism often led to teacher-centered classrooms, featuring drill and practice exercises, which emphasized lower-order thinking skills, especially memorization. Learning was seen to be a passive exercise and students were vessels waiting to be filled with information and skills. The classic Behaviorist teaching methodology involved the assigning of brief reading selections followed by a question or a math problem. The reading selection or math problem would provide the stimulus; the student's answer would be the response, and the teacher would provide the appropriate reinforcement following this response. The cycle would be repeated. Teachers, informed by behaviorist research with rats running mazes and "paired associates," became especially concerned with providing the appropriate stimulus and reinforcement at the most useful time.

Resembling recitations of centuries past, Behaviorist teaching did not usually require that a learner be able to use the knowledge acquired in these exercises in real-life, or authentic scenarios. To Behaviorists, education built a storehouse of responses to stimuli that would provide the raw material for future responses to future stimuli: one learned the facts of history simply because they would make him or her a better, more knowledgeable citizen by informing future behavior. As one critic has noted, in a behaviorists worldview, "perception became discrimination, memory became learning, language became verbal behavior, and intelligence was what intelligence tests *test*."²⁶⁷ In short, Behavioral teaching offered little opportunity for independent thought or analysis. The development of independent thought and analysis, as has been shown, has been and

²⁶⁷ George Miller, "The Cognitive Revolution: A Historical Perspective," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7 (March 2003): 141.

continues to be one of the major reasons usually cited for using primary sources in teaching. Behaviorists had little reason to use reproductions of old letters, diaries, and the like to teach their kind of school history. Behaviorist history teachers simply transmitted accepted narratives of the past to their students who remembered the narratives and the “lessons” those narratives taught. Most students in the United States know the Behaviorist history classroom all-too-well.

While historians, professors of education, and school administrators thought and wrote about history teaching methods, learning assessment strategies, and psychological frameworks for teaching and learning, actual history teaching in the average American classroom changed little from the 1920s through the 1950s. It remained largely a teacher- and text-booked centered enterprise, consisting of stories of heroes and holidays in the younger years, moving in later years toward a framework of political and military history, driven by the “freedom narrative,” the defining concept for “school history” since at least the Committee of Seven’s report. This narrative understood the great “thrust” of history to be the ever-expanding realm of individual liberty. It was a narrative particularly well-suited to the American, secular classroom. (In other places and in previous years, it had been the hand of God that had been the defining and overriding theme of school history.) Formal classroom recitations may have ended, but assessment still largely measured the skills that those recitations had sought to build by focusing on a mixture of short answer and essay questions, the latter often requiring the parroting of “causes and consequences” identified by the teacher and textbook writer. “Projects” for the higher grades tended to be term papers based almost solely upon secondary sources. The use of illustrative materials (published source books and later slides and filmstrips) did bring primary

sources into the average classroom, but there was little attempt to teach students to “read” these sources, to analyze the evidence and construct their own narratives of what had occurred previously—or to learn that the history which had been presented to them had been based upon such “leavings” of the past and interpreted by individuals who came to this material with their own biases and worldview. Students were led to believe (at least subconsciously) that history was simply what happened as it was reported by experts; it was not “constructed” by them or anyone else in any way. The tone of any textbook from the era illustrates this. The author is always third-person omniscient. There is never a disagreeing viewpoint presented or the possibility that any mystery from the past remains. Every event described was well known, inevitable, and indisputable. Fact. Fact. Fact.

Anyone who has ever “done” history—whether through research and writing, reenacting, renovating, etc.—knows that history is all about the interpretation and context applied to those true and honest, inevitable facts. No amount of illustration using even the most exciting primary sources can engender interest in “solid facts,” if they are devoid of interpretation. Without the mortar of informed personal belief and interpretation, the facts of history are simply scattered bricks, laundry lists of the dead. The idea of “history as a construction,” however, meshed well with trends in educational psychology which rose to challenge Behaviorism beginning in the 1960s, and eventually led to a renewed call for primary sources and the teaching of analytical skills in history.

Behaviorism’s reign in the schools lasted from about the close of WWII until the late 1960s, and although many Behavioral teaching practices such as the identification of specific learning objectives and “reward-focused” strategies for classroom management

still hold sway in the classroom, most educators have abandoned the psychological understanding and worldview that once supported their more widespread use in the schools.²⁶⁸ In Behaviorism's place has developed an understanding of teaching and learning which emphasizes "interior processes" while recognizing the effect of external stimuli. This cognitive revolution in education, one that also happens to promote the idea of history as a construct rather than a set of information to be remembered, brought about a much more receptive environment for the use of primary sources, one that Mary Sheldon Barnes and Fred Fling would have smiled at approvingly.

²⁶⁸ Franklin Bobbitt, a University of Chicago professor of Education Administration, was the father of "teaching objectives." Other leaders in bringing behaviorism to education include E. L. Thorndike and W. W. Charters. Thorndike, was a psychologist who spent his entire career at Teacher's College, Columbia University. The father of the "learning curve" (based upon an investigation into cat insight where he measured cats' ability to learn how to navigate mazes), he was also greatly interested in educational assessment. See Edward L. Thorndike, "The Contribution of Psychology to Education," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 1 (1910); 5-12 and *Education: A First Book* (New York, NY: MacMillan, Co., 1923). W. W. Charters, received his PhD from the University of Chicago, and taught at The Ohio State University. Founding editor of the *Journal of Higher Education*, he was interested in developing comprehensive curricula from nursery school to graduate school. See Sheldon A. Rosenstock, *The Educational Contributions of W(errett) W(allace) Chambers*, Unpublished PhD. Dissertation, The Ohio State University, 1983.

Chapter 3

The Cognitive Revolution

“History does not repeat itself, but it does rhyme.”
Mark Twain

Constructivism to Project Social Studies
The Amherst and Carnegie Institute Projects
Schools Council 13-16 History Project
From Piaget to Peel to Hallam and Jurd
Booth Responds to Piaget-Peel-Hallam Model

For much of the history of the United States, the majority of educators treated teaching and learning as if these activities were little more than the filling of a bucket. Unless they were a coach promoting some physical activity or a fine arts instructor teaching a student to play an instrument or draw, teachers “educated” by grasping a body of knowledge from the ether and stuffing it into the relatively empty heads of those sitting in the desks. Beginning in the early twentieth century and escalating in the 1950s, a group of researchers began to question this interpretation of learning. Instead of a child’s brain being an empty bucket, they began to believe that it was “wired” with certain capabilities, and these capabilities developed over time in each person in a relatively uniform pattern. This new understanding about the way thinking develops in the young had a great impact on psychology and educational research and, at times, even on the average classroom.

Constructivism to Project Social Studies

Although initially greatly outnumbered among educators—especially among the practitioners who often gave little thought to the theory behind their classroom activities—there were always those who disagreed with Behaviorism’s strict focus on observable behavior. Their objections were given a scientific foundation by a research agenda first developed in Switzerland. In the early 1920s, Jean Piaget was a teacher in a school run by Alfred Binet (of the Binet Intelligence or “IQ” Test fame). While grading Binet’s tests, Piaget noticed that younger children consistently made mistakes which were not made by older children and adults. This led Piaget to believe that younger children must think differently than do others. Thus began the “cognitive revolution” in educational psychology.²⁶⁹ Cognitive development recognizes that the brain is not an empty vessel but carries innate traits and abilities that develop as the child develops, affecting the way children process and retain information. Piaget eventually organized childhood mental development into distinct phases: 1) sensorimotor stage (birth to age two), 2) preoperational stage in which motor skills are acquired (age two to seven), 3) concrete operational stage in which children begin to think logically about concrete acts (ages seven to eleven), and 4) formal operational stage in which abstract reasoning is developed (following the age of eleven).²⁷⁰

²⁶⁹ Jean Piaget was born in 1896 in Neuchatel, the French-speaking section of Switzerland, and received his PhD in Natural Science from the local university, taught for Albert Binet in Grange-Aux-Belles, and returned to Switzerland in 1921 to direct the Rousseau Institute in Geneva before returning to the University of Neuchatel. He became a professor at the University of Geneva in 1929, remaining there until 1971 when he was given emeritus status. He died in 1980.

²⁷⁰ Barbel Inhelder and Jean Piaget, *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 1958).

In 1956, George Miller, a former Behaviorist who, through interaction with linguist (and later, political philosopher) Noam Chomsky and educational psychologist Jerome Bruner, had come to believe that Skinner's psychological theories did not sufficiently explain human learning (especially the learning of language), strengthened the idea of innate mental abilities through his much-cited article "The Magical Number of Seven, Plus or Minus Two." In it, Miller showed that individuals have a limited capacity to process information and surmised that this capacity was somehow related to mental structures.²⁷¹ More thought along these lines were developed by Jerome Bruner, Jackie Goodenough and George Austin in their *A Study of Thinking*.²⁷² That same year, Benjamin Bloom, an educational psychologist at the University of Chicago, published his now famous *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, Handbook I: Cognitive Domain* (often called "Bloom's Taxonomy"). This work was designed to help educators classify instructional objectives and goals, which the author divided into three domains: affective, psychomotor, and cognitive.²⁷³ Bloom taught that not all learning objectives are equal,

²⁷¹ George Miller, "The Magical Number of Seven Plus or Minus 2," *The Psychological Review* 63 (1956): 81-97.

²⁷² Jerome S. Bruner, Jackie Goodenough, and George Austin, *A Study of Thinking* (New York, NY: Wiley, 1956). The year 1956 was the annus mirabilis of cognitive science. In that year, Marvin Minsky first circulated a technical report, which would become his important work on artificial intelligence, among others. See George Miller, "The Cognitive Revolution: A Historical Perspective," *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 7 (March 2003): 141. Bruner's theory of cognitive growth looked to social and environmental factors and was based upon the rediscovery of the work of Lev Vygotsky. (Some maintain that it was actually based upon a misinterpretation of Vygotsky's work. See Julia Gillen, "Versions of Vygotsky," *British Journal of Educational Studies*, 48 (2000): 183-198.)

²⁷³ The Affective Domain describes the way people react emotionally and their ability to feel another's pain or joy. Affective Objectives typically target changes in attitude, emotion, and feelings. The Psychomotor Domain describes the skill a person has in physically manipulating a tool or instrument, like a piano or screwdriver. Psychomotor objectives usually target a change in

but that they were hierarchical, with higher levels being dependent upon mastery at lower levels. He placed memorization at the bottom of his hierarchy.²⁷⁴ Bruner, Goodenough, and Austin's work was carried further by Noam Chomsky three years later. In 1959, Chomsky noticed that children all learned language at about the same time, in the same stages, without being taught or rewarded.²⁷⁵ He hypothesized that language was innate: through evolution, human brains became wired for language. Constructivism, a way of understanding human learning, derived from these and other related foundational works in the cognitive sciences.

Constructivism is a theory about the way people learn. It basically holds that people construct their own knowledge and understanding of the world through experience and reflection upon that experience. Every time a person comes upon something new, he or she must make it reconcile with what they already know. If the new situation matches a previous knowledge base, then it is said to be consonant, and it is assimilated. If the situation does not fit a person's prior knowledge, then it is dissonant; something has to

physical skills. The Cognitive Domain describes the ability to comprehend or "think through" a particular topic or problem. School-based education emphasizes learning in this realm. There are six levels of this domain, moving from lowest to highest: knowledge (of facts, ways and means of dealing with specifics); comprehension (the understanding and manipulation of specific facts such as through comparison and contrasting); Application (solving problems by using facts, techniques and rules in different ways); Analysis (the ability to examine and break information into parts by identifying motives or causes, make inferences, and use evidence to support generalizations); Synthesis (Combining information together to make something new such as a publication or a plan); and Evaluation (the ability to present and defend one's own judgment about another's ideas and quality of work using internal and external evidence).

²⁷⁴ Benjamin Bloom, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. The Classification of Educational Goals: Handbook I. Cognitive Domain*. (New York, NY: David McKay, 1956).

²⁷⁵ B.F. Skinner, *Verbal Behavior* (New York, NY: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1957). This is one of the few times when a review of a work becomes as significant, if not moreso, than the work it reviews. Noam Chomsky, "A Review of Skinner's *Verbal Behavior*," *Language*, 35 (1959): 26-58. See also G. A. Miller, "Some Preliminaries in Psycholinguistics," *American Psychologist*, 20 (1965): 15-20.

change before it can be accommodated. Sometimes, situations do not match a previous body of knowledge, but instead of assimilating or accommodating it, students choose to ignore the situation as not being relevant, retaining their previous view of the world until changes in the knowledge base allows that person to see the relevance. Thus, a constructivist understanding of learning holds that prior knowledge plays a significant role in the way new knowledge is constructed.²⁷⁶ New information may be memorized, but that does not necessarily mean that it will be thoroughly assimilated into a learner's knowledge base. If not, it will quickly be forgotten.

Constructivism does not proscribe any particular form of pedagogy; but a constructivist understanding of the way people learn does often lead to the promotion of “hands on” learning activities. These constructivist-based methodologies promote learner exploration, with the student making his or her own inferences, discoveries and conclusions, and the teachers providing the educational environment, observations, and assessment activities. In a form of pedagogy that goes back to the ancient philosophers in their groves, constructivist teachers most importantly facilitate the learning process through the use of probing questions and well-timed prompts. (The Socratic dialogue is still a much-used tool of constructivist educators.) Still, it is the student who builds his or her own knowledge with the ultimate goal being the attainment of the “expert learner stage.” Expert learners are said to have gained the tools and abilities in a given subject area to continue learning about that subject without the teacher's prompts and questions. In constructivist teaching methodologies, students learn how to learn. The classroom is not teacher-centered but student-centered, with students being active participants in their

²⁷⁶ For a good overview of Cognitivism, see the textbook, R.Reed Hunt and Henry C. Ellis, *Fundamentals of Cognitive Psychology*, 7th edition (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill. 2004).

education as opposed to passive recipients of information. (In the classic, now trite description of the constructivist teacher, he or she is the “guide on the side,” not the “sage on the stage.”) In a constructivist classroom, problem solving is a major activity. Constructivism can be thought of as the old “progressive education” of John Dewey’s “learn by doing” with a scientific, psychological foundation. Reminiscent of the findings of those late 19th century committee and commission reports, constructivism holds that education is the broadening of the intellect through the development of problem solving and critical thinking skills, rather than the accumulation of memorized “lessons.”²⁷⁷

²⁷⁷ The literature on Constructivism is immense and includes, of course, variations on and multiple interpretations of the theory. For example, “Constructionism” as put forth by Seymour Papert of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, takes basic Constructivism a few steps further and holds that students learn best when they are actually making something external to themselves—a public product, which others can see (think, project-based learning). Building upon this belief, he created constructivist computer environments and the LOGO programming language to teach students math. Ernst von Glaserfeld is a proponent of a variation on basic Constructivism known as “Radical Constructivism,” which holds that coming to know is a dynamic process of adaptation toward viable interpretations of experience. In this variation, different interpretations of reality are not “true” or “false” but “viable” or “not viable.” Thus different individuals can have different understandings of an event and both can be “viable”—although only one can be true, but there is no way to know what is true. Since all experience is subjective, all knowledge and interpretations of that knowledge is subjective (which makes test giving a bit difficult). The Belarussian psychological theorist Lev Vygotsky’s thoughts gave rise to “Social Constructivism,” which emphasizes the role of social interaction in the learning process. Central to this idea is the “zone of proximal development.” A child’s actual development level is that at which he or she can work on a problem without aid. The potential development level is that level at which the child can work on a task when he or she is guided by another person. The level between these two is the zone of proximal development (zpd), and the set of tools used to guide a child through this zone is known as “scaffolding.” Jerome Bruner built upon these ideas in his work, *Actual Minds, Possible Worlds*, where he reiterates Vygotsky’s belief that learning is a social process. “Critical Constructivism,” while confirming the relativism of Radical Constructivism, uses the framework of Jurgen Habermas’ Critical Theory to help draw attention to potentially “disempowering” social constructs that affect learning, thus opening them to possible change through self-exploration and reflection. Critical Constructivism looks at learning in its social and cultural environment while attempting to change those environments. “Cultural Constructivism” holds that the tools people use affect the way that they think—and tools can be just about anything from language to religious beliefs to actual physical objects. Cultural Constructivism promotes the idea that the world is abounding in competing conceptual ecologies. Constructs compete, and the “fittest” survive, almost Darwinian-like, through adaptation.

Constructivism's critics maintain that it is an elitist form of pedagogy, benefitting only those students who are lucky enough to have "rich learning environments." They point out that disadvantaged children often learn best through more direct instruction, and they also note that social constructivism, relying upon group work and group exploration, often leads to "group think." Instead of promoting the abilities to work collaboratively, group work can stifle an individual student's thought, causing students who might dissent for whatever reason to ultimately conform; such an approach could smother individual creativity. But the greatest criticism leveled at constructivist-influenced pedagogical techniques is the fact that it is difficult to assess. How does one easily and objectively measure the process skills, analytical abilities, and other attributes that constructivist-influenced pedagogies are supposed to instill? At least one large government-funded study, "Project Follow Through," indicated that students who were taught by teachers using constructivist-based techniques lagged behind their fellows who had been taught in traditional classrooms—at least on the content of the courses.²⁷⁸ On higher order thinking skills (rather than content) constructivist educated kids do better. As more than one wag has noted, this tends to show that students learn what they are taught. Despite this criticism, constructivism became the leading lens through which most psychologists and thinkers about learning and teaching viewed their subjects from the late 1960s

²⁷⁸ Project Follow Through was the largest, most expensive educational experiment ever funded by the United States government. A great deal has been written about it. See, R. L. Egbert, "Some Thoughts About Follow through Thirteen Years Later," Eric Document ED244733 and C. L. Watkins, *Project Follow Through: A Case Study of Contingencies Influencing Instructional Practices of the Educational Establishment* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge Center of Behavioral Studies, 1997). For examples of recent critiques of Constructivism see David Elkind, "The Problem with Constructivism," *Educational Forum* v. 68, no. 4 (Summer 2004): 306-312 and Clifton Chadwick, "Why I am Not a Constructivist," *Educational Technology* 44 (September/October 2004): 46-49

forward, even if it did not always influence what happened in the majority of classrooms.²⁷⁹

In 1959, largely in reaction to the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik, a conference devoted to pre-collegiate science education was held at Woods Hole, MA. This conference, dominated by Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) scientists, has long been considered the beginning of the curriculum reform movement of the 1960s, largely because of the influence of its final report, which was written by Jerome Bruner. Titled, *The Process of Education*, Bruner's piece held that disciplines have distinctive structures which organize information, making it easier for students to learn. He emphasized the importance of describing the boundaries of those organizing principles, identifying the "most fundamental understanding that can be achieved of the underlying principles that give structure to the subject."²⁸⁰

Bruner posited that a "spiral curriculum" is most effective in teaching the key concepts and structures of a discipline. The "spiral" revisits key concepts of subject over and over as a learner encounters new subject matter. As these concepts are revisited, the student's understanding is deepened, and he or she moves from the concrete to more abstract thought. Inside of this spiral curriculum, Bruner stressed that students need to develop an "inquiry" or "discovery" attitude toward learning; and that schools should

²⁷⁹ The latest school reform movement to embrace a form of constructivism is the 21st Century Skills movement. First formulated by the Partnership for 21st Century Skills, a collaborative venture of high technology enterprises and school reformers, among this movement's earliest promoters was the American Association of School Librarians (AASL). The National Governor's Association has also expressed support for the educational reforms found beneath the 21st Century Skills umbrella. One of the best summaries of this new packaging of constructivist education is Bernie Trilling and Charles Fadel, *21st Century Skills: Learning for Life in Our Times* (San Francisco, CA: Josey Bass, 2009).

²⁸⁰ Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960): 31.

focus on teaching students how to “learn to learn.” And Bruner felt that one of the best things a teacher can do to ensure that students learn to teach themselves is to arouse their interest in the subject. In a much-quoted phrase, Bruner maintained that “any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child at any stage of development.”²⁸¹ With this work providing much of its basic philosophy, the “cognitive revolution” began to have its impact on the schools beginning in the early 1960s.²⁸² With the encouragement of the National Science Foundation, which was created in 1950 and significantly expanded in 1957, schools first adopted teaching methodologies which stressed “hands-on learning” and the “discovery” or “inquiry” model in science and mathematics classrooms (with the latter gaining infamy as “new math”).²⁸³ Only later did constructivist ideas arrive in social studies pedagogy.²⁸⁴ As one who was involved in the early development of this new form of social studies recalled,

²⁸¹ Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). David Jenness offers a brief, incisive analysis of the interaction between Bruner’s philosophy, Chomsky’s linguistic insights, social studies curriculum building, and the difference between Brunerian “inquiry” or “discovery” learning and Dewey’s “learning through experience” of the progressive education era. See David Jenness, *Making Sense of Social Studies* (New York, NY: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1990): 129-133.

²⁸² Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960).

²⁸³ The term “new math” entered the popular culture of the early 1960s with a vengeance. It was parodied by Tom Lehrer’s song, “New Math:” “It’s so simple / so very simple / That only a child can do it!” Indeed, many parents became frustrated trying to help their children do their homework and actively opposed the use of the new form of pedagogy. By 1976, less than 10% of schools were still using its methods to teach mathematics. See, Morris Kline, *Why Johnny Can’t Add: The Failure of the New Math* (New York, NY: St Martin’s Press, 1973).

²⁸⁴ Some who cared about history, much like their counterparts of 80 years earlier, worried that this new emphasis on the sciences would diminish the role of history in education. An example of this may be found in the address by Charles Sellers to the American Historical Association in 1969. Charles Sellers, “Is History On the Way Out of the Schools and Do Historians Care?” *Social Education* 33 (May 1969): 509-516. His hope for the future of school history was the new “inquiry” approaches to pedagogy that were appearing in the science and mathematics classrooms at the time.

Through a process called discovery learning or inquiry, students generated and tested hypotheses to develop conclusions, concepts, and generalizations about geographical, economic, anthropological, sociological, historical, and political phenomena and often applied their developing understandings to theses and arguments advanced by others who had also engaged in similar inquiry. Students, in effect, did history, did geography, did sociology. For many elementary and secondary social studies teachers, this approach to teaching and learning was new, exciting, and rejuvenating. For many students, it was challenging and fun.²⁸⁵

Helping to drive the discovery and inquiry learning method of teaching in the Social Studies classroom were concerns with “decision making.”

Shirley Engle’s seminal article in 1960, “Decision-making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction,” built upon the foundational ideas of Progressive educators like John Dewey and Harold Rugg, and managed to serve as a “translator” of the more abstract thought that grew out of the Woods Hole meeting, making those constructivist ideas useful for the average school and classroom. A farm boy from Illinois, Engle “liked to see his thoughts about teaching as ideas coming from an Agricultural Extension office.”²⁸⁶ The Agricultural field agent works with farmers, analyzing the soil and other conditions to figure out the best way to raise the crops. Engle liked this metaphor for teaching. Social studies teachers, in his view, should work with students to analyze the major problems of history, review the various interpretations and understanding of

²⁸⁵ Barry K. Beyer, “Gone But Not Forgotten: Reflections on the New Social Studies Movement,” *Social Studies* (November/December 1994): 251. Beyer was involved in the three-year Project Africa, which, beginning in 1967, was developed by researchers at The Ohio State University and later Carnegie Mellon. The complete set of Project Africa materials was never published.

²⁸⁶ Ronald H. Pahl, “Shirley Engle’s ‘Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction (1960),’” *Social Studies* 94 (January/February 1993): 15-20. Engle studied under B.O. Smith who studied under Harold Rugg.

implications put forth by others, then help the students come to their own decisions about interpretation and implications. He saw social studies not as

a question of teaching history or civics but of helping young people become effective decision makers in a democracy. There were numerous antecedents to Engle's article, such as Raup, Axtelle, Benne, and Smith's book *The Improvement of Practical Intelligence* (1950) and John Dewey's extended work in problem solving (e.g., 1910, 1916), but none spoke so clearly and directly to teachers—none reflected so well the incipient postmodernism of the post-World War II era, none opened the social studies curriculum so fully to the disparate questions and problems caught in the churning of continuous uncertainty that had become an integral part of a citizen's participation in a democracy.²⁸⁷

Engle's work would do this by focusing on decision making. In his view, social studies should teach decision making in two senses. In the first, it should teach decision making as it is found in research, analysis, and presentation skills. Next, it should teach decision making as it is used in deciding policy: going beyond synthesis of the data to the addition of individual and community values, which would then lead to action. By promoting decision making, Engel hoped to “resolve the conflict in the field between those who advocated teaching the facts of the past or of any social science discipline and those pushing citizenship education.”²⁸⁸ A special issue in 1963 of *Social Education*, featuring writings of Engle's graduate students at Indiana University, laid out the initial

²⁸⁷ Wilma S. Longstreet, “Early Post-modernism in Social Education: Revisiting ‘Decision Making: The Heart of Social Studies,’” *Social Studies* 94 (January/February 2003): 11-15. Longstreet was Engels' wife for 30 years.

²⁸⁸ David Gerwin, “Responding to a Social Studies Classic,” *Social Studies* 94 (January/February, 2003): 23-28.

parameters of the work to be done along these lines.²⁸⁹ Engel's thoughts and those of his students still influence thinkers on social studies education.

At about the same time as Engel's work was beginning to gain notice, there were—again—growing concerns among educators that 1) students were bored by social studies, especially the history taught as a part of it; 2) the subject resembled more propaganda than history and that it overemphasized the political and military aspects at the expense of social history, which was increasingly engaging the professional historians and the general public, both; 3) the subject dealt with broad sweeps of time and rarely looked at any topic in depth; 4) the chief modes of instruction were outdated, and the related assessment primarily involved measuring the ability to memorize; and 5) the subject matter had little connection to the world in which the students lived.²⁹⁰ To address these concerns another, more celebrated, foray into the re-development of social studies had begun at Amherst College and the Carnegie Institute of Technology a few years before Engle's important paper was published. It attempted to create a "new" teaching methodology for the subject, which became known as "New Social Studies."²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ Shirley H. Engle, "Decision-making: The Heart of Social Studies Instruction," *Social Education*, 24 (1960): 301-304; "Revising the Social Studies," *Social Education* 27 (1963): 81-201.

²⁹⁰ Ken Osborne, "Archives in the Classroom," *Archivaria* 23 (Winter 1986): 19.

²⁹¹ "New Social Studies" was given its name by Edwin Fenton and John M. Good in the April 1965 issue of *Social Education*. Edwin Fenton and John M. Good, "Project Social Studies: A Progress Report," *Social Education* 26 (April 1965): 206-208. It has been pointed out by several researchers that much of the research undertaken by those involved in the New Social Studies movement of the 1960s and 1970s was not related to history, but to other aspects of Social Studies. The Amherst and Carnegie Institute projects were almost the only projects solely related to American history in the movement. See Jan L. Tucker, "Research on Social Studies Teaching and Teacher Education." *Review of Research in Social Studies Education 1970-1975* (Washington, DC: National Council for Social Studies, 1977). R. Ben Jones, *Practical Approaches to the New History* (London: Hutchinson, 1973.); Peter J. Rogers, *The New History: Theory into Practice* (London: Historical Association, 1979). Some of these same issues were

The Amherst and Carnegie Institute Projects

In the late 1950s, the assistant dean of admissions at Amherst College, Van R. Halsey, Jr., noted the changes taking place in the high school science and math instruction of his institution's entering students. He did not see the same sort of thing happening in their social studies lessons.²⁹² To address this, he brought together a group of Amherst area high school social studies teachers to meet with some of Amherst's history teaching faculty. When the admission's officer asked the history professors at this gathering what they expected their students to know about history when they appeared in their college classrooms, the teachers were stunned to hear the reply: "Nothing." Even though the college history professors knew that some of their students had "taken" American history three times, they still delivered their lectures under the assumption that those listening had forgotten or never heard many of the stories ("history") that they were relating. When these same professors were asked what they would like students to bring to their college history courses, the answer was not as clear, but it soon became apparent that most of the professors present did not care if the students had any set amount of "content" or "subject" knowledge. Instead, they told the teachers present that they would

touched upon in Canada by A. B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968); Geoffrey Milburn, *Teaching History in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), and multiple articles appeared throughout the 1970s in the Canadian journal, *The History and Social Science Teacher*.

²⁹² In 1961, former professor of History, Charles Keller published widely read article calling for a revolution in the teaching of the Social Sciences such as was taking place in mathematics and the sciences, but lacking any formal organizational backing to carry out his plans few heeded his call. Charles R. Keller, "Needed: Revolution in the Social Sciences," *Saturday Review*, September 16, 1961. Keller was a leader in the American Advanced Placement program and Director of the John Hay Fellowship program during the 1960s. In this article, he urged educators to have the "courage to omit" some topics from the vast sweep of the historical narrative to provide more time for more intensive investigation of select topics.

like for high school students to acquire critical thinking skills required by the subject. In other words, the professors wanted their students to arrive knowing that history was a set of competing interpretations of what occurred in the past, as well as being able to critically evaluate those interpretations, learning to doubt the supposedly authoritative. The high school teachers told the professors that they had no way to impart such skills to their students. Their major tools were textbooks, which were authoritative in tone and designed to teach history simply as a set of facts to be committed to memory. As such, the teachers noted, these important teaching materials often undermined critical analysis and independent thinking. They needed other materials to help teach the kind of history these professors expected their students to know, materials that would teach the students to doubt, read bias, and understand the interpretive nature of history. The Amherst Project was begun.²⁹³

Beginning in 1959, small groups of teachers gathered in Amherst each summer under the direction of Richard H. Brown to create the types of materials Fred Morrow Fling and Mary Sheldon Barnes had written and advocated three quarters of a century before. Supported by grants from the United States Office of Education, these materials were tested in classrooms and published.²⁹⁴ It was soon discovered that teachers needed professional development to use the materials. Soon, project staff found themselves training teachers much like Fling and Caldwell had done in Nebraska. But for the project and its teaching methodology to be successful, the Amherst project administrators soon

²⁹³ Richard H. Brown, "Learning How to Learn: The Amherst Project and History Education in the Schools," *Social Studies* (November/December 1996): 267-273.

²⁹⁴ Richard H. Brown was the director of the Committee on the Study of History (Amherst Project) from 1964-1973, head of the Newberry Library's Research and Education Division from 1973-1994, chairman of the Illinois Humanities Council, and scholar of Jacksonian America.

discovered that more than the history classroom needed to be changed. The form of education that they were promoting tended to spill outside the confines of history education, and the Amherst project administrators began to advocate more systemic changes for the schools. As they moved to create teams of administrators and teachers in select schools to provide exemplars (much like the progressive educators of yore), the funding dried up. The Amherst Project joined the heap of countless other educational reform initiatives, but not before having some effect—and some of that effect was on the students involved. One of these “experimental” Amherst high school history classrooms helped inspire at least one of its students who later received her PhD in history from Brown University and who has published well-received works, including a history of marches on Washington. She now serves as the Deputy Executive Director of the National Historical Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC). In a conversation with the author of this study, this Amherst project alumna recently said, “Looking back, I can’t believe what we did in a high school classroom! It was definitely not names and dates and quizzes.”²⁹⁵

The developers of the Amherst project believed that history is “a way of learning and only secondarily a body of knowledge,” viewing the subject as “utilitarian, not something to be learned in and of itself, but as a body of experience to be manipulated so students would learn how to learn” while still coming away with “a deeper sense of the

²⁹⁵ Conversation with Deputy Executive Director, National Historic Publications and Records Commission (NHPRC), Lucy Barber, May 12, 2008. Dr. Barber stated during an additional discussion on June 23, 2010, following a high school reunion, that there were four other archivists in her graduating class.

past.”²⁹⁶ Or as the introduction to a textbook from the day describes it, “New History lays less emphasis on the content and more on the process of learning.”²⁹⁷ To do this, the project adopted forms of constructivist pedagogy known as “discovery” and “inquiry” learning, which involved student-driven, open-ended exploration of a topic, with the teacher providing support and guidance.²⁹⁸ Indeed, in the Amherst Project’s later years, teachers, themselves, were asked to think of themselves as inquirers. This educational “stance” reflected larger educational concerns beyond history as a quote from psychologist Herbert Gerjuoy in an extremely popular work of the day, *Future Shock*, shows:

This new education must teach the individual how to classify and reclassify information, how to evaluate its veracity, how to change categories when necessary, how to move from the concrete to the abstract and back, how to look at problems from a new direction—to teach himself. Tomorrow’s illiterate will not be the man who can’t read; he will be the man who has not learned how to learn.²⁹⁹

No matter the subject being taught, this form of education requires a substantial amount of supplementary materials, as well as time for exploration. In history, of course, this means access to primary sources and time to use them. One of the difficulties

²⁹⁶ Richard H. Brown, “Learning How to Learn: The Amherst Project and History Education in the Schools,” *Social Studies* (November/December 1996): 267-273.

²⁹⁷ Ben R. Jones, “Introduction: The New History,” in Ben R. Jones, ed., *Practical Approaches to the New History*, (London: Hutchinson Educational, 1973): 14.

²⁹⁸ Unfortunately, teachers then and now too often translate these forms of pedagogy into “treasure hunts,” hiding the “correct” answers and encouraging students to seek them out. More properly, this type of learning involves open-ended questions about issues that may have no simple, direct answers.

²⁹⁹ Herbert Gerjuoy, quoted in Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock* (New York: Bantam, 1971): 414. *Future Shock* has sold more than 6 million copies.

encountered by the Amherst Project was the inaccessibility of the raw materials of history. Another difficulty was the lack of a mechanism to contextualize those resources together for the classroom. While the Amherst Project developed a series of inquiry-based “units,” it never fully created an inquiry-based “text” that provided exploratory experiences within a coherent narrative, but individuals at the Carnegie Institute of Technology would come close to meeting these needs and providing these teaching materials.

In the late 1950s, the Carnegie Institute of Technology’s Edwin “Ted” Fenton, a History Professor, began to explore new ways of teaching history.³⁰⁰ He was especially interested in promoting the use of primary sources for the same reasons earlier generations of educators had sought to include them in the classroom. One method of instruction using primary sources which he promoted became known as “post-holing.” In other words, students would be treated to a sweeping narrative of history, then be guided through an in-depth analysis of specific events in that narrative, including the historical evidence left by those events. Post-holing was a more direct way to answer the critics of primary sources in history education because it preserved the overall, traditional narrative while still providing room for the analytical work promoted by the primary source

³⁰⁰ Edwin “Ted” Fenton was born on September 16, 1921 and attended East Liverpool High School in Ohio. He took his B.A. from the College of Wooster in 1948, his Master’s in History from Harvard in 1949, and for the next five years taught high school history, joining the history department at Carnegie Institute of Technology in 1954. He completed his PhD in History at Harvard in 1958. He was the director of five National Defense Education Act Institutes in History, the Social Studies Curriculum Center, the Civic Education Project and various educational centers at Carnegie Mellon from 1966-1992. He also authored more than 200 scholarly papers, books, and educational films and packets of curricular materials. Finding Aid for the Edwin Fenton Papers, Carnegie Mellon University Archives, viewed on April 20, 2008 at <http://www.library.cmu.edu/Research/Archives/UnivArchives/Fenton.html>

contingent.³⁰¹ For Fenton, this analysis took the form of an idealized “mode of inquiry,” which can be summarized in six steps: 1) recognizing a problem from data; 2) formulating hypotheses (including asking analytical questions, stating the hypothesis, and remaining aware of the tentative nature of the hypotheses); 3) recognizing the logical implications of hypotheses; 4) gathering data (including deciding what data will be needed, selecting or rejecting sources on the basis of a statement of logical implications); 5) analyzing, evaluating and interpreting data (including selecting relevant data from the sources—determining the frame of reference of the author of the source and determining the accuracy of the statements of fact—evaluating the sources), and interpreting the data; 6) evaluating the hypothesis in the light of the data (including modifying the hypothesis, if necessary—rejecting a logical implication unsupported by data, restating the

³⁰¹ Post-holing would gain other promoters as the years past, including Gary Nash and Linda Symcox who promoted the idea that students should leave their textbooks for a few days to delve more directly into the historical enterprise. Gary B. Nash and Lynda Symcox, “Bringing History Alive in the Classroom: A Collaborative Approach,” *OAH Magazine of History*, 6 (Summer 1991): 25. Linda Symcox is a professor in the Department of Teacher Education at California State University, Long Beach, and Director of the Graduate Program in Curriculum & Instruction, Elementary Option. She consults with RAND Corporation on school reform and curriculum standards in the state of Qatar, has served as the lead history education scholar for two Lawndale Elementary School District Teaching American History (TAH) grants, and has served as an evaluator for the Compton Unified School District TAH grant and the Garden Grove Unified School District TAH grant. She was formerly the Associate Director of the National Center for History in the Schools at UCLA (1989-1996), where she served as Assistant Director of the National History Standards and oversaw the NCHS curriculum project. Symcox has served as a curriculum designer for the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. Her research examines the interplay between curriculum theory, policy, and reform, and she teaches courses in educational history, curriculum theory, curriculum policy, and social studies education. Professor Symcox is author of *Whose History? The Struggle for National Standards in American Classrooms* (Teachers College Press, 2002), and she has published numerous articles and curricula in the field of history education. Linda Symcox’ faculty home page:

<http://www.ced.csulb.edu/teacher-ed/people/detail.cfm?id=308> Since 1966, Gary B. Nash has taught American history at UCLA, where he has received a Distinguished Teaching Award and a Faculty Research Lecturer Award. During 1994-95 he served as President of the Organization of American Historians. In 1997 he was elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is Director of the National Center for History in the Schools. Gary Nash’s faculty home page: <http://www.sscnet.ucla.edu/history/nash/>

hypothesis) and stating a generalization.³⁰² This is a system that would have been quite familiar to those Nebraska students working on their many notebooks for Professor Fling.

Fenton and his colleagues' work eventually led to the development of a four-year social studies curriculum for "able" high school students, supported by the commercial publication of texts and supporting materials, including audiovisuals, tests, and detailed teachers guides that included daily and unit plans.³⁰³ The apex of Fenton's project was the publication of two works, which had a major, if short-lived, impact on social studies teaching: *Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: an Inductive Approach* (1966) and *The New Social Studies* (1967), which sold 30,000 volumes in its first year in print. The first work, *Teaching Social Studies in Secondary Schools*, was a methods text written to help train future high school social studies teachers. This work, largely a collection of articles by those active in promoting New Social Studies ideas, was designed to be used by professors to model inductive teaching methods to student teachers who, it was hoped, would emulate their professors and teach social studies by inductive means. Fenton explained:

The underlying principle can be stated simply: students who will in the future be expected to rely primarily on inductive teaching techniques should be taught inductively. Throughout their school careers, most prospective teachers have never studied history taught by an inductive approach.

³⁰² Edwin Fenton, *The New Social Studies* (New York, 1967): 16-17 cited in Ken Osborne, "Archives in the Classroom," *Archivaria* 23 (Winter 1986-87): 23. I quote Osborne's summary here but present it in another form.

³⁰³ The publisher was Holt, Rhinehart, and Winston, See William A. Spohn, "A Look Back at Project Social Studies," Paper presented at the Northeast Regional Conference for the Social Studies, Boston, Massachusetts, March 10, 1989, ERIC Digest, ED 309102, p. 11 (of the speech), p. 13 (of the document); the pages are double-numbered.

Hence they have no models to imitate. Expository teaching by lecture and rote memorization from texts perpetuates itself generation after generation. Virtually the entire teaching profession now agrees that this cycle must be broken.³⁰⁴

Fenton pointed out that because history is selective, often inaccurate, and highly interpretive (“conditioned by a man’s conception of the nature of causation and by personal characteristics and experiences”), teachers must teach methods of interpretation, if they are to truly teach history. He argued that if students are to read and write history intelligently, they must “learn the rules by which historians collect evidence and use it to interpret the past, and they must be able to judge whether an author’s conclusions are supported by the evidence he presents. They must also learn to draw their own conclusions and to present evidence upon which these conclusions are based. Unless students are taught to interpret, they are not taught history at all. Teaching the mode of inquiry of history and the social sciences lies at the heart of the new social studies.”³⁰⁵ Over the next few years, Fenton and others such as San Francisco State University’s

³⁰⁴ Edwin Fenton, *Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach*, (New York, NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966): vii.

³⁰⁵ Edwin Fenton, *Teaching the New Social Studies in Secondary Schools: An Inductive Approach*, (New York, NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, Inc., 1966): 150. Not everyone was happy with Fenton’s works, of course. The State Board of Education in Georgia banned Fenton’s *The Americans: A History of the United States* because of the book’s views on race as well as the work’s critical inquiry approach to the subject. Edwin Fenton and Allan O. Kownslar. *The Americans: A History of the United States* (New York, NY: American Heritage Publishing Co, 1970). William Alexander Percy, “Georgia History Textbooks,” *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, viewed on July 8, 2006 at <http://georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?=/Education/GeneralTopicsandIssues-3&id=h-859>

Hilda Taba provided the theory as well as curricular materials to support this type of teaching.³⁰⁶

The Amherst and Carnegie Projects were two of about 40 national social studies curriculum revision projects funded by the United States Office of Education, the National Science Foundation, and private philanthropic organizations beginning in the late 1950s and continuing through the late 1960s. (Some of these built upon the findings of a number of school-based “citizenship-by-doing projects,” in particular, the Citizen Education Project sponsored by Columbia University’s Teachers College with its “laboratory practices” and a similar project crafted by Wayne State University and the Detroit public schools.)³⁰⁷ Beginning in 1963 and modeled after the research, development, dissemination, and adoption model that had transformed American agriculture, twelve of these curriculum reform projects, together known as “Project

³⁰⁶ Hilda Taba, noted educator and disciple of John Dewey, was known for her model of teaching involving inductive thinking. She believed that children make generalizations about data only after having organized it. Tying pedagogy to cognitive development, she believed that learning happened best when students employed precise questioning techniques. Taba believed that teachers should act as facilitators helping students with both the organization of data and the formation of generalizations springing from that data. According to Taba, the best way to deal with the ever increasing amount of information confronting individuals is to emphasize “acquisition, understanding, and use of ideas and concepts rather than facts alone.” For more on Hilda Taba’s thoughts on inductive teaching of social studies, see Hilda Taba, Mary C. Durkin, Jack R. Fraenkel, and Anthony H. McNaughton, *A Teacher’s Handbook to Elementary Social Studies* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1971). For more on the highly influential Hilda Taba, see Arthur L. Costa and Richard A. Loveall, “The Legacy of Hilda Taba,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 18 (Fall 2002): 56-62; Jane Bernard-Powers, “Composing Her Life: Hilda Taba and Social Studies History,” in *Bending the Future to Their Will: Civic Women, Social Education, and Democracy*, Margaret Smith Crocco and O. L. Davis, Jr., eds. (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999); and Mark M. Isham, “Hilda Taba, Pioneer in Curriculum Development,” unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1984. Taba died in 1967 or she would surely have left even a greater mark on the teaching of Social Studies. Her most often quoted and cited work is *Curriculum Development: Theory and Practice* (New York, NY: Harcourt Brace and World, 1962).

³⁰⁷ For more on these projects see Hazel Whitman Hertzberg, *Social Studies Reform, 1880-1980* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1981): 77-78. The Detroit Project came about largely as a response to the 1943 race riots in that city.

Social Studies,” were funded by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare.³⁰⁸

Almost all twelve stressed the structures, methodology, and terminology of individual disciplines found within the social sciences; sequential, cumulative learning; and increased use of audiovisual material. (This was the beginning of the television generation, after all.) All were based upon constructivist principles, especially discovery or inquiry-based learning (including the use of “post-holing”).³⁰⁹ Those focusing on history (at least early on) eschewed textbooks for compilations of primary sources. In addition, there were attempts to bring even more anthropology, sociology, economics, and political science to the social studies curriculum (which continued to be dominated by history and geography). As Edwin Fenton later remembered, “Those of us who directed [these] projects were confident that we were making a revolution.”³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Edwin Fenton and John M. Good, “Project Social Studies: A Project Report,” *Social Education* 29 (April 1965): 206-208. Funding for Project Social Studies ended in 1971 when the focus of the United States Office of Education shifted to the use of new technologies in teaching, among them educational television. Grant funding for research in subject matter fields all but disappeared. William A. Spohn, “A Look Back at Project Social Studies,” Paper presented at the Northeast Regional Conference for the Social Studies, Boston, Massachusetts, March 10, 1989, ERIC Digest, ED 309102. Spohn wrote his dissertation on Project Social Studies. See, William A. Spohn, *A Historical and Documentary Investigation of Project Social Studies Centers*, Unpublished dissertation, University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT, 1978. For the agriculture model, see “Edwin Fenton, Reflections on the ‘New Social Studies,’” *The Social Studies* (May/June 1991): 85.

³⁰⁹ For more on the Inquiry method in Social Studies from the time see H. C. Hunt, ed., *High School Social Studies Perspectives* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1962); Irving Morrissett, ed., *Concepts and Structure in the New Social Science Curricula* (New York, NY: Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1967); Rodney F. Allen, J.V. Fleckenstein, and P.M. Lyon, eds. *Inquiry in the Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1968). Rodney Allen, professor at Florida State University, was the executive editor of *The Social Studies* when he passed away unexpectedly in 1999 while promoting the teaching of social studies with the Indonesian Ministry of Education.

³¹⁰ Edwin Fenton, “Reflections on the ‘New Social Studies,’” *The Social Studies*, (May/June 1991): 84. For contemporary works on Project Social Studies, see Edwin Fenton and John Good, eds., “Report on Project Social Studies,” *Social Education* 29 (1969): entire issue; Norris M. Sanders and Marlin L. Tanck, “A Critical Appraisal of Twenty-Six National Social Studies

Responding to these efforts, in 1969, the American Historical Association (AHA) again turned its attention to history education, something it had only given cursory notice to in almost seventy years, and it created a “History Education Project.”³¹¹ AHA, partnering with Indiana University (and staffed by Eugene Asher from that school’s department of history and Phillip Mow from its school of education), developed regional teams around the country to address issues related to the more effective teaching of history, especially the education of pre-service teachers. The project did strong work in identifying the disconnect between professional historians and history teachers, but ultimately failed to provide long-term, sustainable answers to address this professional divide.³¹²

With influential professors and well-funded projects providing the guidance (especially those under the Project Social Studies umbrella), the New Social Studies was well underway.³¹³ By 1967, it had begun to have its effect outside of the experimental classrooms.³¹⁴ Numerous articles appeared in the professional journals, and just about

Projects,” *Social Education* 34, the full issue; and Karen B. Wiley and Irving Morrisett, eds., *Social Education* 36 (1972): the entire issue.

³¹¹ Glenn Linden, “The History Profession in Transition: Its Response to the Challenges of the 1960s and 1970s,” *The History Teacher* 23 (1990): 293-303.

³¹² “The American Historical Association’s History Education Project: The Status of the Project and Its Regional Teams as of 1970,” Eric Document 049086.

³¹³ The United States Office of Education awarded \$4,750,000 (in 1960s funds) to Project Social Studies, most of which went to the funding of project staff salaries. William A. Spohn, “A Look Back at Project Social Studies,” page 9 (or 7, the pages are double numbered). Paper presented at the Northeast Regional Conference for the Social Studies, Boston, MA, March 10, 1989, ERIC document 309102.

³¹⁴ For more information on the New Social Studies, see John D. Hass, *The Era of the New Social Studies* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1977) and H.W. Hertzberg, *Social Studies reform: 1880-1980* (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1981).

every social studies conference carried New Social Studies-related programming. For example, one journal author, Alan Brownsword, identified four basic categories or skills required for doing history for his fellow teachers: evidence (collecting, ordering, critically evaluating it); interpretation (make sense of evidence); definition (clearly define words and terms in evidence and in own expression); and values (alert to values embedded in the evidence as well as their own values). He noted that although these activities make up the art and science of history, only a few students are ever exposed to them in the classroom. In a repeat of a phrase that has been echoed for more than 100 years, Brownsword stated that there was simply too much content to be learned. Instead, teachers needed to teach process and help students learn how to learn through the “structures of history” while telling them that they are “doing history” not “learning” it. He hoped that his highly structured classification of the historical enterprise would help with coursework and curriculum development.³¹⁵ In another article, James R. Miller and James Hart reiterated the need to teach history as inquiry, maintaining that instead of learning historical facts, students should learn how to develop hypotheses, gather information, and solve problems. They noted that even though many teachers might attempt to teach history as inquiry, just as many still assessed historical learning through tests covering names and dates. They believed that teachers could, instead, supply students with previously unexplored data and ask them to interpret, assessing the interpretation rather than memorized content. Miller and Hart maintained that such an

³¹⁵ Alan W. Brownsword, “Doing History: A Skills Approach,” *The History Teacher* 6 (1973): 251-266; An example of a practitioner article from this time period: J. Samuel Walker, “Teaching the Method of History: A Documentary Exercise,” (in *Classroom Techniques*) *The History Teacher*, 11 (August 1978): 471-482.

exam would come closer to measuring true historical skills and abilities.³¹⁶ Allan Kownslar showed that once students understood that history is an interpretation of the past and not simply a listing of facts, they were better able to defend their own generalizations based upon the evidence and were less likely to be led astray by vague statements, myths and stereotypes.³¹⁷ Another pair of authors, Zane Miller and Henry D. Shapiro, offered up the idea of a laboratory course in American civilization. More specifically, this laboratory course could be based upon local history whereby students would all have small research projects that would cover a small part of a single, overarching problem.³¹⁸ These were but three of a huge amount of professional literature written along these lines during the late 1960s and throughout most of the 1970s. Much of the pronouncements found in these articles, of course, could have come from Barnes, Fling, or Salmon almost a century earlier, perhaps proving and extending to educators the truth behind Max Beerbohm's famous quip: "History does not repeat itself. The historians repeat one another."

By 1972, a substantial amount of New Social Studies curricular material, including large numbers of reproduced primary sources, had entered the nation's schools. These included works such as Fenton's *New History of the United States: An Inquiry Approach*, which was published in 1969, *Discovering American History and Documents*

³¹⁶ James R. Miller and James Hart, "Testing History as Inquiry," *The History Teacher* 6 (1973): 353. They noted that history might be taught as inquiry, but it is almost always not assessed along those lines. In this article they suggest a method of doing that: "To test inquiry skills, supply students with previously unexplored data, ask them what is happening . . ."

³¹⁷ Allan O. Kownslar, "Is History Relevant," in *Teaching American History: The Quest for Relevancy*, (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1974).

³¹⁸ Zane L. Miller and Henry D. Shapiro, "Learning History by Doing: The Laboratory Course in American Civilization," *The History Teacher* 11 (1978): 487.

of American History, both of which were compilations of primary sources aimed at the classroom, and *A New History of the United States*, which came with reproductions of source materials, essays, and overhead transparencies. Related curricular material included items such as *Study America*, which provided an interdisciplinary approach to American literature and history (along with a set of paperback texts of American literature).³¹⁹

This was the hey-day of school “media.”³²⁰ There were great hopes that the traditional textbook would die a quick and un-mourned death, as filmstrips gave way to films and various “media packets,” and as textbook publishers merged with educational film producers. One of the best-known media-based teaching tools was created at this time, *Sesame Street*, an American television institution. *Sesame Street* came about as a result of a Carnegie Institute-supported educational psychologist wondering aloud at a dinner party what the educational possibilities of television might be. Among those with whom he was speaking was Joan Ganz Cooney who had just completed a documentary on an educational program that would later become known as “Head Start.” The Carnegie Institute subsequently awarded a grant to Cooney to study the role of television in preschool education in 1966. The first episode of *Sesame Street* premiered November 10, 1969. The federal government also created the Corporation for Public Broadcasting in 1967 as a part of the same movement. As a part of this ethos, one marquee New Social

³¹⁹ Charles L. Mitsakos, past president of the Social Science Education Consortium, remembers these heady days and new materials in “Social Studies for the Aughties: A Look Back and look Ahead,” *Rivier College Online Academic Journal* 2 (Spring 2006) viewed on July 7, 2006 at <http://www.rivier.edu/journal/ROAJ-2006-Spring/J31-MITSAKOS.pdf>

³²⁰ Michael Davis, *Street Gang: The Complete History of Sesame Street* (New York, NY: Viking Books, 2009).

Studies course, “Man: A Course of Study,” was largely film based. As the developer of the course recalled

When finally published in 1970, it consisted of nine teacher's guides, thirty children's booklets, sixteen films, four records, five filmstrips, three simulation games, fifty-four artifact cards, two wall-sized maps, a caribou hunting strategy chart, a kinship chart, a sea ice camp chart, eleven enlarged photographs taken from the Netsilik films, several poster-sized photo murals, and a take-apart seal. It is difficult to imagine from our present media-rich perspective, what a pioneering effort that was.³²¹

And, of course, there was a movement to teach history using materials that students could find in their own home.³²²

New Social Studies ideas provided the impetus to projects, which took on a life of their own. Among them were those such as the well-known Foxfire Project in mountainous Rabun County, Georgia, which still inspires students to be oral historians, documenting the fast-disappearing folkways of their rural neighbors, and National History Day, which still provides local, regional, state, and national competitions for students who compete in the “doing” of history: writing papers, creating exhibits, filming documentaries, and crafting short plays, all based upon both primary and secondary materials.³²³ But aside from these and a few other large-scale success stories and despite

³²¹ Peter B. Dow, “Past as Prologue: The Legacy of Sputnik,” *Social Studies* (July/August 1992): 164-172.

³²² David Weitzman, *My Backyard History Book* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1975). Weitzman's book and other works like his presented ideas for researching family and community history by concentrating on everyday artifacts and oral records that children could gather on their own.

³²³ For more on Foxfire, see <http://www.foxfire.org>. The Web site for National History Day is <http://nationalhistoryday.org>. Foxfire was started in 1966; it is the name of a bioluminescent plant found in the Appalachian Mountains for which Rabun County, Georgia high school students

an initial enthusiastic reception by teachers and school systems, few of the New Social Studies reforms took lasting root in the nation's schools. The United States' Bicentennial Celebration, which provided new life to many public history undertakings around the country, saw the last great wave of New Social Studies activities in the nation's classrooms. With the big birthday party behind them, many school systems returned to earlier, less demanding forms of history instruction. As one astute observer has noted, “. . . the new history, with its emphasis on sources and documents, appealed primarily to those who were already favourably disposed towards its precepts. It is not at all certain, however, that it made many converts among those who were not so disposed.”³²⁴

A number of causes have been suggested for the failure of New Social Studies to prosper in the nation's schools. For this type of teaching methodology to be successful, teachers, themselves, have to thoroughly know both the content and “knowledge structure” of a subject. It just so happened that as New Social Studies was being developed, the number of subject courses in teacher preparation programs decreased. As a result, very few teachers had ever written a paper based upon primary sources, and almost none had ever sat in on History seminars, discussing research methodology and reliability of evidence. Put simply, few of the new graduates had been steeped in the subjects at a level required by constructivist pedagogy.³²⁵ Inquiry teaching, the foundation for most of the New Social Studies classroom methodology, was not the preferred method of instruction for most of the nation's school teachers, and most

named the magazine that they had created. National History Day was started in 1974 by David van Tassel and colleagues at Case Western Reserve University.

³²⁴ Ken Osborne, “Archives in the Classroom,” *Archivaria* 23 (Winter 1986-87): 25.

³²⁵ Marion J. Rice, “Reflections on the New Social Studies,” *Social Studies* (September/October 1992): 224-232.

educators lacked models for how to teach in the style required by the new approach. Inquiry teaching required classrooms and teachers to be flexible, to allow time for students to explore, and time for the teachers to practice with the new materials. In the age of standardized curricula and lesson pacing, this just was not possible. As one administrator later remembered his own experience in developing New Social Studies classes in Wisconsin:

Implementation initially proved to be a chilling experience. I soon learned that the jargon of revolution—"structures" and "concepts"—was not the stuff of teacher-talk. A committee of teachers under my direction finally compiled a report in the summer of 1967. The report proposed a program that included the social sciences—history, economics, political science, geography, and sociology/anthropology. Adapted from the Wisconsin State Department of Education, their program wove these social sciences into a scope and sequence that resembled the expanding environment schema but included units on topics beyond the immediate environment. We painstakingly designed a limited number of units as case studies to allow time for in-depth study and use of inquiry materials. The teachers nudged me toward selecting a textbook series to be used as a "springboard" for inquiry. We selected the Laidlaw series, which had already incorporated aspects of social science into the text and contained "discovery" activities. Our program was called "People and Their World: A Conceptual Approach." In constructing courses of study, I outlined the content and selected relevant concepts, and the teachers created possible strategies to teach the content and concepts.

This was hardly the revolution that I had in mind.³²⁶

Students, too, found learning through inquiry difficult. Constructing one's own knowledge is much more challenging than simply remembering what someone else says is important, even if one does not really ever remember those important lessons for any extended period of time. As archivist Hugh Taylor argued in his article, *Clio in the Raw*:

³²⁶ William W. Goetz, "The New Social Studies: The Memoir of a Practitioner," *Social Studies* (May/June, 1994): 100-106.

Archival Materials and the Teaching of History, students subjected to this method of teaching who had been accustomed to using textbooks had difficulties in understanding less-structured and undigested collections of historical evidence. "They had become the victims," Taylor observed, "of an industrialised and segmented society, consuming so-called knowledge in the form of so-called facts." Customary textbook lessons had trained their entire "visual sense" towards the typed print of the primer's pages. Source materials, then, "reached the mind as an additional load of print, confusing because it could not be learned like a text book."³²⁷ In addition to this major stumbling block, New Social Studies provided little ongoing support for those "less able" students who could not easily grasp the inquiry process: hypothesis forming, developing a research approach, analysis of data, and presentation of the findings. Inquiry teaching could not be easily assessed, and this troubled not only administrators but parents, as well. The methodology often used group work—and assigning grades for group work is always tricky. And, to add insult to injury, teaching through inquiry is disruptive, loud, and appears to anyone walking past the classroom door as something akin to chaos—not generally thought of as a suitable learning environment.³²⁸ As a result, some of its practitioners appeared to be poor classroom managers to their usually more experienced, traditional colleagues.

³²⁷ Hugh A. Taylor, "Clio in the Raw: Archival Materials and the Teaching of History," *American Archivist* (1972): 318, cited by Michael Eamon, "A Genuine Relationship with the Actual: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, the Internet and the Internet in the Classroom," *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) (viewed on May 20, 2008 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html>)

³²⁸ These points are made by Barry K. Beyer in "Gone But Not Forgotten: Reflections on the New Social Studies Movement," *Social Studies* (November/December 1994): 251

Other issues were at work against New Social Studies, as well. The popularity of mini-courses and special subjects squeezed more and more items into the school day at the expense of the time-intensive inquiry method, and across the curriculum movements to emphasize certain basics skills such as reading and writing also had their effect. School administrators, curricular developers, and others also greatly underestimated the time and amount of resources required to fully imbed inquiry teaching into a school's culture. It took years for teachers to fully learn their subjects well enough and become familiar with the requisite teaching materials and methods. With the inherent instability of most schools added into the mix—changes in administration, scheduling, other classroom experiments, etc.—often the social studies teacher would just become comfortable with the new program when they would be told it was time to change the approach.³²⁹ On top of all of this, for whatever reason, many of the national leaders located in colleges of education and history departments around the nation turned their attention elsewhere, and few stepped in to take their place. New Social Studies practitioners were left without the support of the academy.

Edwin “Ted” Fenton, arguably the leader of the New Social Studies movement, has noted that by the time the New Social Studies, with its concern for the structure of disciplines and learning through inquiry, began to permeate the average school, the nation had lived through the assassination of two Kennedys and Martin Luther King, Jr. It had experienced the Vietnam War, peace protests, the Civil Rights Movement, the Women's Movement, a sexual revolution, and the more open use of recreational drugs, and it was

³²⁹ Gerald W. Marker, “Why schools abandon “New Social Studies” materials,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* (Winter 1980): 35-57 and Thomas J. Switzer, “Reflections on the Fate of the “New Social Studies,” *Phi Delta Kappan* (June, 1981): 729-30.

beginning to feel the effects of the environmental and gay rights movements. The chief concerns of New Social Studies “seemed archaic in this social context.”³³⁰ New Social Studies was, according to its critics, too narrowly focused, myopic, and arrogant.³³¹ By promoting what some felt to be ivory-tower like activities and largely ignoring the needs and interests of students and the problems of the society in which they lived, New Social Studies could not meet the needs of society. Social Studies classes were asking high school students to investigate the nuances of firsthand accounts of the Battle of Lexington and Concord while their older siblings were tuning in and dropping out. In response, social studies leaders turned their attention from inquiry to more directly deal with social problems wrought by modern life. Society called upon the schools, and the schools, once again, called upon social studies to instill civic values, while exploring approaches that emphasized “self realization” or “ethnic minority” concerns.³³² Fenton, himself, moved into the realm of “values teaching.” As one school administrator later remembered:

³³⁰ Edwin Fenton, “Reflections on the New Social Studies,” *The Social Studies* (May/June 1991): 85.

³³¹ J. D. Haas, *The Era of the New Social Studies*, (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1977).

³³² Edwin Fenton, “Reflections on the New Social Studies,” *The Social Studies* (May/June 1991): 85. Fenton here cites the following examples to show this shift: Sidney B. Simon, Leland W. Howe, and Howard Kirschenbaum, *Values Clarification: A Handbook of Practical Strategies for Teachers and Students* (New York, NY: Hart, 1972); B. Frank, ed. *Education for Responsible Citizenship* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1977); J.J. Patrick, “Implications of Political Socialization for the Reform of Civic Education,” *Social Education* 33, 15-21; Office of Education, *Final Report of the U.S. Office of Education Study Group on Law-Related Education* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1966.) It has also been pointed out that much of what was published about the New Social Studies in the late 1960s and 1970s was not about history, but “sister disciplines” within the Social Studies umbrella. Jan L. Tucker, “Research on Social Studies Teaching and Teacher Education.” *Review of Research in Social Studies Education 1970-1975* (Washington, DC: National Council for Social Studies, 1977).

The continuing decline of NSS [New Social Studies] was most poignantly reflected in the attitude of younger high school teachers—fresh from the campus wars of the sixties—who, ironically, had been recruited by me for their familiarity with Bruner and Fenton. To my consternation, they dismissed Bruner and instead promoted with gusto a new breed of reformers, including Postman and Wiengartner, who ridiculed Bruner's inquiry theory as "inventing your pendulum" and faulted him for failing to develop "a theory of relevance in instruction. " I was chagrined to see the energy of these new teachers committed to something as ill-defined as informal education and open classrooms. The intensity of the moment, however, swept us all up—including Bruner—into a new cycle of reform and helped abort an already struggling NSS. Ironically, however, this new movement energized the high school department as NSS had never done.

Soon my school, which had always been reform-minded, was adopting a modular schedule and encouraging a less restrictive school climate. The social studies department moved with enthusiasm and unanimity to reorganize the two-year American history requirement into American studies—semester-length electives that would be "relevant" to the interests of students. Among the mixed feelings that I harbored over these changes was a sense of relief that I no longer had to have a structure in place and a spiral curriculum to oversee. The objective now was simply "to reach out to students" and provide "relevance"³³³

In addition to this shift in focus, and with particular implications for the use of primary sources in the schools, Fenton ascribes part of the demise of New Social Studies on the failure of the curricular materials it employed. Most of these were written at a level not easily digested by a high percentage of students; they required the ability to manipulate sophisticated concepts, and generally were difficult for the teachers to fully

³³³ William W. Goetz, "The New Social Studies: The Memoir of a Practitioner," *Social Studies* (May/June, 1994): 100-106. Neil Postman (1931-2003) was a professor of education at New York University for more than 40 years and was a well-known media and cultural critic best remembered by the general public for his 1985 book about television, *Amusing Ourselves to Death*. Neil Postman, *Amusing Ourselves to Death: Public Discourse in the Age of Show Business* (New York, NY: Viking, 1985). Postman captured the attention of a generation of educators in 1969 with his speech to the National Convention for the Teachers of English titled "Bullshit and the Art of Crap-Detection." In this presentation, Postman encouraged teachers to help their students "distinguish useful talk from bullshit." He maintained that it was the most important skill students could learn, "and that teaching it would help students understand their own values and beliefs." Their work was in keeping with the ethos of the time Neil Postman and Charles Weingartner, *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* (London: Penguin, 1976).

incorporate into the course of study.³³⁴ Lacking significant input from practicing teachers, New Social Studies too often ignored the practical limitations of the average classroom and required more preparation time than most teachers were ever given. And while the experimental New Social Studies classrooms often were successful, it was largely because the educators who volunteered to help develop the projects were quite different from the average teacher who would be expected to replicate their work. The teachers in the experimental classrooms were often willing to break years of habit to try new techniques, while most of their colleagues, even when willing, lacked the time and resources to fully re-work the way that they taught—which was often the way that they had been taught.³³⁵ As the Amherst Project researchers soon discovered, the changes necessary for teaching in a more inductive, open-ended manner required changes beyond the history classroom. It extended to the entire school, and beyond. New Social Studies advocates were naïve, as one of its chief promoters has remembered. They knew little about textbook adoption processes and the ingrained, sometimes-curriculum-making power of a number of textbook publishers. “We joked about the problems of getting

³³⁴ Karen B. Wiley and Douglas P. Superka, *Evaluation Studies on ‘New Social Studies’ Materials*, (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1967.) By 1969, New Social Studies was already being questioned by practitioners. See William W. Goetz, “The New Social Studies: Boon or Bust?” *The Clearing House* 45: 404-406. For another, early evaluation of New Social Studies, see Jan L. Tucker, “Research on Social Studies Teaching and Teacher Education.” *Review of Research in Social Studies Education 1970-1975* (Washington, DC: National Council for Social Studies, 1977).

³³⁵ James P. Shaver, O.L. Davis, Jr., and Suzanne Wiggins Helburn, “The Status of Social Studies Education: Impressions from Three NSF Studies,” *Social Education* 43: 150-153; C. L. Hahn, Gerald W. Marker, T.M. Switzer, and M. J. Turner, *Three Studies on Perception and Utilization of “New Social Studies” Materials*, (Boulder, CO: Social Science Education Consortium, 1977.) William W. Goetz recalls his days as a teacher, promoting the New Social Studies in William W. Goetz, “The New Social Studies: The Memoir of a Practitioner,” *The Social Studies* (May/June, 1994): 100-105.

‘from Widener to Wichita,’ while failing to grasp how Wichita really thinks.”³³⁶ New Social Studies advocates failed to understand the thoughts of Wichita and countless other towns like it across America. It failed to make essential systemic changes in the social studies classrooms, not to mention the schools. New Social Studies, like previous related education reform movements, made a big splash in the literature, at conferences, and in a few, progressive and experimental schools, but most social studies classrooms, even at the height of the movement’s popularity, continued to educate using the tried and true methods of teachers past. John A. Goodlad’s much-cited work, *A Place Called School*, “the most extensive observational study of schooling in the twentieth century, involving twenty ethnographers in 1,350 Indiana classrooms, observing 17,163 students” which took place in the early 1960s (and which was repeated in 1977) found that while teachers in history and government courses “overwhelmingly” claimed that they taught using the “inquiry method” and that they promoted “hands-on learning,” they still designed their tests to assess the memorization of names and dates.³³⁷ And even at the zenith of New Social Studies, most of the students’ time was “devoted to detail, most of it trivial, much

³³⁶ Peter B. Dow, “Past as Prologue: The Legacy of Sputnik,” *Social Studies* (July/August 1992): 164-172. Widener is the name of the primary building of the library system at Harvard University. It holds a number of the world’s literary treasures.

³³⁷ Maurice G. Baxter, Robert H. Ferrell, and John E. Wiltz, *The Teaching of American History in High Schools* (Bloomington, 1964); John I. Goodlad, *A Place Called School* (New York, 1984) cited in Sam Wineburg, “Crazy for History,” in Textbooks and Teaching Section, *Journal of American History* (March 2004) viewed on May 8, 2008 at <http://www.indiana.edu/~jah/textbooks/2004/wineburg.shtml>

of it factually incorrect, and almost all of it unrelated to any concept, structure, cognitive strategy, or indeed anything other than the lesson plan."³³⁸

The most decisive nail in the New Social Studies coffin was that whatever its virtues, the inquiry method could not efficiently “cover” vast sweeps of the “American story,” and most instructors were unwilling to sacrifice the American narrative for the development of historical thinking skills. “Doing history” lost out to “knowing history.” As the critics of New Social Studies often pointed out, a student must know some content to be able to inquire. A lack of content knowledge often meant that the historical analysis would be poor. The “doing of history” and the “knowing of history” might be tightly woven—but the “knowing of history” was the more important thread in the cloth.

The move away from the “process” of New Social Studies to the “content” approach of the traditional classroom was accelerated in the United States in the early 1980s with the rise of socially and politically conservative leaders who began a “back to the basics” movement in education, and were soon joined by those less ideologically aligned, but who were simply tired of the “new this and the new that.” As a New Social Studies advocate later recalled, one opponent to the new pedagogy, a Phoenix, AZ man, pounded the podium at a school board meeting, proclaiming, “We’ve lost control of our children,” and lamented that the local children’s upbringing had now been taken over by people like ‘Skinner, Bruner, and the rest of these jokers from out of state.’”³³⁹ The Back

³³⁸ Charles Silberman, *Crisis in the Classroom: The Remaking of American Education* (New York, 1970) cited in Sam Wineburg, “Crazy for History,” in Textbooks and Teaching Section, *Journal of American History* (March 2004) viewed on May 8, 2008 at <http://www.indiana.edu/~jah/textbooks/2004/wineburg.shtml>

³³⁹ Peter B. Dow, “Past as Prologue: The Legacy of Sputnik,” *Social Studies* (July/August 1992): 164-172.

to the Basics movement's beginning can be marked by the creation of the National Commission on Excellence in Education in 1981 by Secretary of Education T.H. Bell. This commission published its provocative report, *A Nation at Risk* in April 1983.³⁴⁰ Whether they agreed with other parts of the conservative social and political agenda or not, a number of eminent historians and educators at this time publicly supported the "basics movement;" as a part of that support, they saw a need to transmit to succeeding generations an "irreducible minimum" of historical content. This minimum content was usually defined as being a bare bones political history, which easily could be identified as the venerable "freedom narrative," the core of American history classrooms for over a century. One of the most prominent of these back to the basics reports from historians and educational leaders was that of the History Commission of the Council for Basic Education.³⁴¹ But it was the report from political leaders and social critics that received the most attention, such as the report of the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in the*

³⁴⁰ National Commission on Excellence in Education, *A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform* (Washington, DC: Educational Excellence Network, 1988). Though fewer in number, there were still those who tried to keep the old spirit alive. See James L. Lorence, "The Critical Analysis of the Documentary Evidence: Basic Skills in the History Classroom," *History Teaching* 8 (1983).

³⁴¹ James Howard and Thomas Mendenhall, *Making History Come Alive: The Place of History in the Schools Report of the History Commission of the Council for Basic Education* (The Council: Washington, DC, 1982.) This attempt to "return to basics" was called at the time "superficially attractive, inviting something of a surge of nostalgia," but "the suggestion that history is essentially a narrative account of political developments is disturbing and also inaccurate in light of the breadth of focus that characterizes contemporary historical content." Linda Rosenzweig and Thomas Weinland, "New Directions for the History Curriculum: A Challenge for the 1980s," *The History Teacher* 19 (February 1986): 266.

Schools.³⁴² The sentiments of these reformers was perhaps best summed up by William J. Bennett who said, “We want our students—whatever their plans for the future—to take from high school a shared body of knowledge and skills, a common language of ideas, a common moral and intellectual discipline.”³⁴³ It is a lineage that leads directly to the “No Child Left Behind” educational policies of President George W. Bush’s administration.

Still, vestiges of New Social Studies influence can be seen in such activities and practices as the documents-based question on the Advanced Placement examinations and, in some form, in most school standards, including the 1994 National Standards for United States History, which stated that “perhaps no aspect of historical thinking is as exciting to students or as productive of their growth as historical thinkers as ‘doing history’ by directly encountering ‘historical documents, letters, diaries, artifacts, [and] photos.’”³⁴⁴ While the constructivist-influenced pedagogies of the New Social Studies floundered by the late 1970s in the United States to be replaced by what one thinker on these issues has called, “old Social Studies with a heavy layer of cosmetics,” a similar effort transformed history teaching in Great Britain and helped inspire a new wave of research into “historical thinking” in the field of educational psychology. That effort was the British Schools Council 13-16 History Project, which, in turn, came to influence the research into teaching and learning of history in the United States.

³⁴² The Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, *Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in the Schools*, (Washington, DC: Education Excellence Network, 1988.)

³⁴³ William J. Bennett, *James Madison High School: A Curriculum for American Students* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 1987): 4.

³⁴⁴ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for United States History: Exploring the American Experience* (Los Angeles, CA: National Center for History in the Schools, 1994): 29.

Schools Council 13-16 History Project

History education in Great Britain reached a crisis point in the late 1960s. As their colleagues did across the Atlantic, British critics of school history argued that the subject was boring, irrelevant to modern life, and attempted to do little beyond building the memorization skills of the pupils.³⁴⁵ A survey of students regarding coursework in England at the time showed that history was near the bottom of the poll.³⁴⁶ As one historian and history education reformer described the method of the history classes at the time,

It turned history into a race which nobody could ever win, with the teacher getting faster and faster the nearer exams got, leaving out greater and greater chunks of reality in the hopes of making it to the winning post. Fast history leaves out the best bits, the stories, the rambling by-ways which intuition tells you to follow. Fast history tells lies, for it paints history not as it is, confused and confusing, bedraggled and messy, gloriously cluttered, inexplicable, and maddening, and sorts it out into one almighty washing line with only the pegs left in place.³⁴⁷

Some believed that unless something was done with this “pegged” history, the subject would go the way of Latin and Greek.³⁴⁸ Even some historians of the time questioned

³⁴⁵ Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 62.

³⁴⁶ John Fines, *History* (London: Blond Education, 1969): v.

³⁴⁷ John Fines, “Making Sense Out of the Content of the History Syllabus,” in *History Curriculum for Teachers*, Christopher Portal, ed. (London: Falmer Press, 1987): 108-109.

³⁴⁸ Martin Booth, *History Betrayed* (London: Longman’s, 1969); Mary Price, “History in Danger,” *History* 53 (1968): 342-347. Both of these highly influential articles argued that major changes in the curriculum needed to take place to address the criticism being leveled at school history.

whether there was a need to teach history below the university level, since, if taught correctly, it was such a sophisticated subject.³⁴⁹

As was the case of “New Social Studies” in the United States, teaching history through the investigation of primary sources had its earlier champions in England, as well. In 1911, Reader in Education at Oxford, M. W. Keatinge and colleague N. L. Frazer, published *A History of England for Schools with Documents, Problems, and Exercises*.³⁵⁰ This work sought to put into practice the ideas first espoused by its author in *Studies in the Teaching of History*, published a year earlier and later expanded and revised over the years.³⁵¹ In this work, Keatinge, like his counterparts across the Atlantic, argued that history could build the analytical and critical thinking skills of pupils, and the way to build those skills was to teach history through the scientific history methodology employed by academic historians of the day. To those critics who stated that it was above the heads of youngsters to teach them to be historians, he replied, “The boy is no more placed in the position of the historian who weighs and estimates his raw material than the boy in the laboratory who is being put through a course of practical work is . . . being placed in the position of the scientific discoverer.”³⁵² Soon, teachers were testifying to the power of primary sources in the English classroom.³⁵³ In 1928, F. C. Happold, who had

³⁴⁹ G. R. Elton, *The Practice of History*, (London: 1967): 145-146 cited in Linda W. Rosenzweig, Perspectives on History Education in England,” *The History Teacher* 17 (February 1984): 175.

³⁵⁰ Maurice Walter Keatinge and N. L. Frazer, *A History of England for Schools With Documents, Problems, and Exercises* (London: A. C. Black, 1911).

³⁵¹ Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History* (London: A.C. Black, 1910).

³⁵² Maurice Walter Keatinge, *Studies in the Teaching of History* (London: A.C. Black, 1910): 38-39.

³⁵³ H. Ann Drummond, *History in Schools: A Study of Some of Its Problems* (London: Harrap, 1929): 140-141.

experimented with teaching history in Keatinge's recommended fashion in the previous year, argued strongly for the teaching of historical methods rather than subject matter, and he provided his readers with a carefully structured course in historical methodology. In the following year, Catherine Firth extended Keatinge's work to the elementary classes, arguing that "The search for evidence, the framing of the hypothesis, their testing, their verification, modification or rejection, and the search again: this is in actual fact the process followed not only by the student in the Public Record Office, but by every teacher who works out a fresh lesson for a class, and by every child who writes his own answer to a 'thinking question.'" She believed that it was the history teacher's responsibility to teach not only the content of the subject, but to insist that the students ask "Is this true?" and "How do I know?"³⁵⁴ These were not lone voices in the educational wilderness. There were others who also promoted the teaching of history in the English schools using this methodology.³⁵⁵ One researcher found that the scholarly literature of most of the twentieth century answered the question, "Why teach history," not with replies regarding that subject's ability to impart the national story or encourage the sharing of a central body of essential knowledge to build a national unity and sense of identity, but for that subject's ability to instill critical thinking and analytical skills, for its

³⁵⁴ Frederick Crossfield Happold, *The Approach to History* (London: Christopher's, 1928), viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; Catherine B. Firth, *The Learning of History in the Elementary Schools* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Truber, and Co., 1929): 10-11, viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com.

³⁵⁵ Some examples include J. W. Allen, *The Place of History in Education* (London: Blackwood, 1909), viewed on August 8, 2009 at www.books.google.com; Eugene Lewis Hasluck, *The Teaching of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1917); Charles Hooper Jarvis, *The Teaching of History* (Oxford: Oxford Univeristy Press, 1917) viewed on August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com; Joseph John Findlay, *History and Its Place in Education* (London: University of London Press, 1926).

ability to teach what had been called, “the historic sense.”³⁵⁶ But despite all of the works that appeared in the educational literature and all the talks presented at workshops and conferences, there was little penetration into the English schools beyond a few experimental classrooms. Just as a handful of people set out to change this situation in the United States, so did a few in England.³⁵⁷

Fully aware of the New Social Studies movement in the United States and influenced by the works of Jerome Bruner and Benjamin Bloom, historians such as E. H. Carr who strenuously argued that history was an interpretive subject (not simply a listing of facts in a pleasing and literate manner), and Paul Hirst who is known for his theory on academic disciplines as forms of knowledge, pointed out that what went on in their nation’s classrooms rarely required their students to leave the lower cognitive realms.³⁵⁸ There needed to be some way to scale the cognitive ladder in history, especially in that area designated by Bloom to be the Affective Domain, the sphere of emotion, belief and attitude. After all, this was the cognitive region in which generations of history teachers had maintained their subject excelled. Since at least Cato the Elder, historians and teachers had told their readers and students that knowing the stories of the past helped

³⁵⁶ A. Rogers, “‘Why Teach History?’: The Answer of 50 Years,” *Educational Review* 14 (1961/1962): 153-154, 160.

³⁵⁷ Much of the previous paragraph has been a summary of R. E. Aldrich, “New History: An Historical Perspective,” *Learning History*, (1984): 210-224.

³⁵⁸ E. H. Carr, *What is History?* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1961). Carr’s answer to this question continues to influence historians, and has been required reading in history graduate student seminars for decades. Paul Hirst argued that education was the initiation into different, fundamental types of knowledge or ways of thinking, which he identified as logico-mathematical, scientific, moral, historical, aesthetic, religious, and philosophical. These “types of knowledge” are not understood to be “collections of information, but the complex ways of understanding experience which man has achieved.” Paul H. Hirst, *Knowledge and the Curriculum* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974): 84.

build the skills needed for good citizenship. Thoughts along these lines were spurred when an English history teacher sought a replacement for corporal punishment. He was just no good with the cane.

John Fines, the son of a railwayman who grew up in the Lincoln countryside during World War II and attended Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University, became a history teacher against his university tutor's advice. (The tutor had suggested that Fines had a nervous constitution not suited for the classroom).³⁵⁹ As it turns out, his tutor was correct, and soon Fines, who had first come into contact with primary sources as a schoolboy when he took a job sweeping the archives office to avoid school football, found himself bristling under the rules and regulations and the daily grind of the classroom. He soon discovered his calling during a stint overseeing the after school detention classes. Fines later admitted that he was no good at corporal punishment, so he sought some other form of punishing his charges. He promised his students in detention that they would do "hard, unrelenting, and boring work."³⁶⁰ John Fines put his minor delinquents to work sorting the note cards that he had amassed doing research for his history dissertation which was on 15th century heresy trials. Soon, John found students lining up for detention. They wanted to join his club. As he later reported, "I taught History from 9 to 4 that satisfied no-one (least of all myself) and from 4 to 6 there were shoals of boys helping me deal with materials that should by any definition have been

³⁵⁹ John Fines, "Teaching with Documents: A Personal View," *The History Teacher* 22 (May 1989): 317.

³⁶⁰ John Fines, "Teaching with Documents: A Personal View," *The History Teacher* 22 (May 1989): 318.

way above their heads." Fines's description of teaching with sources is a telling commentary on the traditional method of history instruction:

Slowly I began to realize that the boys were interested in the process of the subject - they wanted to see someone who was doing history, not just telling them about it (perhaps only in woodwork and art did they get a chance at a similar experience of seeing their teacher doing his subject), but more importantly what was happening in the daytime was superficial, lacked the guts of real life, whilst the depth study of the after-school session, baffling as it might be, satisfied the lust for real knowing. Slowly, as time went by, I began to realize also that when we were working on those documents in the evening we were working at the right sort of pace, slowly, deeply and really. In the daytime we were just skimming the surface, turning a page and letting forty years pass as if it didn't matter. In the document work everything mattered, for accuracy was obviously necessary when everything might be a clue.³⁶¹

John Fines, watching his students interact with sources, realized that children could learn history just as he was learning history, by doing it. Fines finished his PhD (in three years), returned to the academy, and turned his thoughts to changing the way history was taught. In 1971, he joined forces with Jeanette Coltham who had recently published a paper which sought to further explain the development of historical thinking in students beyond the Piagetian stages and into the more social realms of learning and understanding.³⁶² With the publication of their *Educational Objectives for the Study of History*, Coltham and Fines provided the blueprint for a Bloom-like taxonomy of history

³⁶¹ John Fines, J. *Reading Historical Documents: A Manual for Students* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988): 318, quoted in Ken Osborne, "Primary Sources a New Old Method of Teaching History," *Canadian Social Studies* 37 (Winter 2003), viewed on April 15, 2006 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_37_2/CLvoices_from_the_past.htm.

³⁶² Jeanette Coltham, *The Development of Thinking and The Learning of History*, (London: Historical Association, 1971).

learning objectives in the affective domain³⁶³ They stated their belief that educational outcomes from the study of history included “insight” and “knowledge about values.” Their work linked attitudes with historical knowledge in a compelling way and differed greatly from the “memoriter system” of the traditional history classroom. Their work also linked thinking with developing attitudes towards learning, itself, and historical knowledge, in particular. Coltham stated that “If, by use of their interests and through work aimed to develop their understanding, children gain satisfaction from their study, then the urge to continue is kept alive and motivation is strengthened – and what more can teachers of history ask!”³⁶⁴

Armed with this new understanding of learning objectives, the importance of a discipline’s “structures,” and the link between the study of history and the changing of student attitudes, all that was left was for someone to determine what attributes of the historical enterprise gave the subject its unique structure; to create clear, assessable, learning objectives; and place these attributes inside a “syllabus that eschewed the content, coverage, and chronology of British political history and addressed topics and questions that met the needs of pupils growing up in the second half of the 20th

³⁶³ Jeanette Coltham, *The Development of Thinking and The Learning of History*, (London: Historical Association, 1971) and Jeanette Coltham and John Fines, *Educational Objectives for the Study of History: A Suggested Framework* (Teaching of History Pamphlet Series No. 35) (London: Historical Association, 1971). Only two years before, a new journal, sponsored by the British Historical Association, was launched in response to the school history crisis. *Teaching History*, with its first editor John Standen, would become an important instrument in the revitalization of history teaching in England. Many of the articles in this journal have, over the years, dealt with building historical thinking skills.

³⁶⁴ Jeanette Coltham, *The Development of Thinking and The Learning of History*, (London: Historical Association, 1971): 43 quoted in Peter Vass, “Thinking Skills and the Learning of Primary History,” May 2003, viewed on May 5, 2008 at <http://www.brookes.ac.uk/schools/education/rescon/HistoryConcludingPaper.pdf>

Century.”³⁶⁵ That is exactly what the Schools Council Project at the University of Leeds attempted to do.

The Schools Council 13-16 History Project began as a part of broader wave of reform in curriculum and assessment practices which had their foundation in the early 1960s.³⁶⁶ (The Schools Council, an organization representing teachers, local education officials, and the British Department of Education and Science, was created in 1964 to affect school reform. The numbers, “13-16” indicate that the curriculum was designed for students between the ages of thirteen and sixteen, the last three years of compulsory education in Great Britain.) Despite nearly a decade of discussion, the first move to reform history teaching in Great Britain did not occur until 1971 when a project was authorized to revise curriculum for eight to thirteen year olds. In September 1972 a second project, history for 13 to 16 year olds was approved. Originally begun as a three-year grant project with an appropriation of 78,000 pounds at the University of Leeds, the history project of the Schools Council began with the belief that “many teachers would find helpful a project which would provide stimulus, support, and materials to help them revitalize their own practice in general and more particularly help them to encourage

³⁶⁵ Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 1994 29, 2 (1994): 63.

³⁶⁶ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History*’ *Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 59. For a good discussion of the Schools Council project, see Schools Council History Project 13-16 Project, *A New Look at History* (Edinburgh, 1976) and T. Boddington, “The Schools Council History 13-16 Project,” *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 19 (March 1984): 129-37.

more pupil participation in their study of history.”³⁶⁷ John Fines was on the committee that directed the Schools Council 13-16 History Project.

The project studied the existing curriculum, interviewed teachers in schools generally regarded as having good history programs, and surveyed other teachers and teacher educators about the teaching of history. These constituencies gave the project overriding directives: 1) the curriculum should allow students to pass external public examinations, 2) history should be taught separate from other subjects rather than be integrated into part of another subject or subjects, 3) direction should be given as to the appropriate content to be taught, 4) primary sources should be used in teaching, and 5) the subject should be able to be taught with a variety of instructional approaches.³⁶⁸ In addition, the project identified five adolescent needs, which it claimed could be satisfied by the study of history: the need to 1) explain the present, 2) understand people in a different time and place, 3) understand human development, change, and causation, 4) develop leisure time interests, and 5) develop analytical skills.³⁶⁹ The project responded

³⁶⁷ Charles Edward Samec, “Teaching for Historical Understanding in British Schools,” *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 62. Schools History Project Web Site, viewed on August 31, 2006 at <http://www.leedstrinity.ac.uk/shp/whatishp.htm> See also, Linda W. Rosenzweig, “Perspectives on History Education in England,” *The History Teacher* 17 (1984): 169-190 and Linda W. Rosenzweig and T. P. Weinland, “New Directions for the History Curriculum: A Challenge for the 1980s,” *The History Teacher* 19 (1986): 263-275.

³⁶⁸ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History’ Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 59. Charles E. Samec, “Teaching for Historical Understanding in British Schools,” *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 63.

³⁶⁹ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History’ Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 59. These needs were based upon the creators’ intuition and experience and not upon any empirical research, as has been pointed out by several commentators on the project. See Martin Booth “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 1994 29, 2 (1994): 63.

by creating a five-part course of study for students between the age of thirteen and sixteen, culminating with public examinations. It also assembled primary sources and secondary readings for each of the project's five courses; examined and presented to the teachers a variety of educational approaches, explaining the advantages and disadvantages of each; and offered a defense of history as a legitimate subject in the British schools' curriculum.³⁷⁰

The first step in this process was the delineation of a philosophy of history education. Without a clear "statement of purpose," it would have been impossible to create clear learning objectives for the resulting curriculum, no matter where those objectives might fall on Bloom's or Coltham and Fines' taxonomies. This philosophy of history education was clearly spelled out in the first of the five courses that the project constructed. It was titled in a straightforward manner, "What is history?"³⁷¹ The objectives of the "What is History?" course were as follows: students were to learn that 1) history is a subject about people and what they have said and done; 2) the study of history involves detective work and a search for evidence and clues about the people of the past; 3) there are many different types of historical evidence and this evidence has grown and changed through the ages; 4) there are many problems connected with historical evidence, for it can be biased, open to differing interpretations, or even

³⁷⁰ Charles E. Samec, "Teaching for Historical Understanding in British Schools," *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 63.

³⁷¹ Linda W. Rosenzweig, "Perspectives on History Education in England," *The History Teacher* 17 (February 1984): 177. Schools Council Project: History 13-16, *Newsletter*, (November 1974): 2, quoted in Rodney M. White, "An Alternative Approach to Teaching History," the "On Teaching" Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History/Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 65.

insufficient; and 5) a study of people in the past involves asking questions about their actions, their motives, and the consequences of their deeds.

Under the direction of David Sylvester, a lecturer in Education at University of Leeds, the “What is History?” course was created by a team (most of whom had recent classroom experience) to be an elective designed to be taught to 13 year-olds who had already had three required years of history, usually twice a week, in traditional content-based classrooms.³⁷² This course familiarized students with a few core ideas about the nature of history and taught a handful of historical skills. The course was couched in the terms of a detective story, with the students playing the role of the gumshoe. With units carrying the titles of “The Mystery of the Tollund Man,” and “The Mystery of the Empty Grave,” students wrestled with the idea of historical evidence and its challenges, making their own decisions about who did what to whom and the consequences for others. While helping students understand the interpretive nature of history, this course was also designed to create an interest in the subject and to encourage them to take the four additional elective courses, which would follow in the sequence.³⁷³ Despite its popularity as a stand-alone unit, the “What is History?” class was later more thoroughly integrated into the other portions of the project to provide additional class time in activities that would help in meeting external exam requirements.³⁷⁴

³⁷² Charles E. Samec, “Teaching for Historical Understanding in British Schools,” *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 62. Tony Boddington, “The Schools Council History 13-16 Project,” *The History and Social Science Teacher* 19 (March 1984): 129.

³⁷³ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History/Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 59.

³⁷⁴ Ian Dawson, “The Schools History Project—A Study in Curriculum Development,” *The History Teacher* 22 (May 1989): 237.

The four elective courses which followed the “What is History?” course involved an extensive syllabus, which met the requirements for the British system of external examinations, but which also managed to be organized around four approaches to historical study—each of which was designed to meet one of those five adolescent needs that had been identified by the project’s creators. These four courses were 1) “Study in Development,” which was designed to help students understand human development, causation, and change through a study of the histories of medicine and energy; this mirrored the professional historian’s interest in change, causation, and continuity 2) “Enquiry in Depth,” which was developed around an in-depth study of a short period of history (Elizabethan England, The American West 1840-1890, Britain 1815-1851) and which was designed to help students understand people of a different time and place, reflecting the professional historian’s interest in studying a problem in depth, 3) “Studies in Modern World History,” where students identified a problem in two of the following subject areas: the Arab-Israeli Conflict, the Irish Question, the Move toward European Unity, the rise of communist China, and then researched that problem to determine its origins and development; this was intended to meet the student’s need to understand the historical development of the present and mirrored the interest of professional historians in understanding the origins and developments of contemporary problems; and 5) the final course, “History Around Us,” which focused on some aspect of the local community, often the built environment; this met the student need for a leisure interest and reflected the professional historian’s interest in understanding one’s own social environment. This final course emphasized the physical remains of history and the local

environment, and had subcategories to choose from along the lines of “Roman Britain,” “Prehistoric Britain,” Castles and Fortified Houses,” Church Buildings and Furnishings,” “Making of the Rural Landscape,” “Town Development and Domestic Architecture.”³⁷⁵ All together, the five courses represented a two-year curriculum. Interaction with primary sources and an emphasis on student analysis and interpretation provided the link that bound the individual courses together.

Some observers of the project pointed out that there was a mismatch between the project’s curriculum, which was designed to emphasize conceptual understanding and the project’s syllabus and assessment practices that emphasized the acquisition of information—the latter so that students taking the courses could pass the external examinations.³⁷⁶ In response, the project designed an assessment method more compatible with its philosophy of history education than the traditional approaches. The teacher’s reference volume, *Explorations*, while providing guidance for the use of the materials so that the requirements of the external examinations were met, also provided an assessment approach that measured the historical thinking abilities engendered by the more analytical approach to the subject. One of these latter approaches involved essay questions using “unseen evidence,” (not unlike the documents-based questions which would later appear on the Advanced Placement tests found in the United States).

³⁷⁵ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History/Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 60.

³⁷⁶ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History/Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 60.

The project met a good deal of success early on. Over time, the Schools Council History 13-16 Project grew from about sixty schools in 1974 to about 512 (out of approximately 5,000 schools) in 1980.³⁷⁷ In 1982, about 18 percent of students planning to take the external history examinations had prepared by taking the Schools Council 13-16 History Project courses, and by 1980, the “What is History?” first unit materials had been used by approximately 40% of the schools in Great Britain.³⁷⁸ Close to 1,200 schools eventually adopted the curriculum by 1988, and, in the same year, the project claimed 70,000 sixteen year-old candidates for the external exams, about 20%-25% of all students taking external exams.³⁷⁹

The project has left a lasting influence on history education in Great Britain. It changed the way a significant number of teachers thought about history, even though history teachers in Great Britain take more history courses in college than do their American counterparts. It also changed the way many British educators taught history to their charges. There even grew to be a new emphasis on documents-based questions in the national external examinations, largely as a result of the project’s success. As one observer noted during the hey-day of the Schools Council History 13-16 Project,

³⁷⁷ Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History/Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 60. “News from the Schools Council ‘History 13-16 Project,’” *Teaching History* 27 (June 1980): 30.

³⁷⁸ Linda W. Rosenzweig, “Perspectives on History Education in England,” *The History Teacher* 17 (February 1984): 178.

³⁷⁹ Ian Dawson, “The Schools History Project—A Study in Curriculum Development,” *The History Teacher* 22 (May 1989): 224.

History educators in England share many of the problems of their American colleagues, and they voice many of the same anxieties. But much of the current British literature reflects a sense of revitalization in secondary school history education that is conspicuously absent in the American context. History today, whether a “new” history or history as it has been traditionally taught, appears to be more highly valued and in this sense also more entrenched in the secondary school curriculum in England than it is in the United States.³⁸⁰

In a formal evaluation of the project, undertaken in 1980, Denis Shemilt found that students taking the Schools Council 13-16 Project’s courses appeared to be significantly better off in a number of respects. The Project’s students typically “progressed in their capacity to learn to think historically as modeled by experts in the discipline, itself,” and they developed a deeper understanding of English History. Those who took this course of study also came to believe that the study of history was more relevant to their lives than those students who were taught through more traditional means.³⁸¹ Shemilt also found that students of lower ability could cope with the requirements of History 13-16 with intangibles such as “school ethos, academic orientation, quality of teaching in other subjects, and the general level of effort demanded in the school” having a significant impact on the success of the project.³⁸² Some observers believed that the project largely succeeded in changing the way teachers taught

³⁸⁰ Linda W. Rosenzweig, “Perspectives on History Education in England,” *The History Teacher* 17 (February 1984): 170.

³⁸¹ Alaric K. Dickinson, “Teaching of History,” *Education Encyclopedia* <http://www.answers.com/topic/teaching-of--history> Rodney M. White, “An Alternative Approach to Teaching History,” the “On Teaching” Column, *Magazine of History for Teachers of History/Organization of American Historians* 8 (Winter 1994): 60.

³⁸² Tony Boddington, “The Schools Council History 13-16 Project,” *The History and Social Science Teacher* 19 (March 1984): 136. Denis Shemilt, *History 13-16 Evaluation Study* (Edinburgh, 1980)

history because “teacher educators and teachers along with education researchers were all involved in changing pedagogical and curricular practices.”³⁸³ The Schools Council Project 13-16 was a joint effort, not simply the work of reformers riding into town on white horses looking for a showdown in the streets while the locals watched from the safety of upper story windows, chalk and textbooks in hand.

The chief complaint about the project was, as one teacher later stated, that it “seriously shortchanged the students in historical content and context.”³⁸⁴ The answer to this criticism was usually couched in terms similar to ones made by another commentator on the project, who stated:

We can lament all the content that the British Schools Council History Project omits, but after years of teaching survey courses in the U.S., we continue to lament that our students know no history at all. One does not need a survey course in order to understand change, cause and effect and chronological sequence . . . We need to break out of this content trap. Certainly content is essential; one cannot think or inquire about nothing. But the slavish commitment to coverage does not define good teaching, nor good history.³⁸⁵

While the project did narrow the number of topics covered in the classroom, it expanded the idea of history beyond the borders of past politics and wars; the Schools Council History 13-16, some argued, actually represented a wider array of the human enterprise,

³⁸³ Alaric K. Dickinson, “Teaching of History,” *Education Encyclopedia* <http://www.answers.com/topic/teaching-of--history> Tony Boddington, “The Schools Council 13-16 History Project,” *The History and Social Science Teacher* 19 (March 1984): 130.

³⁸⁴ Jane Lancaster, “The Public Private Scholarly Teaching Historian,” *Journal of American History* (December 1994): 1060.

³⁸⁵ Linda Rosenweig and Thomas Weinland, “New Directions for the History Curriculum,” *The History Teacher* 19 (February 1986): 263-275.

and included science, medicine, architecture, and the study of “average” people and daily life.³⁸⁶

In 1988, the Conservative government of Margaret Thatcher attempted to curtail the spread of the project. Afraid that school standards were falling and children were not being steeped in the “national story,” the Iron Lady’s educational establishment mandated significant changes in the way history was taught with the implementation of a new national curriculum for England and Wales. The new common curriculum called for more systematic review of narratives from the days of British Empire and included less emphasis on the process of history and the concomitant analytical skills. Ten subjects, including history, was established as core, and subject content was matched to four key stages of development, largely corresponding to Piagetian development: 5-7, 7-11, 11-14, and 14-16 year olds.³⁸⁷ The Schools Council History 13-16 Project, however, had become institutionalized in a number of places. Reverting back to lecture, textbook, and memorization in these schools was difficult. And while a majority of the schools in Great Britain still employ the traditional “content model” of history, the United Kingdom remains one of few places where teaching of history is still more of a way to think

³⁸⁶ Charles E. Samec, “Teaching for Historical Understanding in British Schools,” *The History Teacher* 13 (November 1979): 63.

³⁸⁷ Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 66. For a criticism of the National Curriculum and its Assessment of History, see Martin Booth, “Students’ Historical Thinking and the History National Curriculum in England,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 21 (1993): 105-127; Martin Booth and C. Husbands, “The History National Curriculum in England and Wales: Assessment at Key Stage 3,” *The Curriculum Journal* 2 (1993): 21-36.

historically than as a “socialization exercise in memorization and recall of a nation’s grand accomplishments and celebrations.”³⁸⁸

The Schools Council History 13-16 Project slowly lost funding in the last days of the 1970s and early days of the 1980s. It transferred from the University of Leeds to Trinity and All Saints College in 1979 where it has been ever since, eventually changing its name to the *Schools History Project*. The Project, in addition to influencing history pedagogy, was one of the factors which sparked history-specific research in educational psychology, as its entire premise challenged the Piagetian framework of knowing and learning. The project also reflects what happened to many “inquiry-based” learning projects in history as well as other parts of the curriculum. As the 1980s slipped into the Internet Age, it became Web-based. “The Schools History Project: Online Resource for Teachers” may be found at <<http://www.leedstrinity.ac.uk/shp>>. Ian Dawson, an early national coordinator of the Schools Council 13-16 History Project, maintains his own Website at <www.thinkinghistory.co.uk>³⁸⁹, and John Fines became closely associated with the Nuffield Primary History Web site, <<http://www.primaryhistory.org>>, which is sponsored by the Nuffield Foundation and edited by Jacqui Dean with contributions from Jon Nichol and Sarah Codrington.³⁹⁰ The seven key principles of the Nuffield Project include 1) *questioning*—learning is about asking and answering questions, 2) *challenge*

³⁸⁸ Alaric K. Dickinson, “Teaching of History,” *Education Encyclopedia* <http://www.answers.com/topic/teaching-of--history>

³⁸⁹ Dawson explains the title of the Web site on its homepage, “This site provides activities that require history students to think, question and participate. That’s why it’s called Thinkinghistory, not regurgitating, rote-learning, passive history.” “Welcome to Thinkinghistory,” viewed on May 30, 2007 at <http://www.thinkinghistory.co.uk>

³⁹⁰ Jon Nichol is editor of the journal, *Primary History*. For more about the Nuffield Project, see <http://www.primaryhistory.org/aboutus/>

students to speculate, debate, make connection . . . , 3) *depth*—real knowledge demands study in depth, 4) *authenticity*—no need for “Mickey Mouse” versions, challenge with real materials, 5) *economy*—better to use a few well chosen materials than an unstructured jumble, 6) *accessibility*—start with what children know and can do and go from there, 7) *communication*—give the children the opportunity to speak to a real audience, essential for consolidating knowledge and giving learning a purpose.³⁹¹ The Schools Council History Project 13-16 lives on.

As has been shown, the Schools Council History Project 13-16 grew out of constructivist ideas, primarily those of Bloom who “forefronted” educational objectives, Coltham and Fines who extended those educational objectives in history to the affective domain, and Bruner who emphasized the importance of teaching the nature of a subject, the underlying principles and processes that give a discipline its structure. These and other constructivist thinkers stressed that the schools spent too much time in the lower cognitive realms, rarely rising to higher levels of abstraction.³⁹² At the foundation of constructivism—and many of the ideas of Bloom, Bruner, Coltham and Fines—was the work of Jean Piaget. The developmental framework articulated by Piaget stated that the mental development of thirteen through sixteen year-olds had not reached the higher levels of cognition, the formal operational stage; in short, according to Piaget, most

³⁹¹ “Nuffield Primary History Seven Principles,” viewed on January 9, 2009 at <http://www.primaryhistory.org/principles/>

³⁹² B. S. Bloom, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. The Classification of Educational Goals: Handbook I. Cognitive Domain*. (New York City, NY: David McKay, 1956) and Jerome Bruner, *The Process of Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1960). Bloom’s work on a second Domain, the Affective appeared eight years later: D. R. Krathwohl, B. S. Bloom, and B. B. Masia, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives. The Classification of Educational Goals: Handbook II. Affective Domain* (New York City, NY: David McKay, 1964).

secondary students and all those in the elementary grades “would find it difficult to use such concepts as change, development, causation and evidence to guide them in analyzing historical evidence. They would not be able to form and test hypotheses about historical occurrence and they would experience difficulty in thinking about historical issues in isolation from some specific and concrete instance (a story).”³⁹³ Here, then, is the great intellectual disconnect in 1960s-1970s history education (at least as it played out in the academy’s journals, conferences, and few experimental projects): a large number of educators promoted the teaching of history on constructivist grounds while a basic premise of cognitive development theory—upon which constructivism rested—was the belief that children don’t develop the ability to think in the abstract manner required to “do history” until they are nearly ready to go to college. What follows is a brief review of the expansion of the Piagetian framework from the hard sciences to history, the attempt to accelerate cognitive development in historical thinking within that framework, and, finally, the understanding that the development of historical thinking skills might occur in a different, domain-specific fashion.

From Piaget to Peel to Hallam and Jurd

It was Edwin Peel (1911-1992) and his graduate students who applied the Piagetian framework outside the realms of math and science to textual reasoning. A former teacher of technical education and a well-respected amateur painter, Peel joined

³⁹³ Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63. A good portrayal of the scholarly thinking about the psychology of teaching and learning in history in the midst of the New Social Studies movement in the United States and at the beginning of the Schools Council Project in England can be found in David Thompson, “Some Psychological Aspects of History Teaching,” in W. H. Burston and C. W. Green, eds., *Handbook for History Teachers*, second edition, (London: Methuen Educational, Ltd., 1972).

the faculty at the University of Birmingham in England, and eventually became his department's third chair. Early in his academic career, Peel became interested in psychometrics, and his research into different aspects of "intelligence tests," demonstrated that he was a man of his time.³⁹⁴ Being a painter, Peel built upon his non-professional past-time and studied art education and appreciation, being greatly interested in two-dimensional and three-dimensional representations of space and their interpretation by children and adults. But it was in his first book, *Psychological Basis of Education* (1956), and specifically, that work's important chapter on intellectual development, that Peel revealed early thoughts, which greatly affected the study of teaching and learning in history. In this celebrated chapter, Peel brought together the ideas of Piaget and Binet (of IQ test fame) and tied them to teaching styles, problem solving, and curriculum building. As a result, Peel was one of first "educationists" to tie the work of Piaget to curriculum design, extending the Swiss psychologist's work from its usual realm of science and mathematics into textual reasoning. Piaget had formulated his developmental model in relation to problem solving within natural sciences where data was complete and a solution available—a set of circumstances that the historian never finds.³⁹⁵ Peel wanted to know if there is a different cognitive structure for disciplines in those subjects "more oriented to the use of languages than math and science," and, if so, how that structure related to the cognitive structures of more often

³⁹⁴ W.D. Wall, "The Contribution of E. A. Peel to Educational Psychology," *Educational Review* 31 (June 1979): 93-98. For an overview of educational psychology in Great Britain during the 1960s, see J.B. Thomas, "Psychology of Education in the UK: Development in the 1960s," *Educational Studies* 33(March 2007): 53-63.

³⁹⁵ Barbel Inhelder and Jean Piaget, *The Growth of Logical Thinking from Childhood to Adolescence* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1958).

studied subjects.³⁹⁶ In asking these questions, Peel was taking for granted that the essence of understanding in these subjects is not the grasping of facts, but was rather to be found in tasks such as understanding cause and effect, following sustained arguments, and performing critical analysis.³⁹⁷ He also felt that the complex intellectual changes of adolescents could best be understood by investigating students' interactions with problems defined by academic boundaries.

An editor of the influential *Educational Review* in England, Peel developed these ideas further and, in 1960, published *The Pupil's Thinking*, where he again incorporated Piagetian development into curriculum design and teaching methods. Peel later extended this work into history.³⁹⁸ In his works, Peel identifies “describer thinking” which was not unlike Piaget’s “Concrete Operational” level of thought and “explainer thinking,” which was closely akin to Piaget’s “Formal Operational” thought. As one writer has explained, Peel’s new terminology is justified because he was interested in language-oriented disciplines as Piaget was with science.³⁹⁹ Peel performed research and wrote along Piagetian lines for the next two decades while his students extended the Piagetian framework into more specific subject areas such as geography, religious education, and

³⁹⁶ Michael Zaccaria, “The Development of Historical Thinking: Implications for the Teaching of History,” *The History Teacher* 11 (May, 1978): 323-340.

³⁹⁷ Sam Wineburg, “The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History” in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

³⁹⁸ E. A. Peel, “Some Problems in the Psychology of History Teaching,” in W. H. Burston and D. Thompson, eds., *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History* (London: RKP, 1967): 159-190.

³⁹⁹ Michael Zaccaria, “The Development of Historical Thinking: Implications for the Teaching of History,” *The History Teacher* 11 (May, 1978): 323-340.

archeology.⁴⁰⁰ Perhaps none of these subject-specific inquiries had as much effect as did the work in history.

There were a number of individuals who attempted to tackle the subject of Piagetian “ages and stages” in historical understanding during the early 1960s, but one of Peel’s students, Roy N. Hallam had the greatest influence in this area. For his Master’s thesis at the University of Leeds, Hallam attempted to understand the analytical thought of students in the historical context. He presented three textbook passages on three different subjects to one hundred British students and asked that they write essays on these passages. He then classified the responses into Piagetian categories of intellectual development. If the students did not relate the question to information provided, Hallam placed them in the preoperational category; if the response to the question was well-organized, but did not go beyond the text, he considered the student to be in the concrete operational stage; he categorized those students who dealt with the question by floating a hypothesis and checking it against the text as being in the formal operational category—capable of analytical thought.⁴⁰¹ Only two of the one hundred students performed in a

⁴⁰⁰ W.T. Rhys, “Geography and the Adolescent,” *Educational Review* 24 (June 1972): 183-196; R. C. Richmond, “Maturity of Religious Judgements and Differences of Religious Attitudes Between Ages of 13 and 16 Years,” *Educational Review* 24 (June 1972): 225-236; Thomas, “*Educational Review* (June 1972):

⁴⁰¹ R. N. Hallam, “An Investigation into Some Aspects of the Historical Thinking of Children and Adolescents Unpublished master’s thesis, University of Leeds, England, 1966 cited in Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63. Hallam was not the first person to go down this particular investigative path. There were two other master’s theses written in the same area one year before his: S. K. Stones, *An Analysis of the Growth of Adolescent Thinking in Relation to the Comprehension of School History Material* Unpublished Diploma of Child Psychology Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 1965, and H. Bell, “An Investigation into the levels of Reasoning by Junior School Children Learning History, Unpublished Master’s Thesis, University of Reading England, 1965 cited by Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63. Other work in this area prior to Hallam included Duncan Case and J. M. Collinson, “The Development of Formal Thinking in Verbal Comprehension,” *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 32

way that could be categorized to reveal formal operational thought. This led Hallam to believe that higher order thinking in history developed later than did the ability in mathematics or science. This was none too surprising to other researchers and teachers. After all, reconstructing and interpreting the actions and motives of individuals, as well as groups of people over time and in context, is no simple act—especially when there is generally no agreed upon “right answer” and most of the evidence upon which historical judgments can be made is long gone. Even though Hallam recognized that few students ever received training in how to think analytically about history, he still concluded that on average, concrete operational thinking in history begins during the twelfth year. (Piaget had said that his students studying the sciences reached this stage at age eight.) Hallam postulated that formal operational thought in history did not usually appear until 16.2 and 16.6 years (compared with Piaget’s 12 years for science). Essentially, Hallam’s work showed that students develop the ability to think at analytical levels in history four years after they develop this capacity in the sciences.⁴⁰² This research suggests that many high school students and some college students may not be able to operate at the formal operational level of thinking in regard to history. Thus, it was a waste of time to teach

(1962): 103-111 and R. Loughram, “An Investigation of the Question Whether Moral Judgments Children Make Learning History Correspond to the stages of Mental Development that Piaget Postulates. Unpublished Dip Ed. Thesis, University of Birmingham, England, 1957 cited in Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63. Hallam, ironically enough, would go on to be a leader in the Schools Council History Project 13-16.

⁴⁰² Roy N. Hallam, “Piaget and Thinking in History,” Martin Ballard, ed. *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970): 163-169. Roy N. Hallam, “Logical Thinking in History,” *Educational Review*, 19 (June 1967): 183-202. A good summary description of the research in this area and its implications may be found in Ken Osborne, “Some Psychological Concerns for the Teaching of History,” *The History and Social Science Teacher*, 11 (Fall 1975): 15-25. R. N. Hallam, “Attempting to Improve Logical Thinking in School History,” *Research in Education*, 21 (1979): 1-24.

history to a child below the age of 16.5 except in the most cursory of manner. Teachers of younger students, Hallam's research showed, should stick to "heroes and holidays."⁴⁰³ No less a personage than Sir Geoffrey Rudolph Elton, preeminent British historian and Professor of English Constitutional History at Cambridge (later Regius Professor of Modern History), agreed with that finding. He believed that the "great majority [of students under fifteen] should be excited by stories and descriptions distinguished from other similar tales by being about real people; to try to give them more—to try them with the history of economics, or constitutions, or ideas, is utterly mistaken."⁴⁰⁴ Sir Elton feared that an overly conscientious attempt to demonstrate what "history is really about" would not only bore children under fifteen, but would cause them "to lose any desire to study the subject in greater depth when they are older."⁴⁰⁵ A number of related studies quickly built upon Hallam's work and reinforced ideas such as Sir Elton's.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰³ Sam Wineburg, "The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History" in the author's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁴⁰⁴ Geoffrey Rudolph Elton, "What Sort of History Should We Teach," in Martin Ballard, ed. *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970): 221-222.

⁴⁰⁵ Geoffrey Rudolph Elton, "What Sort of History Should We Teach," in Martin Ballard, ed. *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970): 221-222. Sir Elton began life as Gottfried Rudolf Ehrenberg and was a Jewish refugee to England in 1939, becoming a British citizen in 1947. A staunch conservative in politics and history, he was known for his work on Henry VIII and Elizabeth I. He was one of the last great "scientific historians," and his debates with E.H. Carr about the nature of history have become historic in and of themselves.

⁴⁰⁶ S. K. Stones, *Factors Influencing the Capacity of Adolescents to Think in Abstract Terms in the Understanding of History*, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Manchester, England, 1967.; D. W. McNally, "The Incidence of Piaget's Stages of Thinking as Assessed by Tests of Verbal Reasoning in Several Sydney Schools," *Forum of Education* 29 (1970): 124-134; A. B. Stokes, *An Investigation into the Presence of Logical Thinking in a Group of 18 year olds in Historical and Related Study*, Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Leeds, 1970; and A. R. Lodwick, *The Development of Children's Reasoning in Relationship to Mathematical, Scientific,*

Hallam later addressed one of the chief areas of criticism of his work in his doctoral research, namely the fact that the students he tested were not taught to think analytically about history. By performing research that involved changing teaching styles and emphasis, he showed that a pedagogical focus on higher order thinking skills could have a salutatory effect on children's analytical ability.⁴⁰⁷ In short, with the right kind of teaching, the development of higher order cognitive abilities could be accelerated.⁴⁰⁸ There were some limitations, however. His work showed that while a change in methodology accelerated the development of the younger students beginning at the age of nine, thirteen and fourteen year olds seemed to be impervious to the critical thinking pedagogy. These young teenagers showed no significant improvement in comparison with control groups. Still, he noted that "worthwhile aims in accelerating thinking in history would seem to be to eradicate as quickly as possible pre-operational thinking among children and to help the older pupils to progress at least to the lower reaches of the formal stage before they leave school."⁴⁰⁹ But, Hallam argued, this could best be done by limiting the variables of history and using the same "tales" from history that Sir Elton had promoted. With these interesting tidbits as a foundation, the teacher could just change the

and Historical Problems, Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Manchester, 1972; all cited in Martin Booth, "Cognition in History: A British Perspective," *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63.

⁴⁰⁷ Roy N. Hallam, "A Study of the Effect of Teaching Method On The Growth of Logical Thought With Special Reference to the Teaching of History," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Leeds, England, cited in Martin Booth, "Cognition in History: A British Perspective," *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 62.

⁴⁰⁸ Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, "Teaching and Learning History," in James P. Shaver's ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410.

⁴⁰⁹ Roy N. Hallam, "Piaget and Thinking in History," in Martin Ballard, Ed., *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1970): 171.

methodology a bit. He agreed with Sir Elton, it would do no good to try and teach an understanding of abstract political, economic, or religious milieu of a period or advanced analysis of the sources upon which these understandings were laid.

For a time, the idea of “acceleration” captured the attention of researchers. Martin Sleeper built upon Hallam’s ideas regarding acceleration. He argued that it was unlikely that any young student would ever move into the area of the most abstract thought regarding history without proper early intervention. According to Sleeper

Formulating curricula in a developmental framework means that teaching and learning a subject must simultaneously reflect and contribute to individual growth. To design history education in such a framework, a sequence of stages in historical thinking must be delineated and connected to the broader stages of cognitive and psychological development. The ultimate aim of teaching history should be to stimulate that development. Specific techniques toward that end need to be devised, but the general process is clear. During early adolescence (junior high and beginning high school) history might best be offered in such a way to provoke movement from a conception of history as a concrete reality connected through an inevitable chain of events to the more hypothetical orientation of adolescence, thereby both reflecting and aiding broader cognitive development. In later adolescence (high school and post high school) history education might then urge a more detached interpretation. To encourage developmental transitions is surely the most responsible and meaningful service which history education can provide for its students.⁴¹⁰

Although not really an attempt to explain or explore acceleration of cognitive development in history, in an earlier work, Sleeper had questioned the more straightforward Piagetian cognitive development ideas regarding historical thought. In 1973, he resurrected the ancient idea of history as an identity tool. Drawing upon the

⁴¹⁰ Martin Sleeper, “A Developmental Framework for History Education in Adolescence,” *School Review* 84 (November 1975): 104-105.

work of Erick Erikson, developmental psychologist and psychoanalyst (the man who coined the phrase “identity crisis”), Sleeper postulated that young people were interested in the past as a part of their concern with newly developing identity and as a “way of validating the perceived direction of their own lives.” He stated that high school students judged the past on its perceived impact on the present or on the students’ own lives or families. This is closely related to a fundamental idea of constructivism that was given compelling voice by Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann: each person carries his or her own past around with him- or herself at all times and they are not consciously aware of how that past affects them and their present concept of reality. This can mean that each person experiences a different reality because each carries his or her own past within; thus, multiple realities could exist even though they may go unrecognized and unacknowledged. Thus, knowledge is socially constructed from the different perspectives on this shared reality.⁴¹¹ This idea is similar to Roland Barthes’ idea of “mythologies.” He maintained that when people lose sight of the origins of their beliefs and practices, these beliefs and practices take on the characteristics of mythologies. When a person does not question the way things are or consciously and overtly think about his or her social world, he or she assumes that others experience the same reality as they. Their personal realities then becomes, in their minds, “the” reality, the “real” reality, and not simply “a” reality among many realities.⁴¹² The challenge for the teacher, Sleeper maintained, was connecting the students’ autobiography with history, giving them the opportunity to consciously and overtly question his or her social world, to see another reality separate

⁴¹¹ Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann, *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge* (New York: Anchor Books, 1967).

⁴¹² Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, Translated by Anette Lavers (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972)

from their own. “Only through such a link is the adolescent likely to emerge from his study of history with a sense of the past in which he has woven his own existence into the mainstream of societal history.”⁴¹³ It is easy to understand why someone like Sleeper would push for ways to accelerate the development of cognitive skills in history when he or she understands them to be so closely aligned with something as important as the development of identity.

Others worked on the acceleration question, as well. Rees found that, beginning at age twelve, children’s thinking skills could be better developed, if they were asked to explain rather than to describe. If the students were asked to use a variety of perspectives in explanation, they could more readily grasp concepts such as uncertainty and motivation—core ideas at the root of more formal operational thought in the discipline.⁴¹⁴ In his work on acceleration, A.H. McNaughton went one better. He felt that not only had history students rarely been taught in such a way as to lead them into the higher reaches of the cognitive realm, but that the pedagogies most often employed by the schools actually stymied that development—even when they focused on concepts rather than

⁴¹³ Martin Sleeper, “The Uses of History in Adolescence,” *Youth and Society* 4 (1973): 259-274. Martin Sleeper would later go on to run the Runkle School for years, finally becoming associated with Facing History, a program that, since 1976, “has been engaging students of diverse backgrounds in an examination of racism, prejudice, and antisemitism in order to promote the development of a more humane and informed citizenry. By studying the historical development and lessons of the Holocaust and other examples of genocide, students make the essential connection between history and the choices they confront in their own lives.” Facing History, viewed on April 30, 2008 at <http://www.facing.org/campus/reslib.nsf/pages/aboutus> Erick Erickson’s best known book is *Childhood and Society* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Co., 1950).

⁴¹⁴ A. Rees, “Teaching Strategies for the Advancement and Development of Thinking Skills in History”: unpublished M.Phil. dissertation, University of Leeds, 1976, cited in Chapter 1, “The Professional Debate” in *National Inquiry into School History*, viewed on May 7, 2008 at http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/school_education/publications_resources/national_inquiry_into_school_history/chapter_1.htm

names and dates. He emphasized Piaget's concern for self-initiated activities and felt that teachers should arrange experiences where children develop their own concepts rather than tell their charges what the concepts are and how they should learn about them. The "[p]oint is not that it is impossible to accelerate development, but that the methods some teachers use to speed up mental development could have the opposite effect to that intended."⁴¹⁵

Michael Zaccaria attempted to translate the ideas related to "acceleration" from the jargon of the academy into the language of the classroom. With the practical concerns of the instructor in mind, he suggested that at the beginning of a course (in late high school or college) the history teacher administer a test to determine the level of student historical cognition as described by the Peel-Hallam Model. Following this pre-test, the educator should then teach the subject in a way to address the individual student at his or her own individual level, being optimistic about each student's ability to advance. "No doubt, even college students who have not reached the formal operational level can be aided to move toward that level, either by the individual teacher, or perhaps, by special developmental courses designed to accelerate cognitive progression. However, education never has, and probably never will, guarantee its practitioners absolute success, and the history teacher may find some consolation in the research which shows that a sizable proportion of Americans never attain a capacity for formal thought."⁴¹⁶ Zaccaria could

⁴¹⁵ A. H. McNaughton, "Piaget's Theory and Primary School Social Studies," *Educational Review* 19 (November 1966): 24, 28.

⁴¹⁶ Michael Zaccaria, "The Development of Historical Thinking: Implications for the Teaching of History," *The History Teacher* 11(May, 1978): 323-340.

also add that most research showed that students didn't remember the results of most of the lower level cognitive work required by their history classes, either.

Despite the findings of his student, Hallam, and others, E. A. Peel did not advocate acceleration. He conceded that the history teacher must work systematically to help students deal with cognitive complexities of history, but at the same time, they must realize that the historical world of past adults is far removed from a child's experience and ability to think about that bygone world. He felt that the adults of the past must be given the air of reality and that the "gap of time has to be bridged by utilizing whatever is available for the pupil's comprehension—the more concrete the better."⁴¹⁷ The key word in that phrase is "concrete." If students should someday be able to think about that world of past adults in abstract ways, then they must first come to know some specific particularities about that world, and that is what teachers of younger students should spend their time and energy in promoting—concrete details. Again, Peel's remedy for history education was for the classroom to return to glorious stories about real people.

Investigations into one of the more abstract parts of history, the understanding of time, seemed to support Peel's belief. Professor Andre Godin, a Belgian Jesuit priest best known for his work in the psychology of religion, and Gustav Jahoda, a social psychologist who spent most of his academic career investigating the social aspects of cognitive development but who is, perhaps, best known for his research into race and racism and supernatural beliefs among west Africans, both determined that a child's understanding of time is the result of a blend of maturation along the Piagetian lines and

⁴¹⁷ Edwin A. Peel, "Some problems in the Psychology of History Teaching," in W. H. Burston and D. Thompson, eds, *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967): 160-161.

the social and intellectual climate in which the child matures, with the “climate” dominating.⁴¹⁸ Following their research into children’s concept of time, they concluded that progress through Piaget’s stages probably could not be sped up significantly no matter the pedagogy involved. Thus, like Peel, Godin believed that from ages six through seven, children should be told “beautiful stories,” which should be chosen for their attractiveness and the moral teachings of their messages. While from ages eight through twelve, they should be introduced to outstanding historical figures, heroes, with the teacher making brief mentions of their historical significance. He felt that schools should strive to impart an understanding of the continuity of history in students between the ages of twelve and eighteen. Only after they had fully matured, should students be expected to strive for more complex understandings of the historical enterprise.⁴¹⁹ With his research into children’s concept of time informing him, Jahoda even suggested that history be taught backwards. Schools should begin with the timeframe that students understand the

⁴¹⁸ Gustave Jahoda, “Children’s Concepts of Time and History,” *Educational Review* 15 (November 1962): 95. Jahoda was born on October 11, 1920, in Vienna, Austria. He took all of his degrees at London University, England (B.S., 1945; M.S., 1948; Ph.D., 1952). After graduation he taught for four years at the University College of Ghana (Gold Coast), and then became a senior lecturer in social psychology at Glasgow University, Scotland. Andre Godin, “The Historical Function,” *Lumen Vitae* 14 (June 1959): 247. Godin was a Belgian Jesuit priest and psychoanalyst. Gustave Jahoda, “Children’s Concepts of Time and History,” *Educational Review* 15 (November 1962): 100. For more on Godin, see J. M. Jaspard and Jozef Corveleyn, “In Memoriam: Andre Godin,” *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 7 (January 1997): 249-252. For later works on children’s conceptions of time, see Keith C. Barton, “Oh! That’s A Tricky Piece: Children, Mediated Action, and the Tools of Historical Time,” *Elementary School Journal* 103 (November 2002): 161-185; Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, “Back When God Was Around and Everything: Elementary School Children’s Understanding of Historical Time,” *American Educational Research Journal* 33 (Summer 1996): 419-454; Stephen J. Thornton and Ronald Vukelich, “Effects of Children’s Understanding of Time Concepts on Historical Understanding,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 16 (Winter 1988): 69-82; Roy N. Smith and Peter Tomlinson, “The Development of Children’s Construction of Historical Duration,” *Educational Research* 19 (June 1977): 163-170.

⁴¹⁹ Andre Godin, “The Historical Function,” *Lumen Vitae* 14 (June 1959): 157-158.

best, the present, and then work back from there, going further into the past. “Do you remember last year? Here is the time when your grandmother was a child. Find out the games she may have played. How did she dress?” Teachers would be most effective if they moved from the student “outward” in time and relational connections. By introducing history in a “reverse” fashion, Jahoda argued that students would be able to begin with the more concrete and move to the more abstract—the more removed—and thus be able to grasp a better understanding of the past. His was an idea closely related to the “Expanding Horizons” approach to social studies education.⁴²⁰

As has been discussed earlier, one of the premises of constructivism is the idea that students build their own knowledge by incorporating new experiences and ideas with what they already know. Hallam and other Piagetian scholars had a difficult time studying the psychological processes at work in historical thinking because they had no way of knowing what level of prior knowledge a student might bring to his or her study. Thus, they could not start any of their research or experiments on a “level playing field.” Each student was bound to have a different “starting point” or baseline of historical

⁴²⁰ Expanding Horizons is an approach to social studies that introduces children to the world by first looking at their families, then their local communities, and continuing to proceed outward. First advanced by Paul Hanna in 1934, “Expanding Horizons,” (or his more favored term, “expanding communities of men,” sought to introduce the social sciences to students by beginning with the self and moving outward. In general, the scheme develops along these lines: *Kindergarten*: self, home, school, community – discovering myself (who I am, how I am alike/different from others), school, etc... celebrating holidays; *Grade One*: families; *Grade Two*: neighborhoods (food, shelter, clothing, transportation, communication, etc); *Grade Three*: communities; *Grade Four*: State History and Geographic Regions; *Grade Five*: U.S. history and geography; *Grade Six*: world cultures/hemispheres; *Grade Seven*: world geography; *Grade Eight*: American history. By the 1940s, the expanding horizons approach had been adopted by almost every state department of education in the nation. Hanna later revised the approach in the midst of the New Social Studies movement of the 1960s. Paul R. Hanna, R.E. Sabaroff, G.F. Davies, and C.R. Farrar, *Geography in the Teaching of the Social Studies: Concepts and Skills* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1966).

knowledge.⁴²¹ Margaret F. Jurd tried to address this by creating from scratch three imaginary countries, each with its own history: Adza, Mulba, and Nocha. In her experiments, Jurd tried to understand cognitive processes in history minus the variation in results caused by differing amounts of prior knowledge. She started by showing charts of parallel events in two countries to her students and then asked them to predict what might happen in a third country given a third set of related events. The successful student was the one who could find a few related variables and tie them to specific events. Students who identified only one variable were said to be preoperational, while those who coordinated multiple variables were judged to be exhibiting formal operational thought. As Sam Wineburg later noted, there is something odd about decontextualizing a subject when the context, itself, is central to that subject. Even though it has proven to be an influential study, as Jurd's work shows, when history is minced with the Piagetian blade, it often begins to resemble little more than the sorting of variables, an exercise in hypothetical, deductive reasoning.⁴²²

The impact of Peel and Hallam on educational psychology and subsequent researchers into cognition and history was great. Numerous articles grew out of the "Piagetian Cognition in History School" during the late 1960s and continuing through the

⁴²¹ Sam Wineburg, "The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History" in the author's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁴²² Sam Wineburg, "The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History" in the author's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

1970s.⁴²³ There were no fewer than 24 theses and dissertations between 1955 and 1980 in the United Kingdom on Piagetian theory applied to historical learning.⁴²⁴ Peel, Hallam, and Jurd were the first researchers to try and get at the “historic sense,” first written about in the late 1800s, since J. Carleton Bell decided to investigate the subject and turned his attention to the easiest part of that sense to measure, content knowledge. The work of Peel, Hallam, and others turned the attention of researchers in education psychology away from measuring the ability of a child to memorize as an indication of reasoning ability in history and, instead, directed those researchers toward the nature of that child’s historical reasoning. These Piagetian scholars began to study the thought process and not only the “final product of that process—the ‘right answer.’”⁴²⁵ But from almost the

⁴²³ Roy N. Hallam, “Logical Thinking in History,” *Educational Review* 19 (1967): 183-202; R. N. Hallam “Piaget and Moral Judgments in History,” *Educational Research* 11 (1969): 200-206; R. N. Hallam, “Piaget and the Teaching of History,” *Educational Research* 12 (1969): 3-12; Roy N. Hallam, “Piaget and the Teaching of History,” in M. Ballard, ed. *New Movements in the Teaching of History* (London: Temple Smith, 1970): 162-178; Roy N. Hallam, “Thinking and Learning in History,” *Teaching History* 2 (1971): 337-346; Roy N. Hallam, “Thinking and Learning in History,” *Teaching History* 2 (November, 1972): 337-346; Martin Ballard, ed., *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History* (Bloomington, IN, 1974); Ian Kenneth Steele, *Developments in History Teaching*, (London: Open Books, 1976); Brian Garvey and Mary Krug, *Models of History Teaching in the Secondary School* (Oxford, England: Clarendon, 1977); Alaric K. Dickinson and Peter K. Lee, “Understanding and Research,” in Alaric K. Dickinson and Peter K. Lee, eds. *History Teaching and Historical Understanding* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1978): 94-120; David Thompson, “Some Psychological Aspects of History Teaching,” in W. H. Burston, C. W. Green, E. J. Nicholas, Alaric K. Dickinson, and David Thompson, eds., *Handbook for History Teachers* (London: Methuen, 1972): 18-38; Roy N. Hallam, “Attempting to Improve Logical Thinking in School History,” *Research in Education* 21 (May 1979): 1-23; even as late as the mid-1990s: J. Maitland, “Child Development and History,” in N. Little and J. Macinolty, eds. *A New Look at History Teaching* (New South Wales, Australia: History Teacher’s Association, 1977): 23-31, cited in Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63.

⁴²⁴ Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410.

⁴²⁵ Sam Wineburg, “The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History” in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

beginning of Hallam's work, there were a number of researchers who were dissatisfied with the Piaget-Peel-Hallam model for understanding cognition in history.⁴²⁶

Booth Responds to Piaget-Peel-Hallam Model

As some have since pointed out, Piagetian understanding of history led many teachers to underestimate a student's historical reasoning abilities and helped ensure that their own teaching led to a self-fulfilling prophecy: young children taught by them did not develop higher-level historical thinking skills—but, then again, they did not expect them to be able to.⁴²⁷ As has been shown, at the same time—under the guise of acceleration—a number of educators and psychologists promoted the teaching of history in a way that contradicted the Piagetian framework. There was obviously some fairly widespread discomfort with the idea that individuals do not develop the full ability to think historically until they are well into their college years, but few seemed to be able to put this discomfort into any organized statement. In 1972, David Thompson criticized Piagetians for being more concerned with fitting historical thinking into the confines of a theory rather than attempting to fully understand the cognition that was taking place. Seven years later, Martin Booth tackled the subject, giving clear voice to dissatisfaction with the Piaget-Peel-Hallam model in his dissertation.⁴²⁸ In this work, which would lead

⁴²⁶ For examples, see Margaret Donaldson, *Children's Minds*, (London: Fontana Press, 1978); Peter E. Bryant, *Perception and Understanding in Young Children: An Experimental Approach* (London: Methuen, 1974).

⁴²⁷ Sam Wineburg, "The Psychology of Teaching and Learning History" in the author's *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

⁴²⁸ David Thompson, "Some Psychological Aspects of History Teaching," in W. H. Burston and C. W. Green, eds., *Handbook for History Teachers* (London: Methuen Educational, 1972): 18-38; Martin Booth "A Longitudinal Study of Cognitive Skills, Concepts, and Attitudes of

to a series of powerful critiques of the then current thinking regarding the teaching and learning of history, Booth argued that the Piaget-Peel-Hallam approach did not fully capture the historical enterprise.

Martin Booth was heavily influenced by historian/philosopher/historiographers Jack H. Hexter, Walter Bryce Gallie, and David Hallett Fischer.⁴²⁹ Jack Hexter, professor at Yale and the University of Washington, is known for his classification of historians into “splitters” and “lumpers.” Hexter, himself, was a “splitter.” He approved of looking closely at minute particulars to describe and explain specific events. He disparaged “lumpers” who tended to generalize about waves of this, eras of that, and tendencies of particular ages. (Among the lumpers, he placed Marxists.) Another “splitter,” Walter Gallie, maintained that it is impossible to define what is meant by such concepts as art, morality, duty, and democracy. To come close to doing so, he argued, one must attempt to figure out what these concepts have meant to different people at different times and, to make this determination, one must unearth how those parties used the concept at different points in history. David Hackett Fischer, yet another splitter, lampooned the idea of historians placing boundaries around certain years, decades, or centuries, then assigning these marked off periods of time with special traits. Similarly, he thought it was laughable to call a time period after a leader, for example, the

Adolescents Studying Modern World History Syllabus and an Analysis of their Adductive Historical Thinking,” unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Reading, England 1979 cited in Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 63. There were others working in this area. For example, see Roy Lowe, “Historical Thinking in School,” *Educational Review* 28 (February 1976): 94-101.

⁴²⁹ David Hackett Fischer, *Historians' Fallacies: Towards a Logic of Historical Thought* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971); Jack H. Hexter, *The History Primer* (London: Allen Lane, 1972); W. Bryce Gallie *Philosophy and the Historical Understanding* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1964).

“Victorian Age” or the “Nixon Years.” He called this practice “hectohistory.” Hexter, Gallie, and Fischer were particularists. They looked for specifics to give meaning to individual narratives about specific events, people, or causes, all the while acknowledging that their explanation was probably flawed and definitely incomplete. They put forward the idea that most historians are not interested with inducing general laws or deducing conclusions from given premises. Rather, they argued, historians focus on the particular, and by using a range of sources, they attempt to create an image of the past, a narrative that is a blend of evidence and imagination. History, for them, was an imaginative construct out of specific particulars that are partially revealed through remaining evidence. History was not a “scientific” undertaking as so many previous historians had aimed to make it; it was an artistic enterprise that used science-like rules in the construct of its art.

Booth drew upon the works of these scholars and a few educational psychologists in his dissertation and maintained that history was more than deductive reasoning, more than analyzing and interpreting evidence.⁴³⁰ He asserted that in history, the historian attempts to recreate “lost worlds.” Booth’s research, informed by the thinking of David Hackett Fischer, demonstrated that what some had earlier called the “historical sense” was “adductive” thinking, not deductive.⁴³¹ Adductive reasoning “brings together” evidence using agreed upon rules to arrive at a description or explanation of some past

⁴³⁰ One of those educational psychologists was Rosalind Driver who believed it was not helpful to measure student thinking outside of the context of the task. See Rosalind Driver, “When is a Stage Not a Stage? A Critique of Piaget’s Theory of Cognitive Development and its Application to Science Education,” *Educational Research* 21 (1978): 54-61.

⁴³¹ Martin Booth, “A Modern World History Course and the Thinking of Adolescent Pupils,” *Educational Review* 32 (1980): 245–57; Martin Booth, “Skills, Concepts, and Attitudes: The Development of Adolescent Children’s Historical thinking,” *History and Theory* 22 (1984): 104.

event that “narrows in upon” the truth. Using adductive reasoning, historians ask questions of the past and then proceed to answer these questions with selected facts and their own beliefs—and to do so, they use their imagination. As Booth later explained, “To use the word imagination is not to suggest that the historian indulges in wild flights of fancy; on the contrary, to think historically is to make disciplined use of the head and heart, tempered by a proper consideration of the available evidence and a due regard to the constraints of time and place.”⁴³² Historians also compose their answers while recognizing that there may not be one single, absolute truthful recreation or explanation of that past event possible. This is for many reasons, not the least of which is that 1) not all evidence survives the ravages of time, or that 2) too much evidence exists to ever be able to wade through it all or, most especially, 3) because the motives of even the known players can never be known completely.⁴³³ This is unlike the situation studied by most Piagetian scholars, the largest percentage of whom performed research on the thinking processes found in science and mathematics. Booth argued that scientists use *deductive* and *inductive* reasoning to develop theories and laws that explain the natural world. These are subjects where the variables can be more easily identified and controlled, and where there is generally a “right” answer. Since this is not possible in history, Booth

⁴³² Martin Booth, “Cognition in History: A British Perspective,” *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 64. This type of thinking is similar to what is described in Charles Cole, “Information Acquisition in History PhD Students: Inferencing and the Formation of Knowledge Structures,” *Library Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1998): 33-54 and Donald O. Case, “Conceptual Organization and Retrieval of Text by Historians: The Role of Memory and Metaphor,” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 42, no. 9 (1991): 657-68.

⁴³³ “Martin Booth and Learning Success,” Website of the National Centre for History Education of the Australian Government, viewed on April 30, 2008 at <http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=285&op=page>

argued that the Piagetian framework was a poor fit for the thinking that actually goes on in the doing of history.⁴³⁴ As philosopher of history Louis O. Mink explained, historical thinking is different from scientific or commonsense thinking in that it cultivates a habit of “seeing-things-together.” This way of understanding is

At least in part a claim that for the historical understanding of an event one must know its consequences as well as its antecedents; that the historian must look before and after . . . Not infrequently we ask, ‘and then what happened?’ not merely out of curiosity but in order to understand what we have been told.⁴³⁵

There is some irony in the fact that Booth would need to point out the differences between history and the sciences which lie in the artistic and creative realms, when it was the study of art education (by Peel) that had led to the prevailing Piagetian understanding of history with which he found himself arguing.

In addition to questioning the theoretical foundations of Hallam’s work, Booth also found fault with Hallam’s methodology.⁴³⁶ In the research which informed Hallam’s widely cited works, children read short textbook passages dealing with events widely separated in time and then answered questions about those readings. These answers

⁴³⁴ “Martin Booth and Learning Success,” Website of the National Centre for History Education of the Australian Government, viewed on April 30, 2008 at <http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=285&op=page> Margaret F. Jurd had made this same argument almost six years earlier. See, Margaret F. Jurd, “Adolescent Thinking in History-Type Material,” *Australian Journal of Education* 17 (1973): 2-17.

⁴³⁵ Louis O. Mink, “The Autonomy of Historical Understanding,” *History and Theory: Studies in the Philosophy of History* 15 (1966): 24-47 quoted in Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 403.

⁴³⁶ Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410.

would then be compared against the Piagetian age-stage framework. In addition, these readings were likely to be upon a subject that the students had never studied before. This was not a problem for Hallam, and as Jurd's work has shown, it could have been considered a positive situation. After all, the Piagetian scholars were interested in the students' analytical skills not subject content knowledge. Booth, who was interested in history as more than deduction, maintained that the texts used by Hallam and the questions the latter put to the students about those texts "seemed to me unhistorical and trivial."⁴³⁷ According to Booth, the evidence in these passages was too brief for pupils unfamiliar with the period to attempt meaningful answers. Booth also held that some of Hallam's questions were unanswerable: "Mary Tudor thought that God wanted her to take England back to the Catholic Church; a) What would God have thought of her methods? b) Can you think of any reasons why Mary Tudor should use such methods to make people follow her religion?"⁴³⁸

In response to the work of Hallam and others, Booth began a longitudinal study of the development of historical thinking among adolescents. He selected students above the age of 14 who were enrolled in a two-year world history course from an "all abilities"

⁴³⁷ Martin Booth, "Cognition in History: A British Perspective," *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 64.

⁴³⁸ R. N. Hallam, "An Investigation into Some Aspects of the Historical Thinking of Children and Adolescents" Unpublished master's thesis, University of Leeds, England, 1966 cited in Martin Booth, "Cognition in History: A British Perspective," *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 117-188 quoted in Martin Booth, "Cognition in History: A British Perspective," *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994). Booth was not the only one to criticize Hallam's work. Others noted that the exercises were nowhere near what was involved in actually "doing" history. See Christian Laville and Linda W. Rosenzweig, "Teaching and Learning History: Developmental Dimensions," in Linda W. Rosenzweig, ed, *Developmental Perspectives on the Social studies. Bulletin No. 66 of the National Council for the Social Studies* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1982): 54-66.

school in the south of England. Teaching in the course emphasized the use of source materials, pupil participation, and interactive learning. The work of these students was compared to the work of a control group of students of the same age who were not taking history. In this research, Booth attempted to measure the degree to which pedagogy affected the pupil's ability to analyze and effectively handle historical evidence and understand concepts such as racism or the "Cold War." He was also interested in measuring their attitudes toward history as a subject of study.⁴³⁹ Instead of asking questions about topics to which the students might not have been exposed (in contrast to Jurd's questions on imaginary countries), Booth assessed student learning and historical abilities using readings about subjects they had studied fairly extensively.⁴⁴⁰ Longitudinal testing (over 17 months) revealed that the history students made statistically significant gains in both the analysis of documents and understanding of broad, historical concepts.

In his assessments, Booth asked his students to organize a collection of pictures and quotations into sets and to explain why they had sorted the materials as they had. He also told them that there was no correct answer and that they could group the materials together in all sorts of ways. He found that students formed sets in two ways: some students made no effort to go beyond what was obvious, relying upon the surface impression of evidence to provide the source of the classification, while others grouped the photos and quotations into sets that were not based upon readily observable features. Instead, their groups were held together by some idea beyond the observable. Indeed,

⁴³⁹ Martin Booth, "Cognition in History: A British Perspective," *Educational Psychologist* 29, 2 (1994): 64.

⁴⁴⁰ Booth also took into account the students' socio-economic background and the teachers' expectation and attitude toward the students in his assessments.

71% of the students who were in the “special” world history class could connect the evidence “to make an imaginative synthesis.” Fifty-eight could do so with written evidence. While these numbers seem so specific, Booth noted that they actually represented a wide range of abilities. Not all of the syntheses were equal. To make a strong, imaginative synthesis from the raw evidence—whether written or visual—the students required factual knowledge—the names and dates and who and what and when of history, the subject content so often disparaged by so many educators cited and quoted in this literature review. But Booth also found that the students also needed analytical and conceptual knowledge. And to make a really fine synthesis, the student needed to possess some attitude toward the subject, often a related personal experience, as well as verbal ability. Straightforward intelligence seemed to be less important.⁴⁴¹ According to Booth, learning to think historically, what previous generations had called the “historic sense,” depends upon the student’s “breadth and depth of personal experience, acquisition of relevant subject matter, analytical and conceptual abilities, positive attitudes towards the subject, and communicative abilities.”⁴⁴² The ability of the students to organize the “evidence” and explain why that evidence was grouped in a certain manner demonstrated to Booth the creative, imaginative, “adductive” thinking involved in the historical sense. Such skill was quite different from the analysis of the evidence so often discussed by earlier writers on the use of primary sources in teaching.

⁴⁴¹ Martin Booth, “A Modern World History Course and the Thinking of Adolescent Pupils,” *Educational Review* 32 (1980): 250-256; Martin Booth, “Skills, Concepts, and Attitudes: The Development of Adolescent Children’s Historical Thinking,” *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 101-117.

⁴⁴² “Martin Booth and Learning Success,” Website of the National Centre for History Education of the Australian Government, viewed on April 30, 2008 at <http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=285&op=page>

As significantly, Booth showed in a slightly later work that this more “constructive” form of teaching method also had effects in the affective realm, the portion of Bloom’s learning objectives which deals with feelings, beliefs, and values. For example, Booth’s history students showed significant gains in their attitudes regarding issues such as racism and the stereotyping of “national groups.” In addition, the students’ attitudes toward history remained favorable.⁴⁴³ And, as other researchers have pointed out, building upon Coltham’s insight in the area, it is the attitude of the student toward the subject which determines how far and how diligently that student will pursue that subject. Booth concluded that the general intelligence and maturation of the students “were not the major factors behind the increased scores. What counted was syllabus and teaching method.”⁴⁴⁴ Booth’s research showed that fourteen through sixteen year olds were capable of constructing the past in a historical manner and

that school history, provided it is taught in a way that emphasizes the uniqueness of history and involves the pupils in active learning, can make a significant difference to adolescents’ cognitive and affective behaviors. Equally important was the indication that historical thinking is *sui generis*—that it develops unevenly and in specific contexts and that it is totally inappropriate to assess it against an age-related framework in which the stages are described in logical structures and hypothetic-deductive thinking.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Martin Booth, “A Modern World History Course and the Thinking of Adolescent Pupils,” *Educational Review* 32 (1980): 245-257.

⁴⁴⁴ Martin Booth, “A Modern World History Course and the Thinking of Adolescent Pupils,” *Educational Review* 32 (1980): 252.

⁴⁴⁵ Martin Booth, “A Modern World History Course and the Thinking of Adolescent Pupils,” *Educational Review* 32 (1980): 257. Booth made the case in several articles about this time. For another example, see Martin Booth, “Inductive Thinking in History: the 14-16 age Group,” in John Fines, ed., *Teaching History* (Edinburgh: Holmes, McDougall, 1983): 157 and Martin Booth, “Skills, Concepts, and Attitudes: The Development of Adolescent Children’s Historical Thinking,” *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 101-117.

Kerry J. Kennedy soon joined Booth in his criticism of the Piagetian understanding of the development of the "Historic Sense." Using three types of assessment (a backward digital span task to test information processing capacity and two historical thinking tasks: a test/interview and a multiple choice test), he looked at the relationship between Piagetian development level, information processing capacity, and historical thinking. He suggested that development measures and historical understanding measures may have been measuring two different cognitive constructs. Peel, Hallam, and other researchers in this area had based their investigations in this area on an assumed relationship between the measures of development levels and the measures of historical thinking.⁴⁴⁶

Other educational psychologists were coming to similar conclusions about the same time. The work of Alaric K. Dickinson and Peter J. Lee, in particular, was pioneering and highly influential. In one study, they videotaped students' reactions to stories from the past that represented values and logic far removed from the twentieth century's own way of thinking. For example, they recorded children's reactions to Anglo-Saxon oath taking and the ordeal (in which an accused person was submitted to divine judgment requiring the use of pain) and Spartan ideas with regard to child-rearing and education (in which young boys were toughened in ways that make your average fraternity 'hell night' appear downright molly-coddling). They concluded that an important aspect of historical thinking is the capacity to distinguish between, on the one hand, contemporary values and perspectives (presentism) when examining an historical problem, and on the other, contemporaneous values and perspectives (real history). They

⁴⁴⁶ Kerry J. Kennedy, "Assessing the Relationship Between Information processing Capacity and Historical Understanding," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 11 (1983): 1-22.

demonstrated the capacity of the young to come to terms with the strangeness of the past, provided they are given ample time to explore the materials in their own way and to express themselves orally. They also found that the students' imagination played a central role in this personal, constructive understanding. It was not the maturity of the child that affected this ability to think historically so much as it was the failure on part of teachers to understand the full complexity of what they were attempting to do. Unfortunately, too many teachers seem to believe that the best way to cope with this kind of complexity was to teach more facts. Booth, Dickinson, and Lee showed that, taught in the appropriate way, students can “decenter” and see that people in other times think and behave differently than we do now. Despite the work of Piagetian researchers, Dickinson and Lee showed that “Children can and do think effectively in history”— although at times in a confused and anachronistic manner. It should be noted, that Peter Lee, as a university student, was a strong critic of the history that he was taught at Oxford. He had been excited when, as a history reader, he came to study his “special subject” and began to read selected documents from sources. He thought that he was beginning to do the work of a “real” historian. This excitement quickly faded, however, when he learned that he was expected to basically memorize facts about and from these documents along with related glosses that had been prepared by his tutors. He decided to write about this intellectually unsatisfying experience from the “consumers” perspective, and later, as has been shown, went on to explore the teaching of history.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁷ Alaric Dickinson and P. Lee, “Understanding and Research,” in Alaric K. Dickinson and Peter Lee, eds. *History Teaching and Historical Understanding* (London, Heinemann, 1978): 94-120 cited in “National Inquiry Into School History, Australia,” viewed on May 3, 2008 at http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/school_education/publications_resources/national_inquiry_into_school_history/chapter_1.htm See their pioneering work: Alaric K. Dickinson and Peter J. Lee, “Making Sense of History,” in Alaric Dickinson, Peter K. Lee, and Peter J. Rogers, *Learning*

The research of Booth, Dickinson, and Lee was a turning point in history education, not unlike the change produced by Mary Sheldon Barnes nearly a hundred years before. The work of these British researchers emphasized how youth develop their “historic sense” and explained the special nature of historical thinking, which Booth described as a compelling mix of the analytical skills so often championed in previous decades; the imaginative, artistic, creative character infused with personal experience and values which had been promulgated by the gentleman historians of the earliest years of the profession; and the subject content knowledge that had been drilled into the heads of generations of schoolchildren. The research of Dickinson, Lee, and Booth showed the value of a teaching methodology which was based upon the structure and nature of the historical enterprise, bringing a bit of what historians do and the way they think into the classroom. By doing so, it provided the evidence to support projects such as the Schools Council 13-16 Project. And, in return, it was from the Schools Council History project that Booth, Dickinson, and Lee’s experimental work found compelling support from the classroom.

In 1980, Denis Shemilt evaluated the Schools Council History Project (SCHP).⁴⁴⁸ The resulting report has been called “one of the most wide-ranging and compelling pieces

History (London, 1984) and also R. Ashby and P. Lee, “Discussing the Evidence,” *Teaching History* 48 (1987): 13-17. Researchers and writers continued to make the point that the Piagetian framework was not appropriate for history into the 1990s. For an example see, H. Cooper, “Historical Thinking and Cognitive Development in the Teaching of History,” in H. Bourdillon, ed. *Teaching History* (London: Routledge, 1994): 102-121. Peter J. Lee, “History at the Universities: The Consumer’s View of Oxford History,” *History* 55 (1970): 333.

⁴⁴⁸ Denis Shemilt would go on to be the co-director of the Cambridge History Project and the head of the School of Education at Trinity and All Saints; he also became the director of the School History Project that evolved out of the Schools Council History Project.

of research into adolescent historical thinking undertaken to date.”⁴⁴⁹ In the work that informed the report, Shemilt took into account the project’s ideas about what history is and what historical thinking is. He did not necessarily care how well students knew the names and dates and lists of memorized causes and effects. Instead, Shemilt asked if students knew how to make sense of evidence, if they knew the difference between change and progress, and understood that history is an interpretive enterprise in which the interpreters are in constant conversation with each other and their evidence. He sought to determine if students knew that there is no one right answer about what went on in previous generations; that change is not a steady, even product; and that big events do not necessarily have more causes than the most simple, everyday breakfast-table occurrence. In other words, Shemilt “graded” the project on its own terms. He compared the understanding of 500 Schools Council History Project students with the work of 500 non-Schools Council History Project students. This comparison showed that students who were taught using a historical methodology approach that emphasized use of evidence and concept-building were either more likely to use high level historical concepts than the equivalent control group, or they were more likely to regard historical explanation as a series of propositions instead of simply a recounting of what happened, fact after fact. The SCHP students better understood concepts such as change, causation, and development in history.⁴⁵⁰ Shemilt's evaluation offered evidence of the School Council

⁴⁴⁹ “Denis Shemilt and the Schools Council History Project,” The National Center for History Education, viewed on May 9, 2008 at <http://www.hyperhistory.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=286&op=page> See, Denis Shemilt, *History 13 -16 Evaluation Study*, (Holmes McDougall, Edinburgh, 1980).

⁴⁵⁰ Denis Shemilt, *History 13 -16 Evaluation Study*, (Holmes McDougall, Edinburgh, 1980): 18-25. Shemilt had written about this topic earlier, questioning the Peel-Hallam model. See Denis Shemilt, “Formal Operational Thought in History,” *Teaching History* 15 (May 1976): 237-43.

History Project's success in raising the quality of adolescent historical learning. It also strengthened the idea that thinking in history went beyond the deductive and embraced Booth's "adductive," or as one student in the Schools Council History Project explained: "In Maths you can apply the rules, but for History you've got to work out what the rules are." In other words, to quote Shemilt:

They (the students) seem to have realised that, unlike Mathematics, the rules of History do not inhere in the structure of the subject matter, that historical conclusions are relatively uncertain, and that a succession of unique particulars constitutes the basic data of the discipline.⁴⁵¹

The outcomes of Shemilt's evaluation was in keeping with Dickinson and Lee's pioneering works, as well as Booth's critique of Hallam. It found that school history *can* make a significant difference in student learning, and when learners work intensively with source materials on tasks that promote active thinking, they build cognitive abilities that have an impact in the affective realm.⁴⁵² Shemilt's research also further demonstrated (along with subsequent work of Peter Lee and his colleague Roslyn Ashby) that the Piagetian age/stage framework did not hold. Students had the capacity for some level of

⁴⁵¹ Denis Shemilt, *History 13 -16 Evaluation Study*, (Holmes McDougall, Edinburgh, 1980): 21.

⁴⁵² Denis Shemilt would follow this line of research along the lines of Dickinson and Lee before becoming more of an administrator. See Denis Shemilt, "The Devil's Locomotive," *History and Theory*, 22 (1983): 1-18; Denis Shemilt, "The Beauty and the Philosopher: Empathy in History and the Classroom," in Alaric K. Dickinson, Peter K. Lee, and Peter J. Rogers, *Learning History* (London: Heinemann Educational, 1984): 39-84; and D. Shemilt, "Adolescent Ideas about Evidence and Methodology in History," in C. Portal, ed. *The History Curriculum for the Teacher* (Lewes, England: Falmer, 1987): 39-61.

“historical thinking” throughout their educational career, although only at the most basic levels in the earliest elementary years.⁴⁵³

This non-Piagetian understanding of historical thinking, beginning largely with Booth and reinforced by other British researchers, among them, Alaric Dickinson, Peter Lee, and Roslyn Ashby, reinforced, and eventually came to influence what has come to be known as “modularity of the mind” or the “domain-specific view of cognition” (although it is not apparent that these researchers in historical understanding were initially aware of the research agenda in domain-specific cognition). In short, the domain-specific view of cognition holds that people think differently when they are working with different types of content and/or are attempting to perform different kinds of activities. In the domain-specific understanding of cognitive development, there is no one overriding, universal thought process such as the one Piagetians describe.⁴⁵⁴ The domain-specific understanding of cognition has come to be supported by a wide range of research. For example studies have shown that a person’s ability to reason is greatly affected by the content about which that person is asked to reason.⁴⁵⁵ Other studies have also

⁴⁵³ Roslyn Ashby and Peter Lee, “Children’s Concepts of Empathy and Understanding,” in C. Portal, ed., *The History Curriculum for Teachers* (London: Falmer, 1987): 62-88.

⁴⁵⁴ Lawrence A. Hirschfeld and Susan A. Gelman, *Mapping the Mind, Domain Specificity in Cognition and Culture*, (New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Rochel Gelman and R. Baillargeon, “A Review of Some Piagetian Concepts,” in J. H. F. and E. M. Markman, eds., *Cognitive Development* (New York: Wiley, 1983): 167-230; Daniel Roth, Michelle Stone, and Reuven Dar, “Which Way Cognitive Development: An Evaluation of the Piagetian and the Domain-Specific Research Programs,” *Theory and Psychology* 10, no. 3 (2000): 353-373; Henry M. Wellman and Susan A. Gelman, S. A., “Cognitive Development: Foundational theories of Core Domains,” *Annual Review of Psychology*, 43 (1992): 337–75. This summary of domain-specific cognition in general heavily influenced Keith Barton’s, *Historical Understanding Among Elementary Children*, (Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1994).

⁴⁵⁵ Patricia W. Cheng and Keith J. Holyoak, K., “Pragmatic Reasoning Schemas,” *Cognitive Psychology*, 17 (1985): 391–416; Leda Cosmides, “The Logic of Social Exchange: Has Natural

demonstrated that experts in a content area can share the same level of general problem-solving and memorization skills as novices in that area of expertise—but there is still a reason why some are called “novices” and others “experts.” Individual pieces of information must be organized to reflect the relationships between concepts. This organization or “knowledge structures” in any “content area” or subject vary greatly and these structures are tied directly to problem-solving abilities or other skills.⁴⁵⁶ An ability to reason in one domain (subject area) rarely transfers to another area.⁴⁵⁷ Research has also shown that what children understand about the world is more influenced by their direct interaction with that world, their experience, than with any general reasoning abilities.⁴⁵⁸ Since the mid-1980s, a number of highly productive researchers have attempted to describe different components of the specific cognitive domain known as “historical thinking.”⁴⁵⁹

Selection Shaped How Humans Reason? Studies with the Watson Selection Task,” *Cognition* 31, (1989): 187–276.

⁴⁵⁶ Susan Carey, *Conceptual Change in Childhood* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983); Michelene T. H. Chi, “Knowledge structures and memory development,” in R. Siegler, ed., *Children’s Thinking: What develops?* (Hillsdale, NH: Erlbaum, 1983): 73-96.

⁴⁵⁷ Katheryn T. Spoehr and Luther W. Spoehr, “Learning to Think Historically,” *Educational Psychologist* 29 (1994): 71-77.

⁴⁵⁸ J. Minstrell, “Teaching Science for Understanding,” in L. Resnick & L. Klopfer, eds., *Toward the Thinking Curriculum: Current Cognitive Research. 1989 Yearbook of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development* (Reston, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 1989): 129-149; Stella Vosniadou, “Mental Models of the Earth: A Study of Conceptual Change in Childhood,” *Cognitive Psychology* 24 (1992): 535–585.

⁴⁵⁹ Most researchers now acknowledge that there are both general (global) as well as domain-specific processes at work in cognitive development. See Robert V. Kail, “Cognitive Development Includes Global and Domain-Specific Processes,” *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* 4 (October 2004): 445-455.

Chapter 4.

Domain-Specific Cognition and Recent Research Delineated by Seixas' Six Elements of "Historical Thinking"

*Historical Thinking: "... a process by which meaning, or potential meaning, is abstracted from a discrete source of evidence and drawn to a common center."*⁴⁶⁰

*"[H]istorians do have something very important to offer students, which is neither the one big story, nor the recall of a common set of facts, but rather a way of using the traces of the past to construct meaningful stories in the present."*⁴⁶¹

Significance
Epistemology and Evidence
Continuity and Change
Progress and Decline
Empathy and Moral Judgment
Historical Agency

Following the research of Booth, Lee, and Dickinson and the evaluation of the Schools Council History Project produced by Denis Shemilt, there was an explosion of research which explored the processes involved in the cognitive domain of history, what earlier writers on the subject called the "historical sense." Along the way, this academy-weathered concept has come in for a bit of re-structuring and definition. Before Booth, et.

⁴⁶⁰ Martin Booth, "Students Historical Thinking and the National History Curriculum in England," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 21 (1993): 116.

⁴⁶¹ Peter Seixas, "Heavy Baggage en route to Winnipeg: A Review Essay," *Canadian Historical Review* 82, 3 (September 2002): 414.

al., it was generally assumed that the memorization of historical narratives, including key events, details, names, and dates (content knowledge) would eventually result in a solid understanding of the past. Research since 1980, however, demonstrates that learning history, if it is to lead to deeper understanding, involves not only the repeated study of such narratives, but also the development and use of a set of domain-specific cognitive strategies. Applying these strategies serves as the means by which the past is learned and understood. Researchers and educators frequently refer to the application of these domain-specific strategies to the process of investigating and interpreting the past as “historical thinking.” There have evolved many different delineations of what is involved in “historical thinking.”⁴⁶² For example, in 1996, the National Center for History in the Schools also offered up a list of five elements of historical thinking that has largely been ignored because of the perceived overlap among them: chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretation, historical research capabilities, historical issues-analysis and decision-making.⁴⁶³ F. M. Newman also identified the skills found beneath the umbrella of “historical thinking.” They included 1) empathy (to see or feel from another point of view), 2) Abstraction (to perceive a relationship not previously

⁴⁶² A good solid definition has been supplied by Greene, who called historical thinking, “an act of judgment made on the basis of historical evidence and a historian’s interpretive framework.” Of course, describing what, exactly, goes in to that framework is “the rub.” Stuart Greene, “The Problems of Learning to Think Like a Historian: Writing History in the Culture of the Classroom,” *Educational Psychologist* 29 (1994): 92.

⁴⁶³ National Center for History in the Schools, *National Standards for History: Basic Edition*. Cited in Levstik, “What Makes the Past Worth Knowing?” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds., *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 228-239. As of 2010, The National Center for History in the Schools lists these elements of “Historical Thinking” for grades 5-12: chronological thinking, historical analysis and interpretation, historical research capabilities, and historical issues-analysis and decision-making. “Historical Comprehension” has apparently been dropped. National Center for History in the Schools, “Overview of Standards in Historical Thinking,” viewed on April 20, 2010 at <http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/thinking5-12.html>

noted), 3) inference (to draw conclusions), 4) evaluation and advocacy (to arrive at an opinion using evaluative criteria), and 5) critical discourse (to ask original questions and defend a point of view).⁴⁶⁴ In this work, Newman also cites Kevin O'Reilly's *Critical Thinking in American History Project*, which designed methods and instructional materials to help teach high school students to examine, evaluate and interpret historical evidence. According to Newman, O'Reilly likened critical thinking skills to athletic abilities: one needs practice to build them. His materials provided guided practice, coaching, and repetition along six delineated "skill steps:" 1) identifying and evaluating evidence or examining the validity of a source, 2) distinguishing conclusions from premises or analyzing the argument within the documents, 3) identifying unstated assumptions or reading between the lines, 4) identifying imprecise words or words with emotional or cultural context, 5) identifying connections between parts of an argument or finding the cause and effect in the premise, 6) evaluating ethical claims or recognizing principles.⁴⁶⁵

One of the most compelling and influential set of delineations has been supplied by Peter Seixas, a former social studies teacher and founder of the Centre for the Study of the Historical Consciousness at the University of British Columbia. He has identified six elements of the discipline of history. Taken together, they provide a coherent, thorough

⁴⁶⁴ F. M. Newman, "Higher Order Thinking in the Teaching of Social Studies: Connections Between Theory and Practice," in J.F. Voss, D.N. Perkins, and J.W. Segal, eds. *Informal Reasoning and Education* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1991): 381-400.

⁴⁶⁵ The O'Reilly series of booklets, growing out of the Critical Thinking in American History Project, were published as a part of the "History and Logic Series." For an example, see Kevin O'Reilly, *Spanish-American War to Vietnam, Booklet 4 Critical Thinking in American History Teachers Guide* (South Hamilton, MA: Critical Thinking Press, 1985).

framework, giving definitional structure to the “historical sense,” or what has now come to be known as “historical thinking.” Research during the last 25 years or so can be “organized” around these definitional attributes.⁴⁶⁶ Indeed, one of the current primary researchers in this realm, Keith C. Barton, used these six elements for coding the data for his doctoral dissertation, and much of Barton's subsequent research during the last ten years has looked specifically at issues that fall within Seixas' elemental “boundaries.”⁴⁶⁷

Significance

One cannot relate every occurrence in the past when writing history. As Gustave Flaubert noted, “Writing history is like drinking an ocean and pissing a cupful.” Thus, deciding what to leave out is, perhaps, the signature ability of the historian. It follows then that Seixas' first element of historical thinking is “significance,” the ability to decide

⁴⁶⁶ Amy von Heyking used Seixas' elements of historical sense to structure her literature review “Historical thinking in the Elementary Years: A Review of Current Research,” *Canadian Social Studies* 39 (Fall 2004) viewed on May 31, 2008 at www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/Css_39_1/ARheyking_historical_thinking_current_research.html In this section, I summarize that work and add other resources from the research literature to her extremely useful organizational framework. Peter Seixas, “Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding,” *The Handbook of Education and Human Development* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd, 1996). Peter Seixas taught Social Studies for fifteen years in the Vancouver Schools before taking his PhD from the University of California, Los Angeles and founding the Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness at the University of British Columbia, which studies how people think about, study, and use the past. University of British Columbia's Web site viewed on May 30, 2008 at <http://cust.educ.ubc.ca/faculty/seixas.html> The O'Reilly series of booklets growing out of the Critical Thinking in American History Project were published as a part of the “History and Logic Series.”

⁴⁶⁷ Keith C. Barton, “Making Connections,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds., *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 153-154. This section of the paper will be heavy with citations to the work of Linda Levstik, professor and chair of the Department of Curriculum and Instruction in the College of Education at the University of Kentucky And Keith C. Barton, native of Eminence, Kentucky, is professor at the University of Cincinnati's College of Education, Criminal Justice and Human Services. Levstik served as Barton's dissertation advisor and they two continue to perform collaborative research together. For Barton's dissertation, see Keith Casey Barton, *Historical Understanding Among Elementary Children*, (Dissertation, University of Kentucky, 1994).

what is trivial and what is important—while recognizing that contexts change and what is trivial to one account of the past might be significant to another. Some have argued that what is not significant is the “past,” and that which is significant is “history,” or as writer and comedian A. Whitney Brown has said, “The past actually happened. History is what someone took time to write down.” Linda Levstik, one of the most prolific writers on history education, has noted, “significance” is a difficult concept to pin down. What is significant today may not be tomorrow and what is significant in one source may not be in another. But as Seixas explains, historical thinking requires the appreciation of the chameleon-like aspect of the term. Its slipperiness and flexibility *is* the point.⁴⁶⁸ Recent research has shown that students do know the difference between “the past” and “history,” but too often they have their ideas concerning the difference heavily influenced and bounded by their national identity, and just as often, they allow traditional textbook history and the even more traditional “Freedom Narrative” to inform what they believe to be significant. If the event being narrated does not fall into a recognizable “pattern,” or if it relates to some “story” separate from the inevitable spread of personal liberty in pond-ripple fashion, then it is likely to be judged as just the past, not history (as pioneers in women’s, African American, and social history have all discovered). Students also routinely avoid labeling topics devoid of major protagonists, “good guys” and “bad guys,” such as the “Great Depression,” as history.⁴⁶⁹ Identifiable, individual players

⁴⁶⁸ Linda Levstik, “What Makes the Past Worth Knowing?” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds., *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 228-239. Levstik was Barton’s dissertation advisor.

⁴⁶⁹ Linda Levstik and C. Pappas, “Exploring the Development of Historical Understanding,” *Journal of Research and Development in Education*, 21 (1987): 1-5, cited in L. S. Levstik and K. C. Barton *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools* 2nd ed, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001).

seem to be required for the young to designate some past event or activity as history. More nebulous forces tend to be identified rarely by students, and without seeing a clearly defined set of “actors,” they often find it difficult to see the significance of the event. Seixas also noted that students often confused fame with historical significance. And, not surprisingly, research has shown that ideas regarding significance shifts depending upon the region, religion, ethnicity, etc., of the student or the teacher.⁴⁷⁰ Along these lines, Seixas has shown that the idea of historical significance among high school students is wide-ranging, coming from the highly impersonal, textbook influenced history (basic objectivist) to the highly personal (basic subjectivist), while others looked at numbers of individuals who had felt the impact of some historical event (advanced objectivist) to numbers of a group to which they belonged (advanced subjectivist) to those who join the significance to the personal onto the significance to a much larger group that had been affected (the narrativist). In this last type of construction, individual events become significant because of their place in a wider historical sweep. As Seixas explains, “Without a sound notion of historical significance, students confront history as an alienated body of facts that appear to have little to do with their own lives. The potential for history to orient them in time is lost. He argues that schools should lead students to the narrativist’s understanding of significance in history so that all children will be able to see their place in the story of the past, understand how their place is “significant,” and not feel as if they are being asked to learn the past of other individuals

⁴⁷⁰ Peter Seixas, “Student’s Understanding of Historical Significance,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 22 (1994): 281-304; Terrie Epstein, “Deconstructing Differences in African-American and European-American Adolescents’ Perspectives on United States History,” *Curriculum Inquiry*, 28 (1998): 396-423.

or groups who were more important, did more “outstanding” things—were more significant.⁴⁷¹

In related research, Barton and Levstik explored children’s perceptions of historical significance in a series of studies in the late 1990s. This work showed that students do have a good understanding of what is significant. They usually relied upon the freedom narrative and traditional textbook presentation of the past to color their beliefs, although they did carry their own “vernacular,” more personal understanding of historical significance around with them. Barton and Levstik also showed that students could handle ambiguity in history where the occurrence of a significant event did not necessarily mean that it had a blanket affect. (For example, the freeing of the slaves did not necessarily bring instant “freedom” to African Americans.)⁴⁷² Linda Levstik carried this work into the realm of the teacher to better understand the instructor’s role in affecting students’ understanding of significance. She found that there was often a disconnect between what the teacher found to be significant and what the students believed to be. Central to this disconnect was the fact that teachers were reluctant to talk about the negative aspects of American history. Their charges, on the other hand, were well aware of at least some of these aspects, especially, if they were from a minority community. Levstik worried that by not directly addressing the significance of gender, race, and class issues—some of the less-than-perfect aspects of American history— and by not providing “frameworks for making critical sense out of legitimating stories, as

⁴⁷¹ Peter Seixas, “Mapping the Terrain of Historical Significance,” *Social Education*, 61 (January 1997): 22-28.

⁴⁷² Keith C. Barton and Linda Levstik, “‘It Wasn’t A Good Part of History’: National Identity and Students’ Explanations of Historical Significance,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds., *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 240-272.

well as alternative vernacular histories,” students would become cynical and discount history as someone else’s past.⁴⁷³

In an exacting study, Lis Cercadillo performed a comparative analysis of English and Spanish children’s ideas regarding historical significance. By interviewing children about what they believed to be historically significant, she managed to develop a five-level scale that described the range of thinking regarding this “element” of historical thinking. She found that the thought of children from both cultures ranged across the entire scale, but that the English children did better in the early years, functioning at the higher range of the scale than did the Spanish. That gap was reduced considerably as the children aged. She also found that there was a crucial boundary between the highest and penultimate levels of thinking regarding significance. That boundary seemed to separate those students who “learn that the significance of any occurrence is relative to its frame of reference and to the different perspectives particular accounts may apply.” She noted that students most easily recognize significance, if it is of the “contemporary” variety, (meaning that people at the time of an occurrence believed the event to be significant), or if it is of the causal variety, (meaning it led to some event later that was deemed to be significant). The students had a much more difficult time recognizing pattern significance, which also can be thought of as “turning points,” beginnings or endings in trends. These types of significant events are often spoken of using phrases such as “marked the beginning,” “since then,” “opened up,” “broadened,” “led to the demise of,” etc. Students also had a difficult time recognizing symbolic significance, which can be thought of as providing “moral examples” or “mythical pasts.” This type of significance

⁴⁷³ Linda Levstik, “Articulating the Silences: Teachers’ and Adolescents’ Conceptions of Historical Significance,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds., *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008):273-291.

is often denoted by phrases such as “it proved,” “provided a good example of,” “teaches us,” etc. Cercadillo found that English children did better than their Spanish counterparts in identifying these types of historical significance, as well. Although Cercadillo did not offer a direct explanation for the difference in these abilities to recognize historical significance, the introduction to her article does note the significant reform in history teaching in England during recent years such as the Schools Council History Project. Such reforms had not been implemented in Spain.⁴⁷⁴

Epistemology and Evidence

As one leading researcher has stated, “Source work is arguably the sine qua non of historical thinking.”⁴⁷⁵ The second of Seixas’ six elements, “epistemology and evidence,” addresses this source work. How do we know about the past? How can we tell if a historical account is “true?” As more than one teacher and professor listed in this study has maintained, history is not only the “story of the past” but a “form of inquiry that helps construct an understanding of our own lives (individually and collectively) in time. It is an interpretive discipline, requiring that students determine the validity and credibility of evidence in order to construct and reconstruct narratives about people, events and ideas of the past.”⁴⁷⁶ As this study has demonstrated, the analysis of evidence

⁴⁷⁴ Lis Cercadillo, “Significance in History: Students’ Ideas in England and Spain,” in Alaric K. Dickinson, P. Gordon, and Peter J. Lee, eds., *International Review of History Education, Volume 3: Raising Standards in History Education* (London: Woburn Press, 2001).

⁴⁷⁵ Bruce A. VanSledright, “What Does It Mean to Think Historically . . . and How Do You Teach It?” *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 231.

⁴⁷⁶ Stuart J. Foster and Elizabeth A. Yeager, “You’ve Got to Put Together the Pieces: English 12 year Olds Encounter and Learn from the Historical Evidence,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 14, 4 (1999): 286-317.

is a long-standing and much written about element of the “historical sense,” and it grows out of the “scientific history school” of the mid-nineteenth century. Much of what has been written about this aspect of historical thinking, however, (especially in the early years) was more championing of the use of evidence in history teaching than actually trying to understand how children think about that historical evidence. Recent research has built upon the advocacy of the early promoters of primary sources and has assumed the benefit of the use of evidence in teaching. Current researchers have turned their attention to trying to better understand the cognitive processes involved in student analysis of what the past has left behind.⁴⁷⁷ Doing so, Peter Lee has shown that there appears to be almost a Piagetian relationship/progression to a child’s ability to judge differing accounts of the same event. But, as one researcher has noted, this is not really the case, “Young children can begin to understand why there may be more than one version of a story about the past. In order to do so they need opportunities to create their own interpretations, based on what they know, and to see how and why they may

⁴⁷⁷ In his “‘I Just Kind of Know’: Elementary Students Ideas About Historical Evidence,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 24, 4 (1997): 407-430, Keith Barton cites a few individuals and articles championing the use of source-based history teaching not already mentioned in this work: W.H. Kilpatrick, *Foundations of Method: Informal Talks on Teaching* (New York: Macmillan, 1925); E. B. Wesley, *Teaching the Social Studies: Theory and Practice* (New York: Heath, 1937); B. H. Bode, *How We Learn* (Boston: Heath, 1940); Maurice P. Hunt and Lawrence E. Metcalfe, *Teaching High School Social Studies: Problems in Reflective Thinking and Social Understanding* (New York, NY: Harper, 1957); Byron G. Massialas and Benjamin C. Cox, *Inquiry in Social Studies* (New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1966); Barry K. Beyer, *Inquiry in the Social Studies Classroom: A Strategy for Teaching* (Columbus: Merrill, 1971); A representative sample of others include D. Kobrin, “Let the Future Write the Past: Classroom Collaboration, Primary Sources, and the Making of High School Historians,” *History Teacher* 28 (1995): 503-512; Mary Massich and Eric Munoz, “Utilizing Primary Sources as Building Blocks for Literacy,” *Social Studies Review* 36 (1996): 52-57; L. L. Maynard, “The Power of Primary Documents,” *Access Learning* 10 (2003): 6-7; K. R. Morgan, “Using Primary Sources to Build a Community of Thinkers,” *English Journal* 91 (2002): 69-74; Joan W. Musbach, “Using Primary Sources in the Secondary Classroom,” *OAH Magazine of History* 16 (2001): 30-32 viewed on August 8, 2009 at <http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/greatdepression/musbach.html>

differ.”⁴⁷⁸ A 1998 national assessment of high school students, however, showed that most had only the most rudimentary ability to work with primary sources.⁴⁷⁹ A number of researchers believe that this is not a lack of a child’s innate ability to think in this manner, nor is it due to lack of maturity and cognitive development; rather, they argue, very few children have been shown *how* to question the sources in the manner required to demonstrate this aspect of “historical thinking.” Peter Knight suggests an easy three-question foundational exercise to help students do just this. He proposes that activities for young children be organized around showing evidence and then asking: what do you know for certain about it? what can you guess? what would you like to know? (an exercise that Barnes or Fling surely would have recognized).⁴⁸⁰ And since so many students can best approach history through biography, Mayer has suggested one approach to teaching epistemology and evidence to students by focusing on unraveling the information about one individual, Anne Hutchinson, to be specific. He proposed giving students different passages concerning her from different texts and then leading those students through the inconsistencies while thinking about the stories that might lie between the written words.⁴⁸¹ Of course, some believe as John F. Kennedy associate and political historian of American liberalism, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. who has quoted the

⁴⁷⁸ Hilary Cooper, *History in the Early Years* (London: Routledge, 1995): 17; Peter Lee, Making Sense of Historical Accounts,” *Canadian Social Studies* 32, 2 (1998): 52-54.

⁴⁷⁹ E. Hawkins, et. al., *Learning About our World and our Past: Using the Tools and Resources of Geography and U.S. History-A Report of the 1994 NAEP Assessment*. Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1998.

⁴⁸⁰ Peter Knight, *Primary Geography, Primary History*, (London: David Fulton Pub, 1993): 95.

⁴⁸¹ Robert H. Mayer, “Use the Story of Anne Hutchinson to Teach Historical Thinking,” *Social Studies* 90 (May/June 1999): 105-109.

Dutch historian Petr Geyl more than once: “History is, indeed, an argument without end.”⁴⁸²

Denis Shemilt has classified children’s abilities with historical evidence into four levels of understanding. At the lowest level, students take the knowledge of the past for granted and don’t really think about where that knowledge comes from or the evidence that informs it. In other words, students accept what they know about the past to be true because their teacher and their textbook tell them it’s true. (James Lorence and Robert Berkhofer find that the same can be said for college undergraduates who must think that their instructors are “divinely inspired.”⁴⁸³) Thinking in this manner, students read sources like their most used historical narratives, textbooks. At the next two levels, students develop increasingly more sophisticated understandings of evidence, and at the top level, they recognize that historical narratives are reconstructions of the past based upon a selection of biased and incomplete sources, interpreted by an individual or individuals who have their own biases and goals. They understand, too, that these narratives might make connections between individuals, issues, and other factors that those actually living during the time under study may never have recognized.⁴⁸⁴ Most recent studies show that few American schoolchildren fall at the higher end of this

⁴⁸² Peter Geyl, translated by O Renier, *Napolean: For and Against* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1948).

⁴⁸³ Robert Berkhofer, Jr., “Demystifying Historical Authority: Critical Textual Analysis in the Classroom,” *Perspectives: Newsletter of the American Historical Association* 26 (February 1988): 13-16 and James L. Lorence, “The Critical Analysis of Documentary Evidence: Basic Skills in the History Classroom,” *History Teaching* 8, no. 2 (1983): 78. See also, Christina Haas and Linda Flower, “Rhetorical Reading Strategies and the Construction of Meaning,” *College Composition and Communication* 39 (May 1988): 30-47.

⁴⁸⁴ Denis Shemilt, “Adolescent Ideas About Evidence and Methodology in History,” in Christopher Portal, ed., *The History Curriculum for Teachers* (London: Heinemann, 1987): 39-61.

scale.⁴⁸⁵ Indeed, it appears that much of the adult population of the country might lie at the lower end of this scale. Anecdotal evidence from popular culture seems to indicate that most American adults seem to believe that history is simply a recounting of facts devoid of interpretation, a telling of the so-called “truth!” One of the most striking examples of this way of thinking appeared during the height of the so-called “culture wars” when the new American history standards were being promulgated and Lynne Cheney (who would become the wife of the vice president of the United States and from 1993-1996 was the chair of the National Endowment for the Humanities) attacked them in the *Wall Street Journal*. Joining the fray, members of the United States Senate dove into the issue, and conservative radio talk show host Rush Limbaugh, at the height of his popularity, picked up the cudgel, calling these standards a bunch of “PC Crap”:

History is real simple. You know what history is? It’s what happened. The problem you get into is when guys like this try to skew history by [saying], ‘Well, let’s interpret what happened because maybe we can’t find the truth in the facts, or at least we don’t like the truth as it’s presented. So let’s change the interpretation a little bit so that it will be the way we wish it were.’ Well, that’s not what history is. History is what

⁴⁸⁵ Keith Barton, “‘I Just Kind of Know’: Elementary Students Ideas About Historical Evidence,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 24, 4 (1997): 407-430; Stuart J. Foster and Elizabeth A. Yeager, “‘You’ve Got to Put Together the Pieces’: English 12-Year Olds Encounter and Learn from Historical Evidence,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 14, 4 (1999): 286-317; Linda S. Levstik and D. B. Smith, “‘I’ve Never Done This Before’: Building a Community of Historical Inquiry in a Third Grade Classroom,” in Jere Brophy, ed. *Advances in Research and Teaching*, vol. 6 of *Teaching and Learning in History* (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, Inc.): 85-114; Bruce Van Sledright, “Confronting History’s Interpretive Paradox While Teaching Fifth Graders to Investigate the Past,” *American Educational Research Journal*, 39, 4 (2002): 1089-1115; Bruce Van Sledright, “Fifth Graders Investigating History in the Classroom : Results from a Researcher-Practitioner Design Experiment,” *The Elementary School Journal* 103, 2 (2002): 131-160; Bruce Van Sledright, *In Search of America’s Past: Learning to Read History in Elementary School* (New York: Teachers College press, 2002) and Bruce Van Sledright and C. Kelly, “Reading American History: The Influence of Multiple Sources on Fifth Graders,” *The Elementary School Journal* 98, 3 (1998): 199-219. Evelyn K. Hawkins, et. al., *Learning About Our World and Our Past: Using the tools and Resources of Geography and U.S. History—A Report of the 1994 NAEP Assessment* (Washington, DC: National Center for Educational Statistics, 1998): 189.

happened, and history ought to be nothing more than the quest to find out what happened.”⁴⁸⁶

⁴⁸⁶ Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York, NY: Knopf, 1997): 6. The National Center for History in the Schools, located at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) developed *The National Standards for History* with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities under director Lynne Cheney and the United States Department of Education under Secretary Lamar Alexander. They were published in 1994 and later revised, being re-published in 1996. Although it was not an official policy of the United States government, it was a major part of the educational reform movement of the 1990s, and was first envisioned by George Bush I at a meeting of the nation’s governors held in Charlottesville, VA in 1989. This reform was perhaps influenced by similar work along these lines in Great Britain, which had been instigated by Margaret Thatcher’s government, and it definitely was influenced by the 1980s’ vocal critics of humanities education, chief among them the Bradley Commission Report of 1989, which charged that American students lacked a basic knowledge of history and weren’t interested in the subject at all. (In 1987, for example, no less than three major books on the topic were published: Chester Finn’s and Diane Ravitch’s *What Do Our 17-Year Olds Know?*, Allan Bloom’s *The Closing of the American Mind*, and Eric Donald Hirsch’s *Cultural Literacy*.) This criticism led to a number of books which contained lists of things people should know, if they were to be considered literate. In some instances, they even divided the lists into grades. (The image of parents grilling their children each night over the latest items for memorization is a stark one.) The voluntary history standards were generated through a national consensus building process which included a wide array of stakeholder: parents, history teachers, school administrators, curriculum specialists, librarians, and professional historians among them, but not—apparently—radio talk show hosts. The *Standards* embodied much of the thought and research on historical thinking up until that time. Major components of the standards included chronological thinking, historical comprehension, historical analysis and interpretation, historical issues, analysis and decision making. The standards also attempted to broaden the subject matter of school history to reflect some of the areas of history under study by academics and practiced by amateur historians. Thus, they looked beyond the traditional realm of politics and economics for subject matter. These new standards also invited a wider array of actors upon the historical stage: women, ethnic minorities, etc. Throughout the standards, there was an emphasis on the skills needed to understand, analyze, and use primary sources, as well as suggestions for different types of primary sources that could be used in teaching. They still caused controversy. But the politically-motivated shouting matches of the 1980s and 1990s did lead to greater impetus for research into history teaching and learning. In 1999, a special interest group of history educators was established as a part of the American Educational Research Association. Eric Donald Hirsch was an English professor at the University of Virginia whose research showed that reading comprehension requires not simply formal decoding skills but also a wide-range of contextual information. As a result, he founded the Core Knowledge Foundation in 1986, and his subsequent works on the subject are based upon his research into reading comprehension. For works along these lines, see Allan Bloom, *The Closing of the American Mind*. (New York, NY: Simon and Schuster, 1987); E.D. Hirsch, *Cultural Literacy: What Every American Should Know*. (New York, NY: Vintage Books, 1987); Gerald Graff, *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalize American Education* (New York, NY: Norton, 1992). For other works in the controversy, see P. Gagnon, ed., *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education* (New York, Macmillan, 1989); Sue Hammons-Bryner and Dixie M. Bacallao, “Historical Literacy: Is it Necessary?” *Journal of the Middle States Council for Social Studies* 12 (1991): 3-13; M. R. Nelson, “Hip, Hype Hope: Social Studies Reform for the 1990s,” *International Journal of Social Education:*

But, as one of the foremost thinkers on history had explained nearly thirty years before:

“It is no easy matter to tell the truth, pure and simple, about past events; for historical truths are never pure, and rarely simple.”⁴⁸⁷ Still, most of the American general public seem to agree with the radio commentator, but despite this apparent widespread belief in interpretation-less history, students, once taught how to interpret in history, can detect bias and identify gaps in the historical evidence. Still, as Foster and Yeager have shown, often younger students feel that one could come closer to the truth simply by mixing information from the sources to reach some “median” answer, or by balancing the “pros” and “cons,” as if the historian were some host on a 24-hour, shout-infested “news” channel.⁴⁸⁸ Along the same lines, Bruce VanSledright and Christine Kelly found that those students who lacked sufficient context or subject knowledge simply decided that the source providing the most information had to be the more reliable, while other

vol. 8 no. 1 (Spring 1993): 50-58. National Center for History in the Schools. *National Standards for History Basic Edition*, 1996. Viewed in March 9, 2006 at <http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/> ; For more works that describe the teaching or presenting of history in the “culture wars” context see Peter Noovick, *That Noble Dream: The ‘Objectivity Question’ ad the American Historical Profession* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988): 70-72, 185-193; Jonathan Zimmerman, *Whose America? Culture Wars in the Public Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press): 9-13. Peter N. Stearns, *Meaning Over Memory: Recasting the Teaching of Culture and History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: New Press, 1995); and Edward T. Linenthal and Tom Engelhardt, eds., *History Wars: The Enola Gay and Other Battles for the American Past* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1996); Stuart J. Foster, “Politics, Parallels, and Perennial Curriculum Questions: The Battle Over School History in England and the United States,” *The Curriculum Journal*, 9 (1998), 153-164.

⁴⁸⁷ David Hackett Fischer, *Historians Fallacies: Toward a Logic of Historical Thought* (New York: Harper and Row, 1970): 40.

⁴⁸⁸ S. J. Foster and E. A. Yeager “You’ve Got to Put Together the Pieces”: English 12 Year Olds Encounter and Learn from Historical Evidence,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 14 , 4 (1999): 286-317.

researchers have demonstrated that—whether in high school or elementary—students did not discuss the relationship between the evidence and opinion when trying to arrive at what occurred in the past. Instead, they relied upon their own judgment about what was plausible.⁴⁸⁹ Keith Barton has shown that fourth and fifth grade students can identify historical sources, evaluate the evidence, and reconcile contradictory accounts of that old trope from the historical thinking research literature, the Battle of Lexington and Concord, but when asked to construct their own account of the battle, the students completely ignored the evidence that they had so thoroughly pored over not that long before. There was a disconnect between evidentiary analysis and narrative making. To create a narrative, the students would just restate what a secondary source had reported. Stephen A. Stahl and Cynthia R. Hynd also described how high school students stuck to the literal information provided by sources, rarely digging beneath the surface of the information being reported.⁴⁹⁰ Indeed, a number of researchers have shown that children and youth have difficulty integrating information in history from multiple sources—whether primary, secondary or a mix of the two. And in a closely related topic, Linda

⁴⁸⁹ Bruce Van Sledright and C. Kelly, “Reading American History: The Influence of Multiple Sources on Six Fifth Graders,” *The Elementary School Journal* 103, 2 (1998): 199-219. Bruce Van Sledright is a professor at the University of Maryland; Stephen A. Stahl, Cynthia R. Hynd, B. K. Britton, M. M. McNish, and D. Bosquet, “What Happens When Students Read Multiple Source Documents in History,” *Reading Research Quarterly*, (October-December, 1996): 430-457. Research along these lines continue, and the findings remain remarkably consistent. See John A. Wooden, “‘I Had Always Heard Lincoln Was a Good Person, But . . .’: A Study of Sixth Graders’ Readings of Lincoln’s Views on Black-White Relations,” *The Social Studies* (January/February, 2008): 23-31.

⁴⁹⁰ Stephen A. Stahl, Cynthia R. Hynd, B. K. Britton, M. M. McNish, and D. Bosquet, “What Happens When Students Read Multiple Source Documents in History,” *Reading Research Quarterly*, (October-December, 1996): 430-457.

Levstik has also demonstrated that younger students sometimes confuse historical fiction and nonfiction.⁴⁹¹

This situation would seem to point to a central tenet of cognitive theory: people use their previous knowledge base to construct their new knowledge. Lacking experience or knowledge in a certain area leads students to discount what they are not able to assimilate. Indeed, Dutt-Donner and Cook-Cottone examined the abilities of 70 fifth and seventh graders to analyze individual and multiple primary source documents, taking in to account their current background (content) knowledge. They found that while many of the students struggled with the analysis, their abilities were directly affected by their background (content) knowledge, document analysis skills (of both written and visual materials), and the ability to integrate background knowledge with analysis (the adductive reasoning described by Booth that can be thought of as “narrative building skills”).⁴⁹² Because of this close relationship with previous knowledge, Van Sledright and Brophy stressed that children should not be expected to understand history in the same way that they might the physical sciences, because—in contrast to their direct

⁴⁹¹ S. Greene, “The Problems of Learning to Think Like a Historian: Writing History in the Culture of the Classroom,” *Educational Psychologist* 29 (1994): 89-96; Bruce VanSledright and Christine Kelly, “Reading American History: The Influence of Multiple Sources on Sixth Graders,” *The Elementary School Journal* 98 (1998): 239-265; Bruce VanSledright, *In Search of America’s Past: Learning to Read History in Elementary Schools* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2002); Bruce VanSledright, “Confronting History’s Interpretive Paradox While Teaching Fifth Graders to Investigate the Past,” *American Educational Research Journal* 39 (2002): 1089-1115; Linda Levstik, “Historical Narrative and the Young Reader,” *Theory into Practice* 28 (1989): 114-119.

⁴⁹² Karen M. Dutt-Donner and Catherine Cook-Cottone, “Improving Classroom Instruction: Understanding the Developmental Nature of Analyzing Primary Sources,” *Research in Middle-Level Education Online [RMLE Online]* 30 (2007) viewed on February 15, 2009 at http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICDocs/data/ericdocs2sql/content_storage_01/0000019b/80/3e/3b/6a.pdf

experience of the natural world—children’s experiences with history are remote.⁴⁹³ As eminent historian David Lowenthal has stated it, “The past is a foreign country.” But, it is a country “with a booming tourist trade.”⁴⁹⁴ Seixas, on the other hand, disagrees with VanSledright and Brophy regarding children not having much direct experience with the past. He says children come into contact with the past in the natural and manmade landscapes, relics of the past, in the language that they use, and in the cultural institutions of which they are a part. They also encounter the past in books, film, and family stories, as well as church, school and community anniversaries and commemorations. Hilary Cooper agrees:

The past is a dimension of children’s social and physical environment and they interact with it from birth. They hear and use the vocabulary of time and change: old, new, yesterday, tomorrow, last year, before you were born, when mummy was little, a long time ago, once upon a time. They ask questions about the sequence and causes of events: when did we move here? Why? What happened in the story next? Children encounter different interpretations of past times in nursery rhymes and fairy stories, family anecdotes, theme parks, films and pantomime. They encounter historical sources: old photographs, a baby book, an ornament, a statue, a church, maybe a closed-down factory or a derelict cinema being replaced by new roads and flats . . . before children start school there are many contexts in which they are implicitly aware of the past.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁹³ Bruce Van Sledright and Jere Brophy, “Storytelling, Imagination, and Fanciful Elaboration in Children’s Historical Reconstructions,” *American Educational Research Journal* 29, 4 (1992): 837-859.

⁴⁹⁴ David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University press, 1988): xvii.

⁴⁹⁵ Hilary Cooper, *History in the Early Years* (London: Routledge, 1995): 1-2. This is a point made by others. See K. G. Barnhurst and E. Wartella, E. “Young citizens, American TV Newscasts and the Collective Memory,” *Critical Studies in Mass Communication*, 15(1998): 27.

Much of the research into children's historical thinking, especially with regard to epistemology and evidence, has tended to agree with Seixas and Cooper. In some of the most cited research along these lines, Samuel Wineburg, too, used the famous "shot heard round the world," to investigate high school students' understanding of historical evidence. He determined that, unlike professional historians, they did not seem to think of these different types of evidence as human creations. They ignored the fact that the author might have an agenda, that there might be a subtext to what he or she was relating, and that he or she might be biased by his or her cultural or social setting. Moving from individual pieces of evidence to historical texts, Wineburg has demonstrated the difference between the manner in which professional historians and others read the same texts.⁴⁹⁶ Using "think aloud" methodology, he observed while historians examined a source that was not in their own area of interest or expertise.⁴⁹⁷ No matter the text before them, these historians almost all inevitably followed the same pattern. First they glanced

⁴⁹⁶ Samuel S. Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach Between School and the Academy," *American Educational Research Journal* 28 (1991): 495-519. This article is based upon Wineburg's dissertation which was completed at Stanford in 1990; Samuel S. Wineburg, "Probing the Depths of Students' Historical Knowledge," *Perspectives of the American Historical Association* 30 (1992): 19-24; Samuel S. Wineburg, "Historical Problem Solving: A Study of the Cognitive Processes Used in the Evaluation of Documentary and Pictorial Evidence," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 83 (March 1991): 73-87. For similar findings in another study, see M.S. Gabella, "Textual Truths, Photographic Facts: Epistemological Stumbling Blocks in the Study of History," Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, 1993, cited in Keith C. Barton, "I Just Kinda' Know": Elementary Students' Understanding of Individuals and Institutions in History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 25, 4 (1997): 407-430.

⁴⁹⁷ For the writing that influenced Wineburg's methodology, see Anders Ericsson and Herbert A. Simon, *Protocol Analysis: Verbal Reports as Data* (Cambridge, Mass, 1984) and Michael Pressley and Peter Afflerbach, *Verbal Reports of Reading: The Nature of Constructively Responsive Reading* (Hillsdale, NJ, 1995). As Wineburg has noted, the think aloud process focuses on the middle portion of cognition and not the outcomes. It asks what is happening as you look at the text. You train the subjects to "think aloud" in one text, then go to another for your own analysis. They verbalize their thoughts and not their thought processes, which are inferred by the researcher.

over the entire article (noting the place of publication), looked at the author's credentials, and made a brief check of the sources. In short, they were asking themselves, how authoritative is this, what will be the potential biases, how thorough is the research? After this overall check, they began to read the body of the article, not looking at the literal text, so much as the inferred text, or subtext. Wineburg states that this subtext that they were looking for could be broken down into two distinct types: the text as rhetorical artifact and the text as human artifact. Reading the text as a rhetorical artifact, the historians tried to figure out the writer's purposes, intentions, and goals. And reading it as a human artifact, they wanted to know what the text discloses about the author's world view, assumptions, and beliefs. The historians being studied, almost unconsciously leapt from the words that the authors used to thinking about the types of people the authors are. As Wineburg points out, this is a type of reading that doesn't see text as a way to describe the world but, instead, is a way to read to construct the world. Wineburg has also shown that even well-educated scholars in other disciplines do not read texts in this same manner. They have their own "style" of reading, which he has demonstrated by having literary scholars read the same text as had the historians. These literary scholars focus on a totally different set of concerns and constructs. When this was pointed out to the literature professors and historians, each group had no idea that what they were doing when they read was so different from the other. Students and intelligent non-historian adults in Wineburg's studies, however, read the texts quite differently. As he pointed out, the students' style of reading represented the "successes of the education system." They read for facts and believed the text to be factual as presented. They did not look for subtexts. When offered a chance to rate the most factual of the sources, they said that the

textbook reading was the most factual. Historians, on the other hand, had said that this textbook passage was the least factual. Students missed the “slant” of the source. Not one noted that a source had called the battle at Lexington an “atrocious,” while the historians all had taken note of this immediately.⁴⁹⁸ Preliminary research by Nokes, Dole, and Hacker, however, seems to suggest that high school students, given appropriate training in heuristics (or reading texts as evidence) can begin to read in a fashion not too unlike that of the professors of history.⁴⁹⁹ And more than one writer has suggested that the best way to approach the evidentiary basis of history with younger children is to frame it in the form of a mystery.⁵⁰⁰

Wineburg states that there is an agreed upon “Taxonomy of Comprehension Failures” in the scholarship regarding reading. This taxonomy consists of a scale that ranges from the failure to understand a word, to failure to understand a sentence, to failure to understand the relationship between sentences, and finally to the failure to understand how the whole text fits together. But, as Wineburg notes, this taxonomy does not go beyond this more literal list of failures to describe the failure to understand the author’s intention, failure to grasp the polemic of a text, failure to understand the connotations of the words (not just denotations), and failure to situate the text in a disciplinary matrix. This second set of “failures” derives from the fact that in these types

⁴⁹⁸ Sam Wineburg most elegantly illustrates these different ways of reading a text in “Unnatural and Essential: the Nature of Historical Thinking,” *Teaching History* (December 2007): 6-11.

⁴⁹⁹ Jeffrey D. Nokes, Janice A. Dole, and Douglas J. Hacker, “Teaching High School Students to Use Heuristics While Reading Historical Texts,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* (August 2007): 492-504.

⁵⁰⁰ David Gerwin, *Teaching US History as Mystery*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2003). After all, most historians can echo the sentiment of the most famous of detectives, Sherlock Holmes: “You know my method, Watson. It is founded upon the observation of trifles.” *The Boscombe Valley Mystery*.

of “failings,” reader do not “enter into” the text in the same way as those who read this way. Those that do read this way, “enter in” and interact with the text, almost “writing” the text as they read it. It is as if they are deliberating with others over the text while “talking” to themselves to make meaning. Wineburg describes this situation by positing a mock reader, actual reader, mock writer, and actual writer, all at work in the reading of an individual historian. Instead of a single executive in the reader’s head telling what the text means in a “top-down” fashion, a historian’s thought while reading might be considered a board of directors meeting where each board member (mock and actual) is shouting out his ideas. In this way, the author, as well as the text, is decoded. But, of course, the text also decodes its readers.

This difference in reading is derived from the foundational, broad-brushed beliefs about the nature of history and historical enquiry, the epistemology of the text: names and dates versus the need to be able to determine more than names and dates. (After all, as Wineburg points out, some of the students did better on the fact-based tests on the readings than did the historians.) For students, texts are simply information carriers. They read to find information. Historians, Wineburg shows, read texts like prosecuting attorneys: they compare stories, judge witness reliability, etc. Students, Wineburg states, were like a jury. They listened and tried to judge, but couldn’t ask questions. They didn’t find the subtext because they had never been taught that one might exist. And, if they did know that such a beast might exist, they had never been given the skills to track it. As Wineburg shows, the leading reason for this situation is the fact that history textbooks lead to factual reading and not investigatory forms.

The defining feature of historical discourse—its constant reference to the documentary record through footnotes—is the very aspect that drops out when historical texts become historical textbooks. No wonder many students come to see history as a closed story when we suppress the evidence of how that story was assembled.⁵⁰¹

Much like the proponents of New Social Studies who moved from teaching materials, to teaching methods, and then began to effect change in the school outside of the social studies classroom, Wineburg goes beyond the history textbook to offer a critique of the institution which cradles it. He argues that although the schools divide the day up into time for various subjects, the language of “knowing” is the same all day. There are just different vocabularies. This “over-sweeping” school knowledge shares a common structure: it comes from teacher and textbook; it is detached from experience; it comes in sure-stated fact, shorn of qualification; and it can be measured with tests in which every question has a right answer. One right answer. This is not a structure to support the development of “historical thinking.” To address this, Foster states that students should be asked to determine the most revealing or useful of sources in their investigations/readings and be asked to tell why they believe them to be so valuable. They should then be prepared to have others disagree with not only their selection, but also final conclusions to which these sources have led them—and they need to understand that this type of conversation is the nature of history; rarely is there one correct answer. Foster warns that these types of activities require a knowledgeable and

⁵⁰¹ Samuel S. Wineburg, “On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach Between School and the Academy,” in Samuel S. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts, Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 79.

dedicated teacher and that they take a great deal of time, both in the classroom and in the teachers' pre-class preparation.⁵⁰²

As this brief review of the research on evidence and epistemology has shown, American students lack the ability to read historical evidence on any deep level. But that lack of ability does not appear to grow from cognitive development and maturity. Instead, there seems to be ample evidence to show that there have been few attempt to teach students to think in this manner.⁵⁰³ While in the past, some have pointed to this apparent inability on the part of developing children and have suggested that lessons along these lines be postponed, Barton does not believe that the practice of analyzing evidence should be put off. Instead, he states that this level of ability with historical evidence should be seen as the starting point for the more in-depth historical enterprise to come; one should “practice” and prepare for future, more substantive undertakings, and as VanSledright demonstrated by teaching historical analytical skills for four months in a fifth grade history class, headway along these lines can be made. In two separate studies, Drake showed that using primary sources to teach history to high school students caused them to be more sensitive to the interpretive nature of the subject, and Blake showed that nine and eleven year olds taught using sources may know slightly fewer historical facts, but they acquired a keener awareness of how we know about the past and a deeper appreciation

⁵⁰² Stuart J. Foster, “Historical Empathy in Theory and Practice: Some Final Thoughts,” in O.L. Davis, Elizabeth A. Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster, eds., *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001): 175-183.

⁵⁰³ One attempt in the 1990s was the apparently short-lived PATHS (Promoting Argumentation Through History and Science), a National Science Foundation-funded project that aimed to help elementary school students understand the nature of evidence in history and science. Sam Wineburg, Reed Stevens, Leslie Rupert Herrenkohl, and Philip Bell were the leaders of PATHS.

for the challenges faced by those who have come before.⁵⁰⁴ Brophy, VanSledright and Breden, have also demonstrated (as did the Schools Council 13-16 project), that a good, strong introduction to the nature of history and historical sources provides necessary scaffolding for children to think critically about individual pieces of evidence, the relationship between pieces of evidence, and the connection between primary sources and historical narratives.⁵⁰⁵

VanSledright has summarized the process, noting that the evidentiary and epistemological work of history is a complex process, involving at least four interrelated and interconnected cognitive acts: identification(what is this?), attribution (realizing that a source had a creator, locating that creator within the context of the times, and understanding the purpose of record), perspective/judgment (knowing that a full

⁵⁰⁴ Keith C. Barton, "I Just Kinda' Know": Elementary Students' Understanding of Individuals and Institutions in History," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 25, 4 (1997): 407-430; Bruce VanSledright, "Confronting History's Interpretive Paradox While Teaching Fifth Graders to Investigate the Past," *American Educational Research Journal* 39 (2002): 1089-1115; Bruce VanSledright, *In Search of America's Past: Learning to Read History in Elementary Schools* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 2002); Frederick D. Drake, "Using Primary Sources and Historians' Interpretations in the Classroom," *Teaching History* 11 (1986): 50-61. David W. Blake, "Observing Children Learning History," *The History Teacher* 14 (1981): 533-549. This is backed up by later work: Jennifer Hauver James, Michelle McVay, "Critical Literacy for Young Citizens: First Graders Investigate the First Thanksgiving," *Early Childhood Education Journal* 36 (February 2009): 347-354; Janet van Drie and Carla van Boxtel, "Historical Reasoning: Towards a Framework for Analyzing Students' Reasoning About the Past," *Educational Psychology Review* 20 (June 2008): 87-110.

⁵⁰⁵ Jere Brophy, Bruce VanSledright, and N. Breden, "Fifth Graders' Ideas About History Expressed Before and After Their Introduction to the Subject," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 20 (1992): 440-489. Drake and Brown describe a teaching method designed to instill some aspects of historical thinking described in this section. Using what they call first-, second- and third-order primary sources. With the first order being the most important to the lesson and the second order being three to five which corroborate or contradict the first order piece. The third order document is one selected by the student and, while having some personal importance to him or her, being also related to the first order document. By asking open-ended questions, the students are led through a process of sourcing the evidence, corroborating it with each other, and building connections between themselves and the story that the materials reveal. See, Frederick D. Drake and Sarah Drake Brown, "A Systematic Approach to Improve Students' Historical Thinking," *History Teacher* 36 (August 2003): 465-489.

understanding, including the political, cultural, and social perspectives of creators may mean that more than one document needs to be consulted), and reliability/assessment (corroboration). As one goes through evidence, begins to build models and hypotheses, a person creates a series of events that are explanatory. The result is “a history.”⁵⁰⁶

Those who have never learned to think historically,

often approach sources as decontextualized, disembodied, authorless forms of neutral information that appear to fall out of the sky ready made. The younger the student the more likely they are to think that the past is either given, inaccessible, or both. As students engage in source work, give way to the idea that we learn about the past via stories that are based upon available evidence. Differences in stories about similar events are due to missing evidence or to misunderstandings about the evidence. With continued work in sources, an epistemological shift occurs in how students understand the relationship between the past and history—the products of historical investigation. Students come to realize that stories have authors and that authors have different perspectives upon the past. Differences observed among sources can be attributed to bias, exaggeration, ideology, partisanship, etc.⁵⁰⁷

As VanSledright points out, at this point “judging bias” usually comes into lessons, and too often that bias is rated as being good or bad, when it should be about the author’s purpose, his or her intent. The lesson in analysis of sources often stops short of demonstrating that every account has bias, that it is impossible to be without bias, and that two perspectives can be quite different but both can still be “correct.” These are abilities that can be taught. It’s just that they are too often ignored supplanted by other,

⁵⁰⁶ Bruce A. VanSledright, “What Does It Mean to Think Historically . . . and How Do You Teach It?” *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 230.

⁵⁰⁷ Bruce A. VanSledright, “What Does It Mean to Think Historically . . . and How Do You Teach It?” *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 230.

more easily presented and measured lessons. As Peter Lee has noted based upon findings from a project that will be discussed later:

[The] research does *not* show that students meet too many information-collecting tasks in school and too few that set sterner and more interesting problems. It does, however, suggest that *if* information collecting in practice forms the bulk of students' work, school history is likely to let students go on working with weaker ideas than they will need.⁵⁰⁸

The need to be able to read evidence goes beyond the history classroom. As Barnes and Fling and others have insisted for more than one hundred years, it is the “historic sense,” the critical ability to think analytically, to think “historically,” that is the “practical” skill of history. In the words of Denis Shemilt: “History is important to civilizations and culture because of what it is, not because of the stories it tells.” It is “a valuable part of the school and college curriculum because it displays the virtues of an open society not because it persuades students of anything whatsoever.”⁵⁰⁹ As eminent historian Carl Becker wrote in “Every Man His Own Historian,” all people are called upon to think historically—to see human motive in the texts we read, the political speeches we hear, the “news” flung to the world around the clock from multiple cable channels.

⁵⁰⁸ Peter Lee, “History in Information Culture,” History Resource, viewed on June 8, 2008 at www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journal2/Lee.doc

⁵⁰⁹ Denis Shemilt, Review of Lloyd Kramer and William L. Barney, eds, *Learning History in America: Schools, Cultures and Politics*, *History and Theory* 35 (2) 252-275, cited in Peter Lee, “History in an Information Culture,” History Resource, viewed on June 6, 2008 at www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journal2/Lee.doc.

Continuity and Change

“Continuity and Change” is Seixas’ third element of historical thinking. If one is to understand history, he or she must be able to grasp change over time. The older a person is, the more experience he or she has with change, so age is important to understanding this element. As Jahoda and Godin have shown, a young child’s concept of time is fuzzy at best, but fairly early on they can understand the concept of a clock and talk about “yesterday.” More distant time periods are not well understood until late childhood, and sequencing, too, develops along the same pattern. Carol Seefeldt has shown that old photographs help children understand time concepts and sequencing.⁵¹⁰ Keith Barton and Linda Levstik have shown that young children can place old photographs in correct chronological sequence, largely by picking up on clues from material culture—even if they lacked the vocabulary to label the pictures. These researchers also have demonstrated that older elementary children can identify historical eras and include references to political history, often relying less upon evidence of technological change in the images while making attempts to draw upon background knowledge derived from school history, family stories, and the media.⁵¹¹ But, as Seefeldt has pointed out, sequencing exercises do not help students fully understand continuity and change. In her work, she suggested that students keep a record of some activity

⁵¹⁰ Carol Seefeldt, “History for Young Children,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 21, 2 (1993): 143-155. For a discussion of children’s understanding of time as it relates to historical thinking, see Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning in History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-401 and Michael A. Zaccaria, “The Development of Historical Thinking: Implications for the Teaching of History,” *The History Teacher* 11 (May 1978): 328-333.

⁵¹¹ Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, “Back When God Was Around and Everything”: Elementary Children’s Understanding of Historical Time,” *American Educational Research Journal* 33, 2 (1996): 419-454.

undergoing observable change, such as a tree in the schoolyard, and then record the change taking place. That way, the students can better come to understand that change is constant, it affects different people in different ways, and a record can be made of the change taking place.⁵¹²

Keith Barton also noted that developing an understanding of change is a challenge, and to grasp a broad sweep of time, students need to be able to make connections between different time periods.⁵¹³ He showed that students tended to think linearly. Immigrants came to the new world, lived in cabins, and built cities. It was difficult for students to understand that there could be individuals living in cities in one part of the country while at the same time there were still “pioneer- style” living quarters elsewhere in the country. (Students in his studies often confused a ship arriving at Ellis Island with the Mayflower, for example.) Students also seemed to assume that once a problem had been “solved,” it was no longer an issue: women’s suffrage was won, women were treated equally; ‘nuff said. Barton showed that teachers need to be careful to show that at any one time period people can believe quite different things and live quite differently, depending upon their geographic location, socio-economic standing, education, religion, etc. He demonstrated that those students who had the ability to understand subtleties of historical change were more often those who could make connections with their own experiences. In other words, historical investigations relevant

⁵¹² Carol Seefeldt, “History for Young Children,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 21, 2 (1993): 147.

⁵¹³ Keith C. Barton, “‘Oh, That’s A Tricky Piece!’: Children, Mediated Action, and the Tools of Historical Time,” *The Elementary School Journal* 103, 2 (2002): 161-183.

to children tended to more often lead to more sophisticated historical understandings.⁵¹⁴

In an extremely interesting study involving school children in Northern Ireland and the United States, Barton has also demonstrated that a child's ability to understand continuity and change is culturally mediated. The children under study in Northern Ireland were more likely than their American counterparts to describe change in terms of "societal institutions" and "group processes," and they were more likely to understand that a single time period might lead to images that were quite "far removed" from each other (seemingly ancient cottages alongside modern cities). Barton summarizes: "Such distinctions in their appropriation of cultural tools for thinking about history reflect the differing nature of historical representation in the two societies."⁵¹⁵

Progress and Decline

Seixas' fourth element of historical thinking is "Progress and Decline." As Peter Seixas and many others have noted, textbooks, largely, have told a Whig interpretation of history: over time, knowledge, enlightenment, and freedom have grown. With the passage of time, life gets better. This is the best world yet, and, undoubtedly, things will

⁵¹⁴ Keith Barton, "Narrative Simplifications in Elementary and Students' Historical Thinking," *Advances in Research on Teaching*, Vol 6 in *Teaching and Learning History*, Jere Brophy, ed., (Greenwich, Ct: JAI Press, Inc., 1996): 74.

⁵¹⁵ Keith C. Barton, "A Sociocultural Perspective on Children's Understanding of Historical Change: Comparative Findings from Northern Ireland and the United States" in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008) and Keith C. Barton, "'You'd Be Wanting to Know About the Past': Social Contexts of Children's Understanding in Northern Ireland and the U.S.A.," in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008). This work reprints articles published earlier by the editors in various scholarly journals.

get better still. Whig history is a review of the past that sees “progress” as inevitable.⁵¹⁶ An equal number of researchers have noted that many children—and not a few adults—have gotten this powerful message. Barton showed that most kids think that history is the story of constant progress. He and Linda Levstik also have demonstrated that when actually asked to select the most important events in American history, they never cite any historical event that challenges the prevailing Whig view, especially the “freedom narrative” that is found in most American history texts: the idea that freedom has steadily increased for the citizenry across the decades. To address this, Barton and Levstik suggest that, as they teach history, educators should ask their students such questions as “In what ways have things gotten better, in what ways worse?” Students could be asked to talk to individuals whose life has not gotten better with time. This should not be done to turn students away from being bright-eyed optimists to stern-faced cynics, but to show them the full complexities of change. As Barton and Levstik state: “the challenge, it seems to us, is to introduce students to the richer complexities of the past within a context that provides some framework for making critical sense out of both legitimating stories and alternative, vernacular histories—and to decide for themselves whether this ‘flawed system’ is better than the available alternatives or not.”⁵¹⁷ Many of the ideas related to

⁵¹⁶ Peter Seixas, “Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding,” in D.R. Olson and N. Torrance, eds. *The Handbook of Education and Human Development* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996):773. The British historian Herbert Butterfield coined the phrase “Whig history” in his influential work, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1931). For a general treatment of the idea of progress in history, see A. M. Melzer, J. Weinberger, J., and M.R. Zinman, eds., *History and the Idea of Progress* (Ithaca New York: Cornell University Press, 1995).

⁵¹⁷ Keith C. Barton and Linda Levstik, “It Wasn’t a Good Part of History”: National Identity and Students Explanations of Historical Significance,” *Teachers College Record* 99, 3 (1998).

“progress and decline” are bound up with concerns for the narrative in history, and this will be dealt with later in this study.

Empathy and Moral Judgement

Seixas’ fifth element of historical thinking is “Empathy and Moral Judgment.” This is, perhaps, after the much-written about “epistemology and evidence,” the most studied of the six elements. According to historian Gerda Lardner, historical study “demands the imagination and empathy, so that we can fathom worlds unlike our own, contexts far from those we know, ways of thinking and feeling that are alien to us. We must enter past worlds with curiosity and respect.”⁵¹⁸ Early on in the research into historical thinking, helping children to “historically empathize” —to understand why people in the past acted the way that they did and to judge those actors on their own terms by trying to understand their mentality, beliefs, values, and intentions without imposing current values on those actors—was thought to lead to outcomes in the affective domain. In other words, history offered a practice arena for developing the ability to “feel for” others.⁵¹⁹ More recent research, however, treats historical empathy as an “activity” of the

⁵¹⁸ Gerda Lerner, *Why History Matters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997): 201. See also Rosalyn Ashby and Peter Lee, “Children’s Concepts of Empathy and Understanding in History” in Christopher Portal, ed., *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, (London: Falmer Press, 1987).

⁵¹⁹ Tony Boddington provides a good view in light of relationship to the affective domain; see Tony Boddington, “Empathy and the Teaching of History,” *British Journal of Educational Studies* 28 (February 1980): 13-19. In psychology, empathy is defined in seventeen different ways. Historical empathy, as understood by educational psychologists, does not neatly fit any of those definitions. There are those who argue that there is a conceptual difference between empathy as an ability to “feel for” another individual and historical empathy, which is the ability to interpret the record through the viewpoint of a person from a previous age. See Stuart J. Foster, “Historical Empathy in Theory and Practice: Some Final Thoughts,” in O.L. Davis, Elizabeth A. Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster, eds., *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001): 167; Peter Knight, “Empathy: Concept, Confusion, and Consequences in a National Curriculum,” *Oxford Review of Education* 15 (1989):

cognitive realm. Most researchers have come to regard historical empathy as a way of thinking creatively, or as Christopher Portal has noted: “empathy is a way of thinking imaginatively, which needs to be used in conjunction with other cognitive skills in order to see significant human values in history.”⁵²⁰ Empathy aids the creative leap that must often be made from the documentary evidence to the historian’s narrative. Stuart Foster and Elizabeth Yeager are careful to explain that this kind of empathy is really not *imaginative*, but more *creative*; it is not wild conjecture but “a considered and active process,” one that allows students to use the context of the time and the individuals involved to better interpret the evidence that those individuals have left behind.⁵²¹ Historical empathy goes beyond simply being able to “walk in another person’s moccasins,” and it should not be confused with the emotional connection in close relationship to “sympathy.”⁵²² (Indeed, because of this possible confusion, some

44; Denis Shemilt, “Adolescent Ideas About Evidence and Methodology in History” in Christopher Portal, ed., *The History Curriculum for Teachers*, (London: The Falmer Press, 1987); and Stuart Foster, “Historical Empathy to excite Students About the Study of History: Can you Empathize with Neville Chamberlain?” *Social Studies* 90 (January/February 1999): 18-25; K. Jenkins and P. Brickley, “Reflections on the Empathy Debate,” *Teaching History*, 55 (April 1989): 18-23; Elizabeth A. Yeager, Stuart J. Foster, S.D. Male, T. Anderson, and J.W. Morris, “Harry Truman and the Atomic Bomb: A High School Classroom Study in Historical Empathy,” *Journal of the Iowa Council for the Social Studies*, 10, (1997): 53-63.

⁵²⁰ Christopher Portal, “Empathy as an Objective for History Teaching,” in Christopher Portal, ed., *The History Curriculum for Teachers* (London: The Falmer Press, 1987): 89.

⁵²¹ Stuart J. Foster and Elizabeth A. Yeager, “The Role of Empathy in the Development of Historical Understanding,” *International Journal of Social Education*, 13, 1 (1998): 1-7.

⁵²² Bruce A. VanSledright, “From Emphatic Regard to Self Understanding: Impositionality, Empathy, and Historical Contextualization,” in O.L. Davis, Elizabeth A. Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster, eds., *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001): 55.

researchers prefer to call historical empathy, “perspective taking.”⁵²³) Stuart Foster explains that while historical empathy is not about identification, sympathy, or imagination, it does involve understanding people’s actions in the past and a thorough appreciation for context. This kind of empathy demands multiple forms of evidence and perspectives on that evidence, and it requires students to take note of their own perspectives and biases, while encouraging them to make evidence-based conjectures about the past.⁵²⁴ Defining the term this way, presentism—imposing the values and perspectives of today upon the individuals of the past—can be thought of as the “opposite” of historical empathy.⁵²⁵

Samuel Wineburg, by presenting students with primary sources that showed a more subtle picture of Abraham Lincoln’s racial views than the one currently pervading popular culture, determined that children do not think about the past on its own terms, but instead more often embrace presentism.⁵²⁶ In an experiment that used textbook-based

⁵²³ Keith C. Barton, “‘Did the Evil Just Run Out of the Justice?’: Historical Perspective Taking Among Elementary Students,” paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New York, 1996 cited in Kaya Yilmaz, “Historical Empathy and Its Implications for Classroom Practices in Schools,” *History Teacher*, 40 (May 2007): 331-337; Matthew T. Downey, “Perspective Taking and *Historical Thinking*: Doing History in a Fifth Grade Classroom,” Paper Presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco, 1995 cited in Kaya Yilmaz, “Historical Empathy and Its Implications for Classroom Practices in Schools,” *History Teacher*, 40 (May 2007): 331-337.

⁵²⁴ Stuart J. Foster, “Historical Empathy in Theory and Practice: Some Final Thoughts,” in O.L. Davis, Elizabeth A. Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster, eds., *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001): 169-175.

⁵²⁵ Of course, there are those who believe that it is the responsibility of historians to impose present-day morals, values and perspectives upon the past. Not to do so, they believe, is to practice a type of moral relativism. Slavery has always been evil, these individuals would claim, even though a majority of those in the past may have accepted the practice.

⁵²⁶ Samuel Wineburg, “Reading Abraham Lincoln: A Case Study in Contextualized Thinking,” in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts, Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001).

lessons with one group of students and lessons built upon primary sources for another, Yeager and Doppen have shown that multiple perspectives on an issue or an event (as primary sources often provide) tend to more readily build student empathy than does a work with an authoritative, single voice, like a textbook.⁵²⁷ In related research, Pate studied Texas fifth graders who were learning about the American Civil War. Through student interviews, examination of written compositions, and taped classroom discussions, it was determined that true historical empathy required a rich experience base, full understanding of historical evidence, and solid content knowledge. The Texas fifth graders under study did not have these fundamentals, and although they found the materials fascinating, lacking a thorough grasp of specifics, they could not fully empathize with the people from the past that they were studying.⁵²⁸ Indeed, research seems to show that the more content knowledge (names, dates, events) that a student possesses, the greater are his or her abilities in historical empathy.⁵²⁹ This seems to be nearly self-evident: the more someone knows about another person, the better able he or she is to “understand” that person.

⁵²⁷ Elizabeth A. Yeager and Fran H. Doppen, “Teaching and Learning Multiple Perspectives on the Use of the Atomic Bomb: Historical Empathy in the Secondary Classroom,” in O.L. Davis, Jr., Elizabeth A. Yeager and Stuart J. Foster, eds. *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (New York, NY: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001): 97-113.

⁵²⁸ Shana Pate, *Elementary School Children Thinking About History: Use of Sources and Empathy*, Dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1999.

⁵²⁹ O. L. Davis, Jr., “In Pursuit of Historical Empathy,” in O.L. Davis, Jr., Elizabeth A. Yeager, and Stuart J. Foster, eds., *Historical Empathy and Perspective Taking in the Social Studies* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001): 6.

Studies such as these have led to some guidance for the classroom. In addition to using a variety of sources from a variety of perspectives, Portal suggests that teachers build historical empathy in their students by asking them to project their own thoughts and feelings into a situation from the past and distinguish what makes a previous era different from their own. He also suggests that teachers provide an illustration of an inadequate empathetic understanding of a situation, especially one that may have given rise to some misunderstanding, conflict, or tragedy so that students have a better idea of the impact of empathy.⁵³⁰ Foster states that teachers might want to focus on paradoxical, strange, or puzzling situations to help students practice historical empathy skills while becoming more adept at distinguishing the recent past from the ancient world. (One of the more often used historical “events” along these lines has traditionally been a review of the historical methods for determining if someone was a “witch.”) In other words, students can build empathy by thinking about “differentness.” O’Reilly suggests that a series of historical dilemmas might be constructed for figures who have difficult decisions to make. Students would then be asked to explore the interior monologues of these historical figures. As a part of their assignment, students would have to show how that interior monologue was based upon historical evidence.⁵³¹ John Fines and Ray Verrier closely studied the use of drama and role playing to teach the “differentness” of the past in order to build empathy skills, and Kiernan Egan has shown that adolescents, in particular, are most interested in project work that challenges their values and beliefs—

⁵³⁰ Christopher Portal, “Empathy As an Objective for History Teaching,” in Christopher Portal, ed., *The History Curriculum for Teachers* (London: The Falmer Press, 1987): 83-133.

⁵³¹ Kevin O’Reilly, “What Would You Do? Constructing Decision Making Guidelines Through Historical Problems,” *Social Education* 62, 1 (1998): 48.

makes them think empathetically. He argues that the most effective fodder for historical activities are those that contain interesting details from strange, awe-inspiring, or unexpected historical episodes.⁵³² But, Egan warns, teachers should avoid history as sideshow, and with time, they should move from the more outlandish or heroic to the more subtle portrayals of the past. Foster also proposes that teachers should provide thorough context and chronology for a subject before diving deeply into an event and its related sources. Once they begin working with the raw materials of the past, they should explore a wide range of sources, both secondary and primary, while modeling a critical analysis of these items, ultimately drawing their charges' attention to the impact of their own beliefs and values on that analysis. These "sources" need not always be old photographs, manuscripts, or even antiques. For example, "sources" might mean costumes. Hilary Copper has argued that imaginative play in a historic context may begin to build historical empathy in the very young, and with maturity, the fantasy will diminish while the search for what is known will increase in importance. (This is a phenomenon that is known to occur repeatedly in historic reenactment circles as those drawn to the drama and costumes of the past expand their interest into a broader historical context for that drama and the clothing and equipment employed in representing it. In another public history arena, museums across the country now have trunks filled with bonnets and shawls and battered top hats for the young to try on within the context of their exhibits or historic sites. This is designed to help children make a

⁵³² John Fines and Ray Verrier, *The Drama of History*, (London: New University Education, 1974). While Fines and Verrier's work came before the concept of historical empathy had fully entered into the study of historical thinking, it does play upon themes that would become central to the concept. Since this time, teachers have been cautioned about the effectiveness of role playing in these sorts of tasks. Kieran Egan, "Layers of Historical Understanding," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 17 (1989): 280-294.

better “connection” with the items behind glass or on the other side of the velvet ropes.) Historic settings, too, might serve as sources that can be “read,” and Cooper also suggests that with proper contextualization, fieldtrips to historic sites can be used to build empathy.⁵³³ Avishaq Resiman and Sam Wineburg have noted that learning to contextualize information, an aspect of historical empathy, takes time. They state that teachers can help build contextualizing skills in their students by providing background information regarding documents that they might be exploring, asking guided questions, and explicitly modeling contextualized thinking through the use of expert “think alouds.”⁵³⁴ Thus, proper contextualization, exposure to multiple contemporary perspectives on an event, increasing levels of content/subject information, and various bridging devices that engage the imagination of children seem to be a recipe of sorts for the building of historical empathy.

Linda Levstik has observed and written about a knowledgeable and dedicated first grade teacher in action. As this teacher built her racially diverse, low-income students’ historical empathy with stories about heroic figures such as George Washington Carver and Martin Luther King, Jr., she provided them with role models for how individuals not only overcame personal challenges to improve their own lives, but how they went on to improve the lives of others. While this teacher may have provided a simplistic view of the past, her students were first graders, and she was motivating them to learn more in the future. Levstik noted that this master teacher “used children’s personal responses to both

⁵³³ Hilary Cooper, *History in the Early Years* (London: Routledge, 1995): 3, 21.

⁵³⁴ Avishaq Reisman and Sam Wineburg, “Teaching the Skill of Contextualization in History,” *Social Studies* 99 (September/October 2008): 202-207. The “think aloud” is a favorite research tool by educational psychologists, among them Sam Wineburg, but here he transforms this tool into a teaching device.

foster empathy with more distant people and build a vision of a better and communal world.”⁵³⁵

One program, History Alive!, promoted by the Teachers’ Curriculum Institute in California, has recently received attention for its ability to use historical analysis to build empathy skills.⁵³⁶ This program focuses on lives of notables involved in pivotal historical events in an attempt to deal with the complexities of important, yet difficult issues by tackling them with methodologies that build upon affective learning. The program, based upon Gardner’s multiple intelligences, Cohen’s collaborative learning, and Bruner’s spiraling curriculum, began in 1989. Students are divided into teams, and each team has an actor, historian, investigative reporter and public relations agent. Students playing the historians provide the context and lead “biographical briefings” before the interviews. Actors play the historical figure and wear masks. They fields questions from reporters. The PR agents introduce each historical figure and assist him or her in answering questions at a press conference. They also design the figure’s nameplate giving it symbols to represent important ideas. The reporters prepare and ask probing questions, such as “What is that person’s idea of an ideal form of government?” Students playing the parts of Plato, King Louis IV, Thomas Hobbes, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, attempt to answer these questions, basing their answers upon their team’s research. Doing so, they learn to take on the points of view of another, which might be totally different from their own personal beliefs. After the interviews are over,

⁵³⁵ Linda Levstik, “Building A Sense of History in a First-grade Classroom,” in Jere Brophy, ed., *Advances in Research on Teaching, vol. 4: Research in Elementary Social Studies* (Greenwich, Ct: JAI Press, Inc., 1993): 1-31.

⁵³⁶ Patricia Alvarez, “Students Play the Notables: Testing a Simulation Exercise” *History Teacher* 41 (February 2008): 179-192.

the teacher leads a debriefing where students think about what they have just done. One examination of this popular teaching method found that students didn't have enough command of subject matter to fully enjoy the exercise, and they needed more context than was provided by the materials. In an effort to upgrade the exercise, a few changes were subsequently made. To provide more subject information and context, it was decided that the teacher should take a more active role, acting as an "expert." This expert also was able to tie the exercise more closely to materials already covered and to other instructional materials that the students might have used in the past. With this "upgrade," the lesson went more smoothly and was more effective. Reflecting the age in which we live, the teacher's "expert role" was dubbed "Oprah Winfrey." The lesson's "Oprah" provides the proper contextualization, the historian provides the subject/content knowledge, the investigative reporter and press agent represents the multiple perspectives, and the press conference structure provides the structure for the exploration—all to build historical empathy.⁵³⁷

Historical Agency

Seixas' last element of historical thinking is "Historical Agency," or causation. To think historically, it is crucial that one be able to postulate *why* things change and be able to identify what or who (or the who *and* what) that led to this change. In short, one must be able to identify the cause or causes of change. "Without this tool, students cannot see themselves as operating in the same realm as the historical figures whom they are

⁵³⁷ There has been a standardized measure of "perspective taking" created. See, Ulrike Hartmann and Marcus Hasselhorn, "Historical Perspective Taking: A Standardized Measure for an Aspect of Students' Historical Thinking," *Learning and Individual Differences* 18 (March 2008): 264-270.

studying, and thus cannot make meaning out of history.”⁵³⁸ Without an understanding of historical agency, students could agree with the prep school wit in Alan Bennet’s play, *The History Boys*, who proclaims simply, “History is one damn thing after another,” though they may not be so frank about it.⁵³⁹ History is not simply a damn string of who and what and when, but a speculation, based upon evidence, about why and how who did what to whom when he or she was brought to that point by another set of what’s and who’s, that leads to another set of speculative why’s and how’s—historical agency. And this all must be seen through the interpretive lens of the one doing the recording and reporting. At least one part-time historian understood the connection between historical agency and the role of interpretation extremely well. As Winston Churchill once explained, “History will be kind to me, for I intend to write it.”

Historical agency concerns individuals like Churchill, of course, but protagonists can also include types of social configurations (e.g., ethnic, religious, or economic groups, reform and/or social movements, etc.). Research suggests that while the ability to recognize and understand historical agency is culturally influenced, younger children, especially, have simplistic notions regarding causation, largely seeing history as the accomplishment of a few important people. Such an understanding relegates history to a string of activities performed by individual heroes and villains. This is, perhaps, understandable with the “great man” presentation of the past prevailing in textbooks, films, and other materials, not the least of which are the presentations of the teachers,

⁵³⁸ Peter Seixas, “Historical Understanding among Adolescents in a Multicultural Setting,” *Curriculum Inquiry* (Autumn 1993): 303.

⁵³⁹ This quote is often attributed to Henry Ford, and we learn in the play that the youth who states this line goes on in life to make a fortune turning out the real estate equivalent of the Model T.

themselves. For example, a year-long, ethnographic study revealed to Keith Barton that “students showed little understanding of the role in history of social institutions such as government or the economy. Rather, they conceptualized historical topics in terms of the intentions and interactions of individuals. When discussing the history of race and gender relations, for example, students pointed to the role of famous people in changing individual attitudes. Similarly, in explaining changes in fashion and technology, students looked only to the motivations and intentions of inventors rather than to broader social or economic trends.”⁵⁴⁰ They saw the American Revolution as largely a “contest of wills” between individuals (King George versus George Washington, for example). A large number of older students, however, do seem to understand that historical events in history have multiple, complex causes.⁵⁴¹

In another study on historical agency, Bruce VanSledright and Jere Brophy showed, in a much-cited article, that fourth graders required an “experience-based framework” and knowledge base to be able to understand historical agency. Where they lacked this experience and these details of the past, they were only too happy to make something up. In other words, when students did not know what or who caused

⁵⁴⁰ Keith C. Barton, “‘Bossed Around by the Queen’: Elementary Students Understanding of Individuals and Institutions in History,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 12, 4 (1997): 290-315. This is also reprinted in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, eds, *Researching History Education* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 164. Other works exploring this topic include Peter Seixas, “History Agency as a Problem for Researchers in History Education,” Paper presented to the American Educational Research Association, Seattle, April 11, 2001; J. M. Smith, J. M., “Between Discourse and Experience: Agency and Ideas in the French Pre-Revolution. *History and Theory* 40(2001):116-142; Piotr Sztompka, “Evolving Focus on Human Agency in Contemporary Social Theory,” *Agency and Structure: Reorienting Social Theory*. Piotr Sztompka, ed., (Langhorne, Penn: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, 1994).

⁵⁴¹ Peter J. Lee, Roslyn Ashby, and Alaric K. Dickinson, “Children Making Sense of History,” *Education 3-13* 24, no.1 (1996): 13-19.

something to happen, they simply relied upon make-believe. They told a “good story.”⁵⁴² These good stories, at least, were attempts on the part of the students to explore causation, even though they might have lacked the necessary factual ingredients with which to stock that story. Unfortunately, too many teachers feel that they can teach historical agency by providing lists of causes that can be memorized right along with the names and dates of the past. (“Why did the South lose the Civil War? The answer: 1) lack of industrialization, 2) lack of a navy, 3) smaller population, 4) large number of southern unionists, 5) manpower required to monitor the slave labor force, and 6) inability to gain international allies. Know these reasons for tomorrow’s test!”) In opposition to the practice of memorizing “reasons” along with names and dates, Peter Seixas has argued eloquently for a classroom-based “community of inquiry” where, instead of students regurgitating agreed upon explanations of historical events, they provide their own explanations and enter into dialogue with each other and their sources concerning historical agency. After all, as he points out, the products of historians are not settled conclusions but provisional and tentative arguments in an ongoing dialogue between scholars. Students must learn to reach their own conclusions about the causes of historical events, and they must be prepared to have those conclusions be challenged by others.⁵⁴³

⁵⁴² Bruce VanSledright and Jere Brophy, “Storytelling, Imagination, and Fanciful Elaboration in Children’s Historical Reconstructions,” *American Educational Research Journal* 29, 4 (1992): 837-859; Keith Barton had discovered a similar situation: Keith C. Barton, “Narrative Simplifications in Elementary Students Historical Thinking,” Jere Brophy, ed. *Advances in Teaching, Vol. 6 Teaching and Learning in History* (Greenwich CT: JAI Press, Inc. 51-84).

⁵⁴³ Peter Seixas, “The Community of Inquiry as a Basis of Knowledge and Learning,” *American Educational Research Journal* 30 (Summer 1993): 313.

Perhaps, the most in-depth exploration of historical agency took place in England during the 1990s. Project CHATA (Concepts in History And Teaching Approaches 7-14) was a government-funded project that explored historical thinking of students, specifically in the epistemological/evidentiary and historical agency realms with the goal of producing a model of children's concepts of historical inquiry. The project focused on evidence, cause and rational understanding.⁵⁴⁴ Investigating the thought of a little more than 300 students in four different grades at one school, the investigators (Roselyn Ashby, Peter Lee, and Alaric Dickinson) sought to discover if students could distinguish between facts and causation. For example, they gave students a historical paradox: in 43 AD Claudius' troops successfully invaded Britain even though they were greatly outnumbered by Britons who were fighting for their homes. For comparison purposes, the researchers also gave the students information about Hitler's Operation Barbarossa during World War II (the invasion of the Soviet Union). After providing context and information, the researchers asked the students why the Romans won and why Hitler's operation was not successful.

⁵⁴⁴ Peter Lee, "History in Information Culture," History Resource, viewed on June 8, 2008 at www.centres.ex.ac.uk/historyresource/journal2/Lee.doc; Peter J. Lee and Roslyn Ashby, "Progression in Historical Understanding Among Students Ages 7-14" in Peter Seixas, Peter Stearns, and Samuel Wineburg, eds., *Teaching, Learning and Knowing History* (New York: New York University Press, 2000): 199-222; Roslyn Ashby, Peter J. Lee, and Alaric K. Dickinson "How Children Explain the 'Why' of History: The Chata Research Project on Teaching History," *Social Education* 61, no.1 (1997): 17-21; and Peter J. Lee, Roslyn Ashby, and Alaric K. Dickinson, "Researching Children's Ideas About History," in M. Carretero and J. Voss, eds., *International Review of History Education Volume 2: Learning and Reasoning in History* (London: Woburn Press, 1998): 227-251. With regard to evidence and not historical agency, which is the portion of CHATA that I have emphasized here, the researchers found that the youngest children under study (seven year olds) do not distinguish between sources. These kids also maintained that truly knowing the past was impossible, because as one child phrased it, "Because no one from them days is alive today." (p. 32) Older students were able to emphasize the role of the author in historical writings. Peter Lee, "'A Lot of Guess Work Goes On': Children's Understanding of Historical Accounts," *Teaching History* 92 (August, 1998): 29-32.

Ashby, Lee, and Dickinson discovered that students made the assumption that if a historical protagonist really wanted something to happen, then it would happen. Success resulted from level of desire. These students also had a difficult time telling the difference between reasons for the invasions and the cause(s) of those invasions' successes or lack thereof.⁵⁴⁵ Based upon their study, Ashby, Dickinson, and Lee identified a progression in children's ideas about historical agency tied to age. From least sophisticated upward: 1) things happen because people want them to, 2) the more people in history who want something to happen, the more likely it is to succeed, 3) what people want has some connection to the way things turn out, but there are other important factors at work, as well. The researchers also described a progression of thought relating to reason (as opposed to cause) for something happening. From less sophisticated to more: 1) Younger students (and the "less able") believed that explanation and information-giving were the same (example: the Romans wanted Britain's riches; they invaded and were successful); 2) Older and more able students transformed reasons into causes (example: Claudius was not taken seriously; he wanted to prove his adversaries wrong, and the Briton's disorganization made him successful); 3) Students think that historical explanation needs to answer specific questions; if the question is about a military event, they answer with a military explanation and not with information from another "area" (example: the Romans were skilled soldiers, the Britons untrained and divided; they were no match and lost; 4) Students believe that different kinds of "explanatory demands" require different kinds of explanations (example: Claudius may have limped, but that had nothing to do with the invasion—when a creative historian could show that this may have

⁵⁴⁵ Roslyn Ashby, Peter Lee, and Alaric Dickinson, "Recent Thinking on Motivation in History Education: Primary and Secondary How Children Explain the Why of History," *Social Education* 61 (January 1997): 17-21.

been one part of a larger portion of the emperor's motivation); 5) Students believe that explanation is a complex process relying upon a range of factors, each with its own degree of importance to the success or failure.⁵⁴⁶ Such findings show that teachers need to provide a thorough grounding in the distinctions between facts, reasons, and causes as a part of the contextualization of historical study. But when this training/education should take place and how it should be imparted has not yet fully been determined, although one writer has suggested an analytical model that might help students see historical agency by analyzing connections between historical events. Patrick Manning has proposed a model procedure to "describe the interactions" of the past. The first step is mere descriptive and attempts to show the complexity of the past. The second stresses the "management" of this complexity by leading the students through selecting the most significant interactions. Next, he proposes that students move from the specific to the general, to something he calls "global description and analysis." His purpose in this process is to show students the complexities of historical agency. Manning's method of analysis seems to be a good starting point for other researchers and practitioners to begin addressing historical causation in the classroom in all of its layered, shaded, and convoluted glory.⁵⁴⁷ No matter the process one might choose to use to teach historical agency, Kent den Heyer argues that students easily pick up on assumptions regarding historical agency that suffuse any social studies classroom, and he maintains that these assumptions play a significant role in how students understand present-day social change. Thus historical

⁵⁴⁶ Much of this is discussed at the Web site of The National Centre for History Education [Australia] viewed on May 31, 2008 at <http://hyperhistory.org>. Progression and examples described here are taken from this site.

⁵⁴⁷ Patrick Manning, "Interactions and Connections: Locating and Managing Historical Complexity," *History Teacher* 39 (February 2006): 175-195.

agency has a strong tie to a child's view of citizenship and his or her capacities as citizens. For that reason, den Heyer urges that teachers treat students as agents in the present and, thus, grant them status as future historical agents.⁵⁴⁸

⁵⁴⁸ Kent den Heyer, "Between Every 'Now' and 'Then': A Role for the Study of Historical Agency in History and Citizenship Education," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31 (Fall 2003): 411-434. A set of related concerns may be found in Richard C. Foltz, "Does Nature Have Historical Agency? World History, Environmental History, and How Historians Can Help Save the Planet," *History Teacher* 37 (November 2003): 9-28.

Chapter 5.

Additional Elements Under Study: Methodology and Materials and Narrative

“At the heart of good history is a naughty little secret: good storytelling.”
Stephen Schiff

Methodology and Materials: Teaching
Methodology and Materials: Textbooks
Narrative in the Teaching and Learning of History
Promoting Primary Sources Again
Levstik and Barton’s Four Stances

Seixas’ concept of “six elements of historical thinking” provides a good device by which to structure the rapidly evolving research into the “historical sense.”⁵⁴⁹ There are at least two areas of current related research, however, that do not neatly fit within the boundaries of his framework: 1) teaching methodology and materials, and 2) “the narrative.” These issues are interwoven throughout Seixas’ six elements, and the literature about these issues—even within just the confines of history teaching and

⁵⁴⁹ They also fit well with a broader understanding of information literacy. For example, the American Association of School Librarians recent Standards for the 21st Century Learner, summarizes successful student achievement this way: 1) inquire, think critically, and gain knowledge; 2) draw conclusions, make informed decisions, apply knowledge to new situations, and create new knowledge; 3) share knowledge and participate ethically and productively as members of our democratic society; and 4) pursue personal and aesthetic growth. See, American Association of School Librarians, *Standards for the 21st Century Learner* (American Library Association, 2009), viewed on March 26, 2010 at http://www.ala.org/ala/mgrps/divs/aasl/guidelinesandstandards/learningstandards/AASL_Learning_Standards_2007.pdf

learning—is huge. What will be provided here will only be a brief glimpse at a bit of the research in these areas that touch upon the development of historical thinking in students.

Methodology and Materials: Teaching

As has been shown, most American students have not mastered the six elements of historical thinking, but as one researcher after another has demonstrated, this does not appear to be a result of not being developmentally capable. Students have simply not been shown how to think of history beyond a list of names and dates and memorized causes. In a 1980s scathing report on the teaching of history in America, conservative education critics, Diane Ravitch and Chester Finn, Jr. noted that in the typical history classroom, students “listen to the teacher explain the day’s lesson, use the textbook, and take tests. Occasionally, they watch a film. Sometimes they memorize information or read stories about events and people. They seldom work with other students, use original documents, write term papers, or discuss the significance of what they are doing.”⁵⁵⁰ In the mid- 1990s, from the other end of the political and social spectrum, came only agreement as Lloyd Kramer, Donald Reid, and William Barney, distinguished history professors at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, shook their collective heads at the textbook-driven, multiple-choice-test-evaluated history teaching taking place in the

⁵⁵⁰ Diane Ravitch and Chester Finn, Jr. *What Do Our 17-Year-Olds Know? The First National Assessment of History and Literature* (New York, NY: 1987): 194. Ravitch is a professor of education at New York University and the former assistant secretary of education in the United States. She has been an outspoken critic of the way schools have incorporated multiculturalism. Finn, known as “Checker” to his friends, is a former professor of education at Vanderbilt University and is currently the president of the Thomas B. Fordham Foundation, a non-profit educational policy organization in Washington, DC. He, too, has served as an assistant secretary of education for the United States, and was the legislative director for Senator Patrick Moynihan at one time.

country.⁵⁵¹ But their dismay, of course, was nothing new. As has been shown, article after article in the education literature ends with a call for the modification of history teaching methods, but at least since the 1880s, no reform in the history classroom has been able to persist in a wide range of schools for an extended period of time.⁵⁵² Researchers into history teaching have looked closely at methodology and especially the relationship between subject knowledge and the ability of teachers to instill the “historical sense.” It is no mere chance that history has been called the most difficult subject to teach well in high school.⁵⁵³

Perhaps no person is more closely associated with research into teacher education and assessment of teaching than Lee Shulman, an educational psychologist and Charles E. Ducommun Professor of Education Emeritus at Stanford University (where he was a mentor to Sam Wineburg). A past president of the American Educational Research Association, from 1963-1982, Shulman was a member of Michigan State University’s faculty where he co-directed the Institute for Research on Teaching (IRT). He is currently president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In 1985, then

⁵⁵¹ Lloyd Kramer, Donald Reid, and William L. Barney, *Learning History in America* (Minneapolis, 1994).

⁵⁵² Some examples of calls for changes in history teaching methodology not already cited in this study: Henry Johnson, *Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools*. (New York: Macmillan, 1915); Francis Morehouse, "History and the Other Social Studies in Junior and Senior High Schools: American History in Senior High Schools." *The Historical Outlook*, 17 3 (1926):110-118; W. G. Kimmel, "Trends in the Teaching of History." *The Historical Outlook*, 20 (1929): 180-184; H. S. Brown, "A Study of the Methods Used in the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools." *The Historical Outlook*, 20 (1929): 184-188; Frederick Crossfield Happold, "A Salisbury Experiment in Examination Technique." *History*, 16 (1932): 320-326; A. B. Hodgetts, *What Culture? What Heritage?* (Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 1968).

⁵⁵³ Theodore R.Sizer, *Horace’s Compromise: The Delimma of the American High School* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1984.)

Stanford professor Shulman gave the presidential address to the American Educational Research Association, which was subsequently published as “Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching.”⁵⁵⁴ This highly influential work described how Shulman, while helping the medical field improve its teaching, noticed that the work of physicians was being treated as “complex, autonomous, thoughtful, and reflective.” Teachers, on the other hand, were at the same time being taught in a “mindless,” stimulus-response way. As a result, Shulman began studying teachers as experts. He wanted to know “how teachers reason . . . how they think about, understand, and reason with the main ideas, concepts, and principles of the different subjects that they teach.” Based upon this investigation, Shulman maintained that teacher education programs have a “body of knowledge” just like other fields, and that it is the job of the professor of education to move future teachers from being novices to experts in this body of knowledge. This expertise he stated, involves both content knowledge of the subject, as well as the teacher behaviors that help build that knowledge in others. Shulman did not feel that the appropriate way to measure a teacher’s ability was the performance of their students on standardized tests, which did measure subject knowledge, but to measure the way these teachers produce thinking students.⁵⁵⁵ He did believe, and other researchers followed this line of research, that while it is only one portion of a teacher’s knowledge base to effectively teach a subject, a teacher must be thoroughly immersed in that subject’s “way of knowing;” he or she must understand the subject’s disciplinary

⁵⁵⁴ Lee Shulman, “Those Who Understand: Knowledge Growth in Teaching,” *Educational Researcher* 15 (1986): 4-14.

⁵⁵⁵ Lee Shulman, “Knowledge and Teaching: Foundations of the New Reform,” *Harvard Educational Review* 57 (1987): 1-22.

structure. In other words, to be able to teach history as a way of approaching evidence, thinking about historical agency, empathy, significance, and continuity and change—as opposed to a set of moral tales to be memorized—teachers must be able to also work with evidence, understand historical agency, significance, empathy, and continuity and change.⁵⁵⁶ While they need not be professional historians, they must know what it means to “do” history.⁵⁵⁷

Lee Shulman directed Stanford University’s “Teacher Assessment Project” and “Knowledge Growth in a Profession Project,” the latter lasted from 1983 until 1989 and included the “Wisdom of Practice Project.” These various research projects studied novice and expert teachers of history in depth. They demonstrated that a teacher’s subject knowledge is critical to the success of teaching history in a way that builds historical thinking skills in their students.⁵⁵⁸ These projects found that expert teachers had not only

⁵⁵⁶ A good example of the kind of research that demonstrates the affect of teachers on the development of historical thinking skills is Bruce VanSledright and L. Franks, “Concept- and Strategic-knowledge Development in Historical Study: A Comparative Exploration in Two Fourth Grade Classrooms,” *Cognition and Instruction* 18 (2000): 239-283.

⁵⁵⁷ Of course, more than a few probably would agree with newspaper humorist Dave Barry’s assessment of historians: “The difficult thing about studying history is that, except for Harold Stassen, everybody who knows anything about it firsthand is dead. This means that our only source of historical information is historians who are useless because they keep changing everything around.” Quoted in Kathryn T. Spoehr and Luther W. Spoehr, “Learning to Think Historically,” *Educational Psychologist* 29 (1994): 71-77.

⁵⁵⁸ The Teacher Assessment Project issued over 100 articles, technical reports and other documents over its four-year run. Sigrun Gudmundsdottir, Neil B. Carey, and Suzanne Wilson, *The Role of Subject Matter Knowledge in Learning To Teach Social Studies*, (Knowledge Growth in a Profession Project Tech Report No. CC-05) (Stanford, Ca: Stanford University, School of Education, 1985) cited in Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410; Suzanne M. Wilson, L. S. Shulman, and A. E. Rickert, “150 Different Ways of Knowing: Representations of Knowledge in Teaching,” in J. Calderhead, ed., *Exploring Teachers’ Thinking*, (London: Cassell’s, 1987): 104-124; Samuel Wineberg and Suzanne M. Wilson, “Subject Matter Knowledge in the Teaching of History,” in Jere E. Brophy, *Advances in*

a wealth of historical information to draw upon (content knowledge) in their teaching, but that they also had a “vision of history.” In other words, expert teachers showed that they knew history to be a subjective interpretation of the past, an interpretation crafted in an attempt to answer a question or questions using incomplete and often biased evidence. Novice teachers who had been history or American studies majors often shared this vision, while non-history or American studies majors more often than not lacked the “vision of history,” or “historical thinking” skills, and no amount of historical content knowledge (names, dates, events) seemed to give them the ability to “think historically.” As a result of their work, the researchers in these projects—among other things—called for those who would teach history to actually “do” history with primary sources at some point in their own educational career.

Of course, even expert teachers who have “done” history, teach in different ways. In one study, a successful teacher urged her students to “see” history; the starting point for historical explanation for her was visual not documentary. Another expert teacher approached history as a process of actively thinking in order to provide structure (and, thus, meaning) to an “oppressive, inert mass of material” —the historical evidence. A third expert teacher focused the attention of her students on exploring bias and differing perspectives in historical accounts. She then encouraged them to explore their own biases

Research on Teaching (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1996); Pamela L. Grossman, Suzanne M. Wilson, and Lee S. Shulman, “Teachers of Substance: Subject Matter Knowledge for Teaching,” in M. C. Reynolds, *Knowledge Base for the Beginning Teacher* (New York: 1989): 22-36. Suzanne M. Wilson, *Understanding Historical Understanding: Subject Matter Knowledge and the Teaching of U.S. History* (PhD Dissertation, Stanford University, 1988); G. W. McDiarmid, “Understanding History for Teaching: A Study of the Historical Understanding of Prospective Teachers,” in M. Carretero and J. F. Voss, eds., *Cognitive and Instructional Processes in History and the Social Sciences* (Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum, 1994): 159-185.

and different perspectives.⁵⁵⁹ In another study, Gaea Leinhardt, explored the different ways expert teachers explain history, finding two main types of explanations: the self-contained and modular (“blocked explanations”) and the passing explanation which promised more to come later (“ikat explanations.”) The latter evolve gradually as the concept is repeatedly introduced in different contexts. As the school year progressed, the teachers’ explanations became fewer as the students learned to offer their own hypotheses with supporting evidence. These teachers measured their success by the ratio of student talk to teacher talk.⁵⁶⁰ Sam Wineberg and Suzanne Wilson chose to look at expert teachers, as well. They studied eleven experienced high school history teachers, interviewing them about what good teachers do, and then observing them in the classroom. One of these educators, they called “the invisible teacher.” Her students held a debate on the taxation of the North American colonies by the British, with students playing the parts of loyalists and rebels, with a few being judges of the opposing teams’ arguments. In three days of classes, this teacher only spoke out once, reminding the judges to sound their gavel. But, as Wineburg and Wilson showed, just because this teacher was “invisible,” does not mean that she was not responsible for the lesson and the learning going on—or as the researchers wrote, just because you don’t see the choreographer on the stage, doesn’t mean he or she had nothing to do with the dance. Wineburg and Wilson pointed out that the invisible teacher’s out-of-class investment in the lesson was extraordinary: providing materials, the structure, the resources for the

⁵⁵⁹ K. Patrick, “Differences in Teachers’ Conceptions of History,” a paper delivered at the Annual Conference of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Sydney, 1990 Cited at http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/school_education/publications_resources/national_inquiry_into_school_history/chapter_1.htm

⁵⁶⁰ Gaea Leinhardt, “Weaving Instructional Explanations in History,” *British Journal of Educational Psychology* 63 (1993): 46-74.

students, and her in-class investment was great, as well. It began with simply creating the expectant mood for the lesson and providing the example for how the students were to proceed. In contrast, Wineburg and Wilson also described a highly “visible teacher.” An actor through and through, this teacher held center stage in the classroom and was pure energy. He wanted his charges to know the complexities of history but wasn’t concerned with whether they became “little historians.” He captivated his class by telling stories about real people that were open-ended. The researchers later found that both the visible and invisible teachers were capable of teaching using other methodologies, and did so on occasion, but they did have markedly different styles. These different styles, however, affected their students in similar ways.⁵⁶¹ As this research shows, an educator can travel many separate pedagogical roads in successful history teaching, just as long as he or she possesses a solid understanding of the appropriate destination.

Wineburg and Wilson later went on to show that the undergraduate academic backgrounds of teachers played an important role in the way that they approached history and the way that they taught it to their students. Those who were history majors used facts to build a narrative, but they also showed that they understood that different stories could be made from the same set of facts. Those teachers who had been political science majors tended to teach history as if it were synonymous with facts. They then used these

⁵⁶¹ Sam Wineburg and Suzanne Wilson, “Models of Wisdom in the Teaching of History,” in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 155-172; Samuel Wineburg and Suzanne Wilson, “Wrinkles in Time and Place: Using Performance Assessments to Understand the Knowledge of History Teachers in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 173-214. See also, Ronald W. Evans, “Teacher Conceptions of History,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 17, (1989): 210-240 and Ronald W. Evans, “Lessons from History: Teacher and Student Conceptions of the Meaning of History,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 16 (1988): 203–225.

facts to build more political science-like themes upon the past. Wineburg and Wilson showed that these teachers felt that history was a factual subject, with political science being its interpretive and analytical academic cousin. Those teachers that had studied archeology as students stuck close to the evidence and tended to shy away from theories. To them, history was chronology, what came after what. In other words, depending upon their own academic backgrounds, Wineburg and Wilson found that teachers had distinct and separate understandings of the role of factual knowledge, the place of interpretation in history, the significance of chronology and continuity, and the meaning of causation.⁵⁶²

Research such as these investigations shows that, just as their students have “multiple intelligences,” so do teachers. But it also demonstrates that a common denominator of success in history teaching is a deep understanding regarding the nature of history as an academic subject and way of knowing.⁵⁶³ It shows that expert teaching in history seems to involve a solid grasp of the content of history that goes well beyond the textbooks these teachers wielded (and which they treated as only one interpretation of what had occurred in the past). It also demonstrates that no amount of new information, however, will ever trump the deeply held belief about the nature of history. Although they may have different teaching styles, expert teachers know their names and dates, and

⁵⁶² Samuel Wineburg and Suzanne M. Wilson, “Peering at History Through Different Lenses: The Role of Disciplinary Perspectives in Teaching History, in the author’s *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts Charting the Future of Teaching the Past*, (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2001): 139-154. Related research points to the impact of a teacher’s in-service and pre-service education in history upon their views regarding the nature of the subject and the resulting impact upon their teaching methodology. Elizabeth Anne Yeager and O.L. Davis, Jr., “Teaching the Knowing How of History: Classroom Teachers’ Thinking About Historical Texts,” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, April 18-22, 1995, Eric Document ED387406.

⁵⁶³ S. G. Grant, “It’s just the facts, or is it? Teachers’ Practices and Students’ Understandings of History,” *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 29 (2001): 65–108.

can tell you why it is that these are the names and dates being studied. Expert teachers have the ability to infuse detail with meaning and meaning into the details.⁵⁶⁴

Methodology and Materials: Textbooks

As more than one study has shown, textbooks dominate the teaching of history in the schools.⁵⁶⁵ One 1977 survey by the Educational Products Information Exchange Institute found that 90% of class time revolved around curricular materials, two thirds of this being on commercially produced items, largely textbooks. Ten years later, Diane Ravitch and Chester Finn found the situation little changed with nearly 60% of students reporting that they used a textbook daily and an additional 21% saying that they used one at least two or three times per week.⁵⁶⁶ But what does “use a textbook” mean?

⁵⁶⁴ Wineburg and Wilson also note that expert knowledge is not the only criteria for being an expert teacher. They state that the ability to switch teaching styles to fit the needs of a lesson or a classroom is also a factor.

⁵⁶⁵ In addition to those already mentioned in this work are Karen B. Wiley, *The Status of Precollege Science, Mathematics, and Social Science Education: 1955-1975*. Volume 3 Social Science Education (Boulder, Co: Social Science Education Consortium, 1977) and James P. Shaver, O.L. Davis, Jr., and Suzanne Wiggins Helburn, “An Interpretive Report on the Status of Pre-College Social Studies Education Based Upon Three NSF-Funded Studies,” in *What are the Needs in precollege Science, Views from the Field, Mathematics, and Social Science Education* (Washington, DC: National Science Foundation, 1980), both cited in Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410.

⁵⁶⁶ The Educational Products Exchange Institute, better known as the EPIE Institute is an independent, grant-supported entity founded in 1967 to perform research and evaluation on educational materials. For more information on the EPIE Institute, see <http://www.epie.org/html/aboutus.htm>. V. S. Fancett and S. Hawke, “Instructional Practices in Social Studies,” in Project SPAN staff, eds., *The Current State of Social Studies: A Report of Project SPAN* (Boulder, Co: Social Science Education Consortium, 1982): 207-263, Diane Ravitch and Chester E. Finn, Jr., *What Do Our 17 Year Olds Know?* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1987) both cited in Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410. The case is not any better in the nation’s colleges and universities. A study of nearly 800 syllabi posted on the Web showed that most college instructors “depend heavily on a

Ethnographic studies from the 1980s suggest that little straightforward reading of the texts take place in the classroom, with the expected textbook reading largely being assigned as homework. Instead, history textbooks are often used reference sources for the teachers and “background” for the students. Where the texts are closely aligned with the standard course of study, they provide the subject matter and order in which topics are addressed by the teacher. Research has shown that, faced with the challenge of “covering” huge sweeps of time and issues, most teachers eliminate a great deal of reading, writing, and other activities, relying upon their own storytelling and personally modified “quick activities” to get their points (learning objectives) across. These studies seem to show that the classroom, even under strict pacing and coverage mandates, are more teacher-centered than textbook-driven.⁵⁶⁷ Indeed, an international symposium on

textbook, on a textbook-based course’s favorite type of graded work—the examination—and on the conventional ways of teaching American history that a textbook enshrines.” According to Sara Evans and Roy Rosenzweig, “Textbooks are the single most important source through which college students learn about the past.” Daniel J. Cohen, “By the Book: Assessing the Place of Textbooks in U.S. Survey Courses,” *Journal of American History* (March 2005): 1405-1415. Evans and Rosenzweig are quoted by Cohen; the source for this quotation is Sara Evans and Roy Rosenzweig, “Introduction,” in Gary Kornblith and Carol Lasser, eds., “Teaching the American History Survey at the Opening of the Twenty First Century: A Round Table Discussion,” *Journal of American History* 87 (March 2001): 1409-1441. See also Gilbert T. Sewall, *History Textbooks at the New Century: A Report of the American Textbook Council* (New York, NY: American Textbook Council, 2000); Carl M. Tomlinson and Donald J. Richgels, “The Content and Writing of History in Textbooks and Trade Books,” in Michael O. Tunnell and Richard Ammon, eds., *The Story of Ourselves* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993); Richard J. Paxton, “A Deafening Silence: History Textbooks at the Students Who Read Them,” *Review of Educational Research* 69 (1999): 315-339. For a history of the conflicts surrounding American history textbooks, see Joseph Moreau, *Schoolbook Nation: Conflicts over American History Textbooks from the Civil War to the Present* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2003). Moreau is in the Department of History at San Francisco State University.

⁵⁶⁷ Frederick R. Smith and Karen M. Feathers, “Teacher and Student Perceptions of Content Area Reading,” *Journal of Reading* 26 (January 1983): 348-354, cited in Matthew T. Downey and Linda S. Levstik, “Teaching and Learning History,” in James P. Shaver’s ed., *Handbook of Research in Social Studies* (New York, 1991): 400-410.

the future of the history textbook sponsored by the Library of Congress in 2004 summarized the situation this way:

Teachers find that textbooks still have a role in the classroom though they are limited in their usefulness in bringing history to life for the students or in serving as the catalysts for ‘teachable moments.’ School boards see the texts as the central means to communicate factual information that is to be assessed through standardized tests. Students see the texts as necessary reference tools, though they find other modes of historical exploration far more instructive and palatable.⁵⁶⁸

Even though direct reading and memorizing from textbooks may not be as common as it once was in the history classroom, the texts do structure the topics to be considered, and more importantly, perhaps, they bring a tone of authority and “fact after fact” certainty to the subject. This authoritative tone engenders a view of history in students that does little to support the development of “the historical sense.” Textbooks present what Roland Barthes called the “referential illusion,” the notion that the way things are related upon the page is simply the way things were in the past—not interpreted selections, but the way things actually were.⁵⁶⁹ To present the past in this way, textbooks use certain linguistic devices. First, they eliminate “metadiscourse” in the text. Metadiscourse is the author consciously and expressly discussing what he or she is doing, detailing to the reader the “whys” behind the sources being selected, the possible pitfalls of that selection, as well as the processes involved in the analysis of that evidence. This metadiscourse might go beyond selection and analysis to reveal that there may be an

⁵⁶⁸ Bruce Craig, “Library of Congress Convenes Symposium on the Future of the History Textbook,” *OAH Newsletter* 32 (August 2004): 15-15.

⁵⁶⁹ Roland Barthes, “Historical Discourse,” in Michael Lane, ed., *Introduction to Structuralism*, (New York, 1970): 145-55, quoted by Samuel Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts . . .* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001): 12.

ongoing discourse among researchers concerning the topic at hand. In other words, in a textbook, the author hardly ever breaks from the omniscient third person to provide a hint that what he or she is relating is simply his or her educated opinion, or that there may be some disagreement with his interpretation, or that the author, himself, might not even be sure about what it is she is writing, or that there are many other related events and persons equally as “historic” that never made it between the covers of his or her book because of page limitations imposed by a publisher trying to protect a business’ bottom line. A textbook hardly ever includes phrases such as “while some believe otherwise,” “may have,” “could perhaps be,” or “may never know for certain.” As one writer has noted, history textbooks are written in the same style as those in the hard sciences where there are often right and wrong, “testable” answers (at least in the topics covered by the K-12 realm, the primary exception being in those states that mandate the word “perhaps” in paragraphs pertaining to evolution). Of course, in perpetual self-defense against peer reviewers, historians pepper their works written for each other with just these types of phrases. Their works for each other are often as much about the metadiscourse as they are about the subject about which they are supposedly writing.⁵⁷⁰

Robert Bain maintains that students must learn to question the authority of teachers and texts, if they are to truly embrace historical thinking. In one exercise, he made the course textbook, itself, the object of historical inquiry.⁵⁷¹ Isabel Beck and

⁵⁷⁰ Anne McCabe, “Mood and Modality in Spanish and English History Textbooks: The Construction of Authority,” *Text* 24 (2004): 1-29. As evidence of the importance of metadiscourse to the historical enterprise, see M. T. Gilderhus, *History and Historians: A Historiographical Introduction* (4th ed.) (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2000).

⁵⁷¹ Robert B. Bain, “Rounding up the Unusual Suspects: Facing the Authority Hidden in the History Classroom,” *Teachers College Record* 108 (October 2006): 2080-2114.

Margaret McKeown took the same tack a few years earlier when they challenged their students to enter into a dialogue with the text's author, essentially testing the author's authority. They developed a methodology which they called QTA (questioning the author). While such teaching methods seem to be effective, the authors of these works both admit that it is time-consuming, difficult to perform, and not all that scalable as it requires intensive, Socratic dialogue.⁵⁷²

Just as the author is invisible in history textbooks, so are the authors' sources. When they write for each other, historians always show what they base their narratives upon. In other words, historians footnote. Textbooks rarely carry a footnote. Indeed, textbooks hardly ever hint at how the author has come to know what he or she is relating. If primary source material happens to appear in textbooks, it is usually set off in a sidebar so that it does not "interfere" with the main text. In textbooks, primary sources become little more than illustrations breaking up the monotony of the page. Their relationship to the narrative is rarely, if ever, noted.⁵⁷³

As more than one researcher has found, typical history texts fail to offer readers explanations that allowed them to determine 1) the goal of an action or event, 2) the plan for attaining that goal, 3) the action that was taken in response, and 4) the outcome.

⁵⁷² Isabel L. Beck and Margaret McKeown, "Inviting Students into the Pursuit of Meaning," *Educational Psychology Review* 13 (September 2001): 225-241.

⁵⁷³ Avon Crismore, "The Rhetoric of Textbooks: Metadiscourse," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 16 (1984): 279-296; Richard Paxton, "'Someone With Like A Life Wrote It': The Affect of a Visible Author on High School History Students," *Journal of Educational Psychology* 89 (1997): 235-50; For a thorough overview of this topic, see Richard J. Paxton, "A Deafening Silence: History Textbooks and the Students Who Read Them," *Review of Educational Research* 69 (Fall 1999): 315-340. Investigations into actual textbook illustrations find that they lack the contextualization to allow students to hold a "reasoned discussion" regarding their value as historical evidence. See, Robert G. David, "Imagining the Past: The Use of Archive Pictures in Secondary School History Textbooks," *Curriculum Journal* 11 (June 2000): 225-246.

David Bruce LaVere analyzed textbooks used in grades three, four, five, eight and eleven in an attempt to see how well they helped build higher-order thinking skills in students. He identified, listed, and counted all pedagogical exercises in the texts, looking for themes and patterns. He discovered a disproportionate number of activities that relied upon simple recall, and many activities/questions were similar, no matter the grade level of the book.⁵⁷⁴ Derrick Aldridge studied American history textbooks, focusing on their representations of Martin Luther King, Jr. Using King as his example, Aldridge argued that American history textbooks too often present discrete, heroic, one-dimensional master narratives, which deny students access to the complexities of real people in real situations. Oversimplified and uncontroversial, these master narratives do not provide the material required to build critical analysis and interpretation skills, which would allow students to “wrestle” with compelling subject matters and issues—not only from the past, but also from the present by connecting that past in a powerful way to events and situations in their own time.⁵⁷⁵ As Bonnie Armbruster and Tom Anderson have explained, if a text fails to address causation and development in context, then it fails as an historical explanation.⁵⁷⁶ Few textbooks provide substantive context for their lists of dates and names.

⁵⁷⁴ David Bruce Laverre, “The Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U. S. History Textbooks,” *Social Studies* (January/February, 2008): 3-8. Laverre teaches at Clemson University.

⁵⁷⁵ Derrick Aldridge, “The Limits of Master Narratives in History Textbooks: An Analysis of Representations of Martin Luther King, Jr.,” *Teachers College Record* (April 2006): 662-686.

⁵⁷⁶ Bonnie B. Armbruster and Tom H. Anderson, “Structures of Explanations in History Textbooks, or So What if Governor Sanford Missed the Spike and Hit the Rail,” *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 16 (1984): 247-74.

Even as memorization tools, textbooks often fail. First, the history that they relate is sometimes questionable, as has been memorably illustrated by the highly popular work, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong*.⁵⁷⁷ And even when the facts are right, textbooks do not always present them in the most useful way. Beck, McKeown and Gromoll found that fifth grade history texts often presumed knowledge that the students didn't have, and just as often left out causal or explanatory links between historic events. The textbooks provided little more than a listing of facts. Here is one of their examples: "In 1763 Britain and the colonies ended a 7-year war with the French and Indians." The authors added context and provided links between the sentences such as: "About 250 years ago, Britain and France both claimed to own some piece of land, here, in North America." In their study, Beck, McKeown, and Gromoll showed a statistical difference in recall among their students when they used the "supplemented" text.⁵⁷⁸

Sam Wineburg expertly summarizes these issues when he describes how he taught a teachers' seminar in Minnesota. First, he began with Winthrop Jordan's classic high school textbook *The Americans*. Describing the colonial economy, Jordan focused on the much-written about "triangular trade" of rum, slaves, and sugar cane (immortalized in the Broadway play "1776" through a song sung by Mr. Rutledge,

⁵⁷⁷ James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York, Ny: Simon and Schuster, 2007.) One report on the twelve most widely used world history textbooks in the United States found that they ranged from "serviceable to abysmal" in historical accuracy, writing quality, and interest level. "History Textbooks Rated: 'Serviceable to Abysmal,'" *District Administration* 40 (June 2004): 63. See also, "Fordham Institute Says History Textbooks Are More Style than Substance," *OAH Newsletter* 32 (May 2004): 13; Kathleen Kennedy Manzo, "Analysis Finds Shallowness in Latest History Textbooks," *Education Week* 19 (April 26, 2000): 6.

⁵⁷⁸ Isabel Beck, Margaret G. McKeown, and Erica W. Gromoll, "Learning From Social Studies Texts," *Cognition and Instruction* 6 (1989): 99-158.

“Molasses to Rum to Slaves”). In Jordan’s account, women were peripheral players in this economic drama. Next, Wineburg drew the attention of his students to Laurel Thatcher Ulrich’s *A Midwife’s Tale*, where, using her protagonist’s diary, historian Ulrich narrates the story of Martha Ballard, a midwife who lived between 1735 and 1812.⁵⁷⁹ Each chapter of this work begins with quotations from the diary, including spelling and punctuation from the era. Using this evidence, Ulrich then goes on to explore the theme that runs through the various diary accounts. This is no straightforward, chronological rendering of events. The author is not hidden. She is not omniscient. The author is present in the account and tells how she pieced together her “story,” complete with the questioning of her own interpretations. Metadiscourse is not only present, it is central to the account. With Wineburg leading the way, the teaching seminar participants analyzed Ulrich’s work in comparison with other sources. They thought about the assumptions behind Jordan’s textbook account. Based upon these activities, the participants were asked to “rewrite history.” One participant, a female principal, had been particularly moved by the story of Martha Ballard and seethed at how women had been left out of traditional accounts of the past. When asked to tell history in her own way, she did so, placing women back upon the historical stage, but doing so in a way that all but mimicked the style and supposed objectivity of the first textbook that her fellow seminar-goers had explored. She “tried to construct a story without a teller—to deal with her deep feelings by pretending that they did not exist. In the end, Martha Ballard, a person

⁵⁷⁹ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *A Midwife’s Tale: The Life of Martha Ballard, Based on Her Diary 1785-1812* (New York, Ny: 1990). Martha Ballard is also the subject of a Center for History and New Media and Harvard University Film Study Center Web site focused on the developing historical thinking skills in high school students, “Do History,” viewed on July 4, 2009 at <http://dohistory.org/> Ulrich is the source of the popular bumper sticker, which states, “Well behaved women rarely make history.”

brought to life in the primary documents, returned to a still life in the documents [the principal] herself composed.” As Wineburg points out:

Ironically then, [the principal’s] text bore a greater resemblance to Jordan’s *The Americans* than to Ulrich’s *A Midwife’s Tale*. The textbook and all that it symbolized became for [the principal], and other workshop participants, not *one* way of transmitting the story of the past, but the *only* way.⁵⁸⁰

The situation related by this case study is of special concern to those interested in teaching and learning in history because at least one study has shown that although everyone carries around knowledge of “official” and “unofficial” histories, the “official histories,” such as those represented by textbooks, are central to the formation of identity, individual and group.⁵⁸¹ These textbook renderings play a powerful role in determining what readers can imagine about the past. In other words, official, authoritative narratives seem to make it easier for individuals to produce some versions of the past and more difficult to form others. To demonstrate this, undergraduate students were given writing tasks. One group was to use history as an argument for the bussing of African Americans to achieve school integration and another was to use history to argue against this desegregation technique. The students could “see” alternative views of history, but in both sets of the resulting writing assignments, white Americans were seen as “agents,” while African Americans were being “acted upon.” None of the writers presented the

⁵⁸⁰ Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1002): 17.

⁵⁸¹ Karina Korostelina, “History Education and Social Identity,” *Identity* 8 (January 2008): 25-45. Based upon examples from Taiwan, Northern Ireland, North Korea, and China, this article analyzes the impact of the content of history education on several aspects of social identity. The author is affiliated with the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution at George Mason University.

African Americans as historical agents.⁵⁸² The researchers argue that the students do not exchange the roles of historical players because they lack “the tools” to do so. Instead, the students fall back upon the one tool in history with which they have the most experience, “the Freedom Narrative.” A similar research project in the Israeli schools, however, showed that the official narratives in the textbooks there did not have nearly the same sway over the students. This study found that a student’s understanding of “The Great Aliyah” or mass immigration and the resulting Israeli “Melting Pot” was in opposition to the “official” version promoted by textbooks. The student views were more driven by the ethnic background of the students, Ashkenazi (European Jewish) or Mizrahi (Arab-Jewish), suggesting that the view of history that they received outside of school was more powerful than those transmitted through formal educational means and its major tool, the textbook.⁵⁸³ This suggests that in some cultures there are much more powerful educational tools at work teaching history than any officially sanctioned history textbook or classroom for that matter.

In short, an impressive amount of research from a number of quarters has shown that while history textbooks are useful structuring devices for the classroom by helping to tie a wide range of potential topics to the standard course of study (whatever that might

⁵⁸² William R. Penuel and James V. Wertsch, “Historical Representation as Mediated Action: Official History as a Tool” in Voss, James F. and Mario Carretero, *International Review of History Education*, vol. 2 *Learning and Reasoning in History* (Portland, OR: Woburn Press, 1998): These issues touch upon more than race. See, Roger Clark, Jeffrey Allard, and Timothy Mahoney, “How Much of the Sky? Women in American High School History Textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s,” *Social Education* (January/February 2004): 57-62; Stuart J. Foster, “The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in United States History Textbooks,” *History of Education* 28 (September 1999): 251-278.

⁵⁸³ Tsafiris Goldberg, Baruch B. Schwarz, and Dan Porat, “‘Here Started the Rift We See Today’: Student and Textbook Narratives Between Official and Counter Memory,” *Narrative Inquiry* 16 (2006): 319-347.

be), aiding in structuring the pace of the classroom to fit the schedule of the school year, and serving as decent reference sources for teachers and students alike (even though they may not always be 100% accurate in the facts that they relate), these classroom resources do not accurately reflect the nature of the discipline of history, nor do they effectively build the historical thinking skills of the students. Perhaps of most concern is the fact that without some countering force from teachers or other factors outside of the classroom, a textbook-focused history education seems to limit the historical worldview of students. Such an exposure to history appears to place blinders on students, limiting not only their subject content knowledge but also their abilities to analyze and interpret accounts of the past, and this seems to go beyond any concerns with being able to think creatively, analytically, etc. It seems to have implications for something much more important, the building of identity.

Narrative in Teaching and Learning of History

More than one researcher has shown that children, especially young children, do better at completing narrative rather than non-narrative versions of the same tasks. In other words, framing a question, explanation, or task, or presenting information in the form of a story seems to help with comprehension. In addition, people are more likely to remember events that are causally related rather than those simply being presented in some sort of sequence, chronological or otherwise.⁵⁸⁴ Narrative is a powerful tool. This is

⁵⁸⁴ For an expert discussion of the relationship between narrative and history, see David Carr, *Time, Narrative, and History* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986). L. Rosenblatt, *The Reader, The Text, and the Poem: The Transactional Theory of Literary Work*, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois Press, 1978); Barbara Hardy, "Narrative as Primary Act of the Mind," in M.

something that a wide range of headmen, bards, and shaman have taken for granted for thousands of years. Nevertheless, intrepid researchers into the educational enterprise have successfully documented what has previously been supported only by anecdote.⁵⁸⁵

Because narrative has played a central role in history since the beginning of history, researchers into the “historical sense” have been interested in the role it plays in the

Week, A. Warlow, and G. Barton, eds, *The Cool Web: The Pattern of Children's Reading*, (New York: Athenaeum, 1978); Hardy's statement that “narrative is a primary act of mind” is much quoted; M. Donaldson, *Children's Minds* (New York: Norton, 1979); J. Britton, “The Reader,” in ,” in M. Week, A. Warlow, and G. Barton, eds, *The Cool Web: The Pattern of Children's Reading*, (New York: Athenaeum, 1978); Kieran Eagan, “Accumulating History,” *History and Theory* 22 (1983): 66-80; Richard T. White and Robert M. Gagne, “Retention of Related and Unrelated Sentences,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 68 (1976): 843-52; W. Kintsch, E. Kozminsky, W. Streby, W.J., G. McKoon, and J.M. Keenan, “Comprehension and Recall of Text as a Function of Content Variables,” *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behaviour* 14 (1975): 196-214; P. A. Devilliers, “Imagery and Theme in Recall of Connected Discourse,” *Journal of Experimental Psychology* 61 (1974): 110-117; Joel R. Levin, “Verbal Organizations and the Facilitation of Serial Learning,” *Journal of Educational Psychology* 61, no.2 (1970): 110-117 ; Bernice Cullinan, N. Harwood, and L. Galda, “The Reader and Story: Comprehension and Response,” *The Journal of Research and Development in Education* 16, 3 (1983): 29-39; John B. Black and Gordon H. Bower, “Story Understanding as Problem Solving,” *Poetics* 9 (1980): 223-250, viewed on August 8, 2009 at <http://faculty.tc.columbia.edu/upload/jbb21/StoryUnderstandingasProblemSolving.pdf> ; Richard C. Omanson, “Analysis of Narratives: Identifying Central, Supportive, and Distractive Content,” *Discourse Processes* 5 (1982): 195-224; Richard C. Omanson, “The Relation Between Centrality and Story Category Variation,” *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 21 (1982): 326-338; P. Thorndyke, “Cognitive Structures in Comprehension and Memory of Narrative Discourse,” *Cognitive Psychology* 9 (1977): 77-110; Tom Trabasso and Linda L. Sperry, “Causal Relatedness and Importance of Story Events,” *Journal of Memory and Language* 24 (1985): 595-611; Tom Trabasso, Tom Secco, and P. VanDenBroek, “Causal Cohesion and Story Coherence,” in H. Mandl, Nancy L. Stein, and Tom Trabasso, eds., *Learning and Comprehension of Text* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1984): 83-111. All of these are cited by Linda Levstik in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method and Context* (New York: Routledge, 2008). See also, Eveleyn B. Freeman and Linda S. Levstik, “Recreating the Past: Historical Fiction in the Social Studies Curriculum,” *Elementary School Journal* 88 (1988): 329-337. As Barton said about the causation and recall studies: “Such findings are hardly surprising, for the very purpose of a story is not to list a random collection of temporally ordered events but to reveal a sequence of actions whose causal connections the reader (or listener) considers meaningful.” Keith Barton, “Narrative Simplifications,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method and Context* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 197.

⁵⁸⁵ Here are just a couple: F. Andre Favat, *Child and Tale: The Origins of Interest* (Champagne, IL: National Council of Teachers of English, 1977) and A. Applebee, *The Child's Concept of Story; Ages Two to Seventeen* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1978).

subject's teaching and learning. They have found that it can offer both affordances and limitations.

In recognition of the power of narrative, a number of researchers and educational policy makers have called for the schools to teach history to school children, especially elementary school children, using a heavy dose of storytelling.⁵⁸⁶ An influential proponent of the use of narrative to teach elementary school age children history was Mary Gertrude Kelty, a leader in social studies curriculum development and author of well-received elementary school social studies and history textbooks during the late 1920s-1930s. Largely overlooked since her retirement in 1953, she has recently been re-discovered by historians of education. Kelty's work provided a nexus for historical instruction, particularly the use of narrative, the "expanding horizons" movement, and scientific curriculum development, and had a large impact on the way history was presented to students, particularly those in the fourth-sixth grades.⁵⁸⁷ More recently, the chief promoter of narrative in history teaching has been Kieran Egan who has maintained that the schools have underestimated the power of stories to teach, and to teach history,

⁵⁸⁶Bradley Commission on History in Schools, "Building a History Curriculum: Guidelines for Teaching History in Schools," in P. Gagnon and the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, eds., *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1989): 16-47; C. Crabtree, "Returning History to the Elementary Schools," in P. Gagnon and the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, eds., *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1989): 173-187; G. A. Craig, "History as a Humanistic Discipline," in P. Gagnon and the Bradley Commission on History in the Schools, eds., *Historical Literacy: The Case for History in American Education* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1989): 119-137; Thomas Holt, *Thinking Historically: Narrative, Imagination, and Understanding* (New York: College Entrance Examination Board, 1990).

⁵⁸⁷ Keith C. Barton, "Mary G. Kelty: The Most Important Social Educator No One Has Heard Of?" and Margaret Smith Crocco, "Mary G. Kelty: An Ironic Tale of Remembrance," in Lynn M. Burlbaw and Sherry L. Field, *Explorations in Curriculum History Research*, a volume in O. L. Davis, Jr., ed. *Research in Curriculum and Instruction* (Greenwich, CT: IAP, Information Age Publishing, 2005). "Expanding horizons" builds upon the concept that students build knowledge upon a previous knowledge base. Thus, in social studies education, teachers would begin with teaching about families and move "outward" to the community, state, nation, and world.

especially.⁵⁸⁸ As historian of social studies Ken Osborne has complained in his portrayal of Herbartian Charles McMurry (who championed the teaching of history through narrative in a work published in 1903):

for the most part, curriculum developers organize curricula around issues, themes, concepts, and skills. History no longer tells a story; it is a collection of case-studies.

In abandoning the story, we have given up one of our most powerful teaching tools. As Egan points out, stories possess a universal appeal. And they appeal especially strongly to children and adolescents in their search to understand themselves and the adult world that surrounds them.

Moreover, stories can raise questions as easily as they impose answers. They can be open-ended and multi-perspective. They can even be used as vehicles of their own deconstruction. Above all, they are a wonderful way of making abstract ideas intelligibly concrete, of combining the cognitive with the affective.⁵⁸⁹

⁵⁸⁸ Kieran Egan, "What Children Know Best," *Social Education* 43 (1979): 130-139; Kieran Egan, *Teaching as Story Telling* (London: Althouse Press, 1986); Kieran Egan, "Layers of Historical Understanding," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 4 (Fall 1989): 280-294; Kieran Egan and D. Nadaner, eds., *Imagination and Education* (New York, NY: Teachers College Press, 1988). Egan is a philosopher of education and a researcher in cognition and teaches at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia. He is greatly interested in the role of imagination in child development. His major work is *The Educated Mind: How Cognitive Tools Shape Our Understanding* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1997). In this work, Egan reshapes the Piagetian stages of child development in his own manner (intellectual stages, which he calls "understandings") while arguing that major goals of the modern, western, educational establishment are at odds with each other. This set of cross-purposes leads to "the schools" apparent failing; each critic of formal education can point to one of the goals which is not working and then attempt to fix it but only by affecting yet another goal, which draws the attention of yet another critic. He identifies three major goals: creation of an academic elite, socialize the child to meet society's needs, and allow students to pursue their own path of development through self-discovery.

⁵⁸⁹ Ken Osborne, "History as Story Telling," *Canadian Social Studies* 35 (2000), viewed on July 18, 2008 at http://www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css/CSS_35_1/voices_from_the_past.htm For more on using narrative to teach history, see Grant Bage, *Narrative Matters: Teaching and Learning History Through Story* (London: Falmer Press, 1999); Elaine Wrisley Reed, *Helping Your Child Learn History: With Activities for Children Aged 4 Through 11* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, 1993). Michael O. Tunnell and Richard Ammon, eds., *The Story of Ourselves: Teaching History through Children's Literature* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 1993). Charles McMurry and his brother Frank were among the chief promoters of herbartian pedagogy in the United States. Literature

Indeed, Christine Pappas and Linda Levstik have shown that children as young as those in the second grade find history to be interesting when it is presented in the form of a story.⁵⁹⁰ And, in an important early work, Levstik has also shown the way that narrative can have an effect in the affective portion of cognitive activities by providing opportunities for students to make personal, emotional connections to the past, connections that then touch upon the pupils' affective thinking. She noted that while many have pointed to this as a positive attribute of "history as storytelling," the personal linking to the past through the emotions might actually be problematic. Levstik worried that "children might never move beyond their initial emotional response to an examination of the different perspectives involved in any values decision." This was especially of concern because, while the students under study could critique a story's literary merit, they had difficulty applying the same level of critique to the historical enterprise at work in the foundations of these accounts.⁵⁹¹

Levstik would go on to explore the use of historical fiction to teach history in some depth. Her work, again, showed the important role played by the teacher in

and storytelling were advocated by herbartians because they could be used as moral tales to provide lessons in social responsibility. Charles A. McMurry, *Special Method in History: A Complete Outline of a Course of Study in History for the Grades Below the High School* (New York, NY: MacMillan, 1903).

⁵⁹⁰ Linda Levstik and Christine Pappas, "Exploring the Development of Historical Understanding," *Journal of Research and Development in Education* 21 (1987): 1-15.

⁵⁹¹ Linda Levstik, "The Relationship Between Historical Response and Narrative in a Sixth Grade Classroom," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 14 (1986): 1-15. See also Linda Levstik, "Historical Narrative and the Young Reader," *Theory into Practice*, 28,(1989): 114–119.

generating enthusiasm for the narratives, “editing” them for the classroom, and then tailoring them to the initial personal responses of the students, helping to frame empathy and moral judgment in the history and literature classrooms along the way.⁵⁹² In other words, the teacher is key to the connection making process. He or she helps the students make the connection to the past through the emotional components of the story by directing the students’ response, and in at least one case that was studied in depth, doing so in the old-fashioned “the moral of this story is . . .” manner. Thus, it is not always the narrative form, alone, which performs the task of connecting the student to the past through the emotions. It is also the way the teacher presents that narrative which seems to make this type of connection possible. These acts (or scaffolding) seem to be consistent with Jerome Bruner’s understanding of the function of narrative, which he has identified as the “transmission of individual values.”⁵⁹³

The power of narrative goes beyond “connecting,” or empathy building, however. Stories help people, especially children, understand concepts. VanSledright and Brophy have explored the role of narrative in the comprehension of history. They have shown that when asked to make some historical explanation, students almost always rely upon storytelling, showing the form’s near ubiquity. These researchers also demonstrated how

⁵⁹² Linda Levstik, “Historical Narrative and the Young Reader,” *Theory into Practice* 28 (1989): 114-119; Linda Levstik, “Research Directions: Mediating Content through Literary Texts,” *Language Arts* 67 (1990): 848-853; Linda Levstik, “Building a Sense of History,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method and Context* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 31-60. For other works on the use of historical fiction to teach history, M.O. Tunnell and R. Ammons, eds., *The Story of Ourselves: Teaching History Through Children’s Literature* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993); Marsha Gilpin Ehlers, “No Pictures in Me Head”: The Uses of Literature in the Development of Historical Understanding,” *Magazine of History* 13 (1999): 5-9; Russell B. Olwell, “Use Narrative to Teach Middle School Students About Reconstruction,” *The Social Studies* 90 (1999): 205-208.

⁵⁹³ Jerome Bruner, *Acts of Meaning* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1990).

the children's own explanatory stories—while following the standard, narrative form—often included a good bit of “fanciful elaboration.”⁵⁹⁴ In this study, VanSledright and Brophy interviewed ten fourth graders about key topics in American history and discovered that the students' knowledge about these topics was not all that great—but that didn't deter the youngsters from offering up explanatory tales. In their explanations, they often conflated knowledge from different school subjects, cartoons, and holiday celebrations; the students were quite adept at constructing imaginative stories about the past and seeing patterns in them. As Sam Wineburg has noted, the type of “fanciful elaborations” detailed by VanSledright and Brophy can be related to the “content frame” identified by David Perkins (which Roslyn Ashby and Peter Lee has called the “epistemic frame”). This “content” or “epistemic” frame can be thought of as the general and sweeping beliefs that individuals use to interpret history, their historic paradigm.⁵⁹⁵ VanSledright and Brophy's ten students may not have known the subject matter of the history they had been asked to recount, but they were fully aware of how the past is told in “stories,” and what attributes historical “stories” share. It appeared that the students told stories as much to understand the content, themselves, as explain it to or entertain the interviewers.⁵⁹⁶

⁵⁹⁴ Bruce A. VanSledright and J. Brophy, “Storytelling, Imagination, and Fanciful Elaboration in Children's Historical Reconstructions,” *American Education Research Journal* 29 (1992): 837-859.

⁵⁹⁵ David N. Perkins and R. Simmons, “Patterns of Misunderstanding: An Integrative Model for Science, Math, and Programming,” *Review of Educational Research* 58 (1988): 303-326.

⁵⁹⁶ J. Brophy, B. VanSledright, and N. Bredin, *Fifth Graders' Ideas About the English Colonies in America Expressed Before and After Studying them Within a United States History Course*. No. 80, Center for the Learning and Teaching of the Elementary Subjects, Institute for Research on Teaching, College Education, Michigan State University, cited in Keith Barton, “Narrative Simplifications,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method and Context* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 183-208.

To think of history as a story—especially when one is presenting it to the very young—is quite seductive. As countless writers on history education have noted, history holds untold “good stories,” which can be mined. Good stories generate interest and with interest comes a desire to know more, and it is upon that desire that a true education is built. Indeed, there have been those who have bemoaned the fact that the sciences lack a good narrative, and thus a hook by which to grab the interest of the young. As Ursula Goodenough, Professor of Biology at Washington University in St Louis explained to a reporter in 2006:

What's totally lacking in the teaching of science is what I call a history of nature, what happened from the Big Bang on. In the past few decades, the history of nature has really come together as an integrative story, with theories of the Big Bang, plate tectonics and advances in understanding biological evolution all tying the story together. Studies have shown that humans learn best when information is packaged in the form of a story. But the Historical Sciences –cosmology, evolutionary biology and earth science – exist independently in their own domains. There is no linkage.⁵⁹⁷

As has been shown, it is this linkage that Goodenough is looking for, the causation and development, that often leads to comprehension, but it is the concern with the simplifications required to make those linkages that has led a number of philosophers of history and researchers into history education to question just how narrative might best be hitched to the yoke of history education. As Richard White so nicely puts it,

⁵⁹⁷ Tony Fitzpatrick, “Science Education Lacks a Good Narrative,” Press Release of EurekaAlert, The American Association for the Advancement of Science, viewed on July 18, 2008 at http://www.eurekaalert.org/pub_releases/2006-02/wuis-sel013106.php.

Lives are not stories. A day, a month, a year, or a lifetime has no plot. Our experiences are only the raw stuff of stories. The beginnings of our lives are arbitrary; usually their endings come too soon or too late for any neat narrative conclusions. We turn our lives into stories, and, in doing so, we can stop them where we choose. Our stories do in a small way what memoirs and autobiographies do on a grander scale: they allow a self-fashioning that gives remembered lives a coherence that the day-to-day lives of actual experience lack. History, of course, also imposes coherence, but the historian works with less malleable stuff than memory. Memoirs are seamless; good histories disrupt.⁵⁹⁸

In a highly insightful article, Keith Barton showed how students find the linkages and use narrative to simplify the events of the past, to cull out “noise” and structure the people, places, and events so that they can better understand and remember what might have occurred previously. (Even the fanciful elaborating students in VanSledright and Brophy’s stories simplified and followed the recognized narrative structures to tell their own version of the past.) While even the most erudite of professional historians performs the same acts for the same ends, the simplification employed by the students Barton studied revealed a lack of understanding about the complexity of the past, a complexity that students too easily discarded by limiting the number of players and the frame of time and space in which those players acted. For example, in retelling the French and Indian War, some students had a difficult time understanding that the Indians fought on both sides of the conflict. They also didn’t understand that there were thousands of soldiers involved in multiple conflicts across much of a continent. They seemed to imagine two groups of men going at it time and again at slightly different places and at slightly different times. In addition, the students thought that history was a string of discrete events, not a continuous process. For example, the interviewees thought that immigration

⁵⁹⁸ Richard White, *Remembering Ahanagan: Storytelling in a Family's Past* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998), p. 292.

was a near, one-time event. People came across the ocean and populated the continent of North America. Wham. Bam. And just as tellingly, they believed that any change that might have taken place in the past did so because a few great men wanted those things to occur.

Essentially, Barton found that students re-shaped history to make it better conform to an idealized plot structure. As he noted in the discussion of his research, there is a substantial body of literature which seems to suggest that the closer a narrative comes to an ideal plot structure, the more likely people are to remember the details of that narrative.⁵⁹⁹ Indeed, when the events of a recounting stray from the ideal narrative structure, people often retell them in an order that is closer to that structure. In other words, people expect stories to have a certain order and to include “actors” who play expected types of roles. Also, this literature shows that people are more likely to remember stories when all of the pieces of the ideal plot structure or schema are present. In addition, they more likely remember content that is central to the main plot of a story than they are to recall events or people that are related to peripheral details. If there is some event or thread of events that is not woven back in to the main narrative, leading to the conclusion of that story, then—more times than not—these “side items” are forgotten. People simply discard narrative dead-ends.⁶⁰⁰ When people “mess up” a story, they

⁵⁹⁹ Allison D. Brennan, C. A. Bridge, and P. N. Winograd, “The Effects of Structural Variation on Children’s Recall of Basal Reader Stories,” *Reading Research Quarterly* 21 (1986): 91-103; Jean M. Mandler, “Some Uses and Abuses of a Story Grammar,” *Discourse Processes* 5 (1982): 305-318; Nancy L. Stein and Teresa Nezworski, “The Effects of Organization and Instructional Set on Story Memory,” *Discourse Processes* 1 (1978): 177-193; P. Thorndyke, “Cognitive Structures in Comprehension and Memory of Narrative Discourse,” *Cognitive Psychology* 9 (1977): 77-110.

⁶⁰⁰ J. B. Black and G. H. Bower, “Story Understanding as Problem Solving,” *Poetics* 9 (1980): 223-250; Jean M. Mandler, “Some Uses and Abuses of a Story Grammar,” *Discourse Processes* 5 (1982): 305-318; Jean M. Mandler, “A Code in the Node: The Use of a Story Schema in

misremember details of the story, but they hardly ever forget the order in which the overall story occurs. In short, people have a set of “story schema” and these schema affect how they understand and remember the stories that they hear.

Thus, the students in Barton’s study were taking what they had been told and read, and they were forcing it into an ideal plot that met their previous understanding of human development, their “epistemic frame.” This way of understanding the past essentially held that change is linear, and it leads inevitably to advancement and progress over time; today’s is the best world yet and tomorrow will be better; “freedom” has been steadily on the increase, and this will continue into the future; change occurs because a few powerful people want the change to take place. In other words, the students’ epistemic frame was largely a whig view of the past informed by the freedom narrative and the “great men” school of history. Thus, comprehension and recall of narratives are based upon pre-existing expectations regarding the structure of the narrative, and these pre-existing expectations seem to be socioculturally determined.

Barton points out that this narrative simplification seems to be a widespread phenomenon. Even in (or perhaps especially in?) cultures where the past is kept alive by oral transmission (the long-term retelling of events), the past is presented as a series of

major episodic transformations rather than a series of gradual changes involving many people. As a result, the achievements of several different

Retrieval,” *Discourse Processes* 5 (1978): 14-35; Nancy L. Stein and Christine G. Glenn, “An Analysis of Story Comprehension in Elementary School Children,” in R. O. Freedle, ed., *New Directions in Discourse Processing* (Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 1979): 53-120; Richard C. Omanson, “Analysis of Narratives: Identifying Central, Supportive, and Distractive Content,” *Discourse Processes* 5 (1982): 195-224; Richard C. Omanson, “The Relation Between Centrality and Story Category Variation,” *Journal of Verbal Learning and Verbal Behavior* 21 (1982): 326-338; Tom Trabasso and Linda L. Sperry, “Causal Relatedness and Importance of Story Events,” *Journal of Memory and Language* 24 (1985): 595-611.

rulers are credited to a single individual, later events are remembered as having happened around a time of origin, several centuries are collapsed into the span of a few generations, and events in the middle tend to be eclipsed by those at the more remote and more recent spectrum of time. And just as people tend to forget irrelevant or optional details when retelling narratives, oral traditions are particularly likely to omit those rulers who are no longer necessary to validate the contemporary social structure, such as those whose lineages became ‘dead ends.’⁶⁰¹

Barton found the students in his study treated history the same way, and he worried that doing so, they would not grasp the full complexity of the past. He pointed out that a number of scholars have questioned whether narrative can accurately represent past experience. For example, Louis Mink maintained that history, itself, is not a narrative. The narrative is a fiction, a form of artifice, that historians place upon the messiness of real life as it was lived. And Morton White, the ivy-league philosopher of the holistic pragmatism school, has noted that events from the past are not cemented into narratives, but carry with them the ability to support multiple narratives about endless topics and from various perspectives. By choosing one, he has argued, the historian has created a “verbal fiction.” As White and Mink understood it, historical narrative was a construct of the historian, not anything inherent in the past at all, and it certainly could not be found in the evidence left by those in the past without the imagination of a narrative maker, the historian. Having made these caveats, however, Barton did not throw the narrative out with the philosophy. Instead, he called upon curricular designers and teachers to be well

⁶⁰¹ Keith Barton, “Narrative Simplifications,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method and Context* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 198-199; Barton cites: David P. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Traditions: Quest for a Chimera*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1974); G. I. Jones, “Time and Oral Tradition With Specific Reference to Eastern Nigeria,” *Journal of African History* 6 (1965): 153-160; J. Ki-Zerbo, “The Oral Tradition as a Source of African History,” *Diogenes* 67 (1969): 110-124; J. C. Miller, *Introduction: Listening for the African Past* in J.C. Miller, ed., *The African Past Speaks: Essays on Oral Tradition and History* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1980): 1-59.

aware of the fictions that students (as well as historians) construct to aid their understanding of history. Barton warned that teachers should point out that 1) there is no rational basis for all change over all time in history, 2) that progress (and sometimes decline) does not happen in a linear fashion, 3) that history does include dead ends, and 4) the proportions of time, place, and number of actors involved in the past vary greatly.

As has been shown, many researchers believe that history is *exactly* the creation of the “fiction” identified by Mink and White, and “historical thinking” is the cognitive process(es) by which this creation occurs. Because of this, Barton argued that students could best be taught history by involving students in an authentic historical process, some sort of research in which they attempt to answer a question about the past or understand how some event or process came about. Greene has maintained that to develop more expert historical thinking students should be engaged in creating their own narratives. Developing a sense of authorship pushes students beyond the memorization stage of history to interpretation and presentation—higher order thinking that more closely illustrates the true nature of history while instilling the skills required to perform the tasks of history.⁶⁰² (Those pioneers of the late 1800s who challenged their students to write their own texts were prescient!) Such “narrative creation” activities would show students that history has a role outside of being simply “school knowledge.” As Barton explained, “In order for students to care enough about subject matter for them to actually change their ideas, they must be involved in investigating meaningful questions and thoughtfully considering their implications; their studies must take place in a context in which both the

⁶⁰² Stuart Greene, “Students as Authors in the Study of History,” in G. Leinhardt J. Beck, and C. Stainton, eds., *Teaching and Learning History* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1994): 137-170.

conflicts and the solutions are meaningful . . . As in other curricular areas, meaningful investigation in authentic situations is a key to understanding.”⁶⁰³

And yet, despite their facility with narrative, it appears that few students are able to engage in an authentic historical process to create a narrative answer to some question about the past, nor does it seem that many are able to describe/analyze using narrative how some event or process came about. In a study illustrating this, Denis Shemilt described the difficulty a group of British secondary students had in generating coherent historical narratives. Many students in his study produced lists rather than narratives, as in the case of a student whose understanding of the history of medicine was reduced to a "timeline comprised of a *list* of notable physicians, inventions, and discoveries that had no more narrative logic than the alphabet. Hippocrates comes before Galen as 'G' precedes 'H'." Some of the students in his study were able to construct a basic narrative structure, but their stories lacked a true understanding of historical causation. Other students showed that they lacked an understanding of the slow development of events. History to these individuals was little more than a series of “headline events” followed by periods of time when nothing happened. Shemilt didn’t blame this lack of ability on developmental stages. Rather he believed that, once again, students had not been led to see the full nature of the discipline. He suggested that secondary texts used to teach history be rewritten to provide better models of historical causation and continuities. (Too

⁶⁰³ Keith Barton, “Narrative Simplifications,” in Linda Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Researching History Education: Theory, Method and Context* (New York: Routledge, 2008): 203; 204; Morton White, *Foundations of Historical Knowledge* (New York, NY: Harper and Row, 1965); Louis O. Mink, “Narrative Form as Cognitive Instrument,” in *The Writing of History: Literary Form and Historical Understanding*, Robert H. Canary and Henry Kozic (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1978): 129-149; See also, Hayden White, The Value of Narrativity in the Representation in Reality,” in *The Content of the Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987): 1-25.

often, they simply modeled a type of history that the students had only extrapolated into the extreme.) Shemilt showed that when given better models, students were much better able to provide narratives that showed a stronger understanding of the nature of history.⁶⁰⁴ Of course, creating an understandable narrative from scraps of evidence is difficult for even the most mature and educated. As Oscar Wilde has remarked, “Any fool can make history, but it takes a genius to write it.”

As so many researchers have demonstrated so thoroughly, the role of narrative in historical thinking is central. Indeed, building upon the work of Roslyn Ashby and Peter Lee, Jeretz Topolski proposed that “narrative” be added to the elements used to define historical thinking.⁶⁰⁵ He put forth the notion that there are three layers of historical narrative in which students can demonstrate advancing knowledge of and ability in this area: 1) the surface or informing layer (logical and grammatical); 2) the persuasive or rhetorical layer; and 3) the theoretical-ideological or controlling (steering) layer. He also stated that there is a non-verbal, image layer to history, although he warned that these “layers” can’t be thought of in a geographic fashion. They are, he says, more like perspectives or points of view.

Narrative provides students with a useful tool for remembering and understanding, and it is a tool that the young learn almost instinctively (although, as

⁶⁰⁴ Denis Shemilt, “The Caliph’s Coin”: The Currency of Narrative Frameworks in History Teaching,” In P.N. Stearns, P. Seixas, and S. Wineberg (eds) *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000). For more work along these lines, see K.M. Young and G. Leinhardt, “Writing from Primary Documents: A Way of Knowing History,” *Written Communication*, 15 (1998): 25-68.

⁶⁰⁵ Jeretz Topolski, “The Structure of Historical Narratives and the Teaching of History,” in Voss, James F. and Mario Carretero, *International Review of History Education*, vol. 2 *Learning and Reasoning in History* (Portland, OR: Woburn Press, 1998): 9-22.

powerful as narrative is, Christine Pappas has put forth the notion that it may not be a part of a child's natural development; she has wondered, if children don't learn best using this tool, because they have been conditioned from their first communications to learn in this manner).⁶⁰⁶ Because of this, narrative provides a particularly effective scaffolding for learning in history. Using it, students only have to learn specific stories that fit within the scaffold; they do not have to learn what a story is. Thus students can move from story to story efficiently and effectively, focusing on the details of that particular narrative.

Narrative, however, does have its limitations. It is so common, so fundamental, that it is easy to forget that it is consciously created and intentionally imposed upon the evidence. Unless the process of creating the "story" is purposely demonstrated by someone, it can be easy to forget that another story can be created using the same elements and evidence. In addition, it is not always easy for students to understand that the "noise" of one narrative might be the central point of another. Not being aware of issues such as these, students can be "blinded," and thus ignore the range of possible pasts to see only one interpretation of the evidence. This would lead students to know history only through a series of "tunnel views" of the past.⁶⁰⁷

⁶⁰⁶ Christine C. Pappas, "Is Narrative 'Primary'? Some Insights from Kindergartners' Pretend Readings of Stories and Information Books," *Journal of Reading Behaviour* 25 (March 1993): 126.

⁶⁰⁷ It is possible to teach history in a non-narrative way. For example, explorations of the "way of life of the Indians," or "food ways of early settlers," or "Depression-era farm life" are regularly taught not only by the schools, but it is the particular province of historic sites and historic house museums. Some school systems do not rely as heavily upon narrative to teach the past. A much more non-narrative "way of life" curriculum influences the history classes of the schools in Northern Ireland where there is a centuries-long, still active and ongoing disagreement about which narrative(s) best encompass(es) the national story.

Historical narrative also too often tends to emphasize the actions of an individual or a few individuals with biography having long been a chief means of teaching history. Teaching history through “individual, personal stories” allows the students to more easily make a connection to the past, understand motives and causation, and see changes in time. It does this by “personalizing and particularizing” broad issues, major conflicts, mass movements, etc, and by using one of the most common of narrative structures, the “human behavior” schema, where morality, or at least “fairness,” is central.⁶⁰⁸ But, as Mary Kelty long ago pointed out, this emphasis on the individual robs the student of the enormous sweep of history (the scale of those broad issues, major conflicts, and mass movements), and it can downplay the role that structural issues such as economic, social and political forces (class systems, for example) play in making things happen. Just as focusing on one story can hide the many possible stories, by focusing on the individual, narrative can deny students a full understanding of historical agency. Thus using narrative to teach history without fully exploring how narrative works can lead to a more narrow view of the past, a history that might seem inevitable and controlled by a few individuals.

Narrative, or storytelling, is a powerful teaching tool, especially if it is properly balanced with analytical exercises and tempered with activities which teach the full nature of history. The ability to build narrative from evidence is so central to the

⁶⁰⁸ Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, *Doing History: Investigating with Children in Elementary and Middle Schools*, (Mahwah, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2001): 108; Linda Levstik, “Historical Narrative and the Young Reader,” *Theory into Practice* 28 (1989): 114-119; Keith Barton, “Bossed Around by the Queen”: Elementary Students’ Understanding of Individuals and Institutions in History,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision*, 12 (1997): 290-314; L. Jacott, A. Lopez-Manjon and M. Carretero, “Generating Explanation in History,” in J. F. Voss and M. Carretero, eds., *International Review of History Education: Volume 2 Learning and Reasoning in History* (London: Woburn, 1998): 294-306.

historical enterprise that it deserves to be listed with Seixas' six elements of historical thinking. Studies into history teaching methodologies and textbooks show that students best develop these seven elements of historical thinking when the lessons, at least, point to how history is done, even if these classroom activities do not always allow students to *do* history. Those teachers who are most effective in demonstrating the nature of the subject are often those who have actually “done history” in their own educational past. And to show how history is done, or to do history, one must come back finally, to the source of history, the evidence left by those who have gone before, the primary sources.

What does this research delineated by Seixas six aspects of historical thinking and supplemented by other research on teaching methods and tools and the role of narrative tell us? First, historical thinking skills are not totally constrained by cognitive development. They can be taught. Second, students construct a deeper understanding about the past *and* history when they understand the nature of the subject and then build upon their prior knowledge and assumptions about the past (no matter how flawed or incomplete) by asking their own questions and seeking their own answers to those questions. Third, as students perform this investigation, they must pay attention not only to the product of their work (often called a “history”) but also to historical process itself (often called “doing history”) —if they are going to develop a full understanding of the subject. Fourth, developing historical thinking requires that students be able to examine, compare, and become immersed in various forms of historical evidence. Fifth, students must learn to analyze, interpret, and evaluate the interpretations of others, and they must be able to measure significance, and understand that significance is a shifting matter, while teachers must understand that they play a crucial role in imparting their own views

of significance to students—whether students agree with that significance or not. Sixth, students must be able to deal with issues of historical agency, and develop empathy, a form of context-sensitive imagination, to help fill gaps in the evidence. To build this empathy requires proper contextualization, exposure to multiple, often conflicting, contemporary perspectives, increasing levels of content and subject knowledge, and experience in the use of various bridging devices that help engage the imagination. Seventh, being able to make a personal connection to the past, whether through a local or personal story, seems to be a highly effective teaching strategy to build skills in historical empathy and significance, while also engendering interest in the subject, and thus fuel for future knowledge seeking. Eighth, students must be able to communicate their beliefs about occurrences in the past by tying those sources into an organized and understandable narrative, a powerful tool for understanding, but narrative—while organizing information *and* knowledge—can limit a person’s worldview, if the true nature of the relationship between evidence, perspective, and other potential narratives are not presented. Ninth, not all teaching methods and tools support this kind of education. Tools that include a metadiscourse, provide links to sources, and consciously draw attention to the historical process, as well as the final ‘product’ of that process, the history, should be more successful in teaching historical thinking skills. The more student-centered, inquiry-driven, problem-solving, critical thinking-based approaches tend to be more successful than the teacher-centered, information-sharing approach to history teaching. And finally, there is a role for the “who, what, when and where’s” of history, the content knowledge so often seemingly disparaged by the researchers who have promoted the historical inquiry skills and processes of the discipline over the “memorization” aspects of the

subject. The research has shown that the more subject knowledge a student possesses, the more resources that he or she will have to draw upon in the critical analysis of a source. The more names and dates a student might know about the past, the greater is his or her potential to think empathetically (in the historical sense) about a previous event or person. The more content knowledge someone knows about the past, the more nuanced or subtle might be his or her understanding of historical causation. Names, dates, events—all of those memorizable historical items—form a sort of data pool that can be called upon to inform the various historical thinking skills. As it turns out, the doing of history and the learning of history go hand-in-hand, although one has long been emphasized over the other in the nation's schools while the other has held sway in the educational literature.

Promoting Primary Sources Again

Over the last twenty years, research like that cited in the previous pages has inspired a new generation of professors, curriculum planners, and a few classroom teachers to again take up the cause of primary sources with renewed vigor. These researchers have generated an explosion of articles seeking to translate the “new” ideas about the development of thinking in history into useable suggestions and resources for the classroom. A great many of these works understandably point to the importance of teaching history through the use of primary sources. Most of these “primary source” advocates have produced general treatments that explain what primary sources are and

why they aid instruction.⁶⁰⁹ A number look at the use of primary sources to teach critical thinking skills.⁶¹⁰ Some provide a layman's view of recent research in the psychology of

⁶⁰⁹Helen H. Carey and Judith E. Greenberg, *How to Use Primary Sources*, in the *Social Studies Skills Book series* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983); Gerald A. Danzer and Mark Newman, *Tuning In: Primary Sources in the Teaching of History* (Chicago, IL: The University of Illinois at Chicago, 1991): 8; Evelyn Holt Otten, "Using Primary Sources in the Primary Grades" *Eric Digest*, Viewed on January 31, 2006 at <http://www.ericdigests.org/1999-1/primary.html>; Lee W. Fromwalt, "Seven Rules for Effective History Teaching or Bringing Life to the History Class," *Magazine of History* (October 2002), viewed on May 4, 2004 at <http://www.oah.org/pubs/magazine/ww1/formwalt.html> ; D. Abilock, "Primary Sources," *Knowledge Quest* 29 (September/October 2000): 11; Patrick Rael, "Knowing the Past through Historical Documents," *Knowledge Quest* 29 (September/October 2000):16-17; Susan Veccia, "Information Powered by Primary Sources," *Knowledge Quest* 29 (September/October 2000): 12, 14-15; J. W. Musbach, "Using Primary Sources in the Secondary Classroom. [Organization of American Historians] *Magazine of History* 16 (Fall 2001): 30-2; Phyllis DiBianco, "Primary Sources: Clues to the Past," *Information Searcher* 13 (2002): 13-9; J. A. Percoco, "Primarily, It's Serendipity," *Social Education* 67 (November/December 2003): 401-4; Tom Gray, et. al, "From Attics to Graveyards: How to Locate Primary Documents for Your Classroom," *Social Education* 67 (November/December 2003): 386-8; S. Mintz, "Using Primary Source Documents," *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* 17 (April 2003): 41-3; Richard M. Wyman, *America's History Through Young Voices: Using Primary Sources in the K-12 Social Studies Classroom* (Pearson/Allyn and Bacon, 2005); G. D. Schack and A. Starko, *Research Comes Alive: Guidebook for Conducting Original Research With Middle and High School Students* (Mansfield Center, CT: Creative Learning Press, 1999).

⁶¹⁰ Marcy Singer Gabella, "Beyond the Looking Glass: Bringing Students into the Conversation of Historical Inquiry," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 22 (1994): 340-363; Steven A. Stahl, Cynthia R. Hynd, Bruce K. Britton, Mary M. McNish, and Dennis Bosquet, "What Happens When Students Read Multiple Source Documents in History?" *Reading Research Quarterly*, 31 (October/November/December 1996): 430-456; Russell B. Olwell, "New Views of Slavery: Using Recent Historical Work to Promote Critical Thinking About the "Peculiar Institution," *The History Teacher*. 34 (August 2001): 459-69; Ruth W. Sandwell, "Reading Beyond Bias: Using Historical Documents in the Secondary Classroom," *McGill Journal of Education*, 38 (Winter 2003): 168-86; Katherine R. Morgan, "Using Primary Sources to Build a Community of Thinkers," *English Journal* 91 (March 2002): 69-74; G. D. Schack and A. Starko, *Research Comes Alive: Guidebook for Conducting Original Research With Middle and High School Students* (Mansfield Center, CT: Creative Learning Press, 1999); Helen H. Carey and Judith E. Greenberg, *How to Use Primary Sources*, in the *Social Studies Skills Book series* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1983); James L. Lorence. "The Critical Analysis of the Documentary Evidence: Basic Skills in the History Classroom," *History Teaching* 8 no.2 (1983); J. Blyth, *History in Primary Schools: A Practical Approach for Teachers of 5- to 11-year-old Children* (Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1989); K. L. Jorgensen, *History Workshop: Reconstructing the Past with Elementary Students*. (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993); K. Stockdale and G. Kauffman, *Primary Sources: Strategies for Finding and Using Original Sources*. (Logan, IA: Perfection Learning, 1994).

history teaching and thinking.⁶¹¹ A very few talk about the school librarian's role in providing access to primary sources.⁶¹²

And a number provide the classroom teacher with ideas for classroom activities and strategies for teaching with primary sources, some of which are quite specific and include a wide range of evidence and types of historical research: cemeteries, artifacts, genealogy, oral histories, WPA slave narratives, photographs, historic sites, and county

⁶¹¹ O.L. Davis, Jr. and Elizabeth Yeager, "Classroom Teachers Thinking About Historical Texts: An Exploratory Study," *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 24 (1996): 146-66.

⁶¹² "Learning History through Primary Sources," *The School Librarian's Workshop* 15 (October 1994): 14-15. Although not published, one of the most comprehensive in this area was a doctoral dissertation. The writer of this dissertation closely looked at the practices of three social studies teachers who used primary sources in their classrooms to see what sort of role the school media specialist could play in facilitating this type of teaching. She found that media specialists played a small role in identifying materials, and perhaps because of when the dissertation was written, the media specialist was used primarily as a guide in the use of the Internet. In a not peripheral issue, the researcher found that the highly structured classroom significantly hindered the use of primary sources in teaching. Martha Trentham Hunter, *The School Library Media Specialist, The Social Studies Teacher, and Collaboration: Their Roles in Teaching Primary Sources in the Secondary Classroom*, A dissertation. Georgia State University, 2002. Marjorie L. Pappas, "Learners as Historians: Making History Come Alive Through Historical Inquiry," *School Library Media Activities Monthly* 23 (June 2007): 18-21; D. Callison and M. Saunders-Brunner, "Primary Sources," *School Library Media Activities Monthly* 20 (2004): 29-32. In a somewhat related line of thinking, there was a movement in the 1960s and 1970s known as the "Library-College Concept," which sought to stimulate learning by creating a climate of student-initiated inquiry. Following this concept, the library and laboratory would be the centerpieces of the school and the classroom peripheral. The schools would provide time and freedom for exploration, learning would be personalized, and the emphasis would be on teaching students to learn how to learn. They would be freed from content; they would not be expected to memorize and regurgitate but to be able to show that they had mastered certain research and communication skills. Professors would become directors of research, and librarians would help structure the learning environment by, in part, designing content rich research repositories and helping structure them to build research and communication skills. C. Robert Haywood, "The Doing of History: A Practical Use of the Library-College Concept," in Howard Clayton, ed., *Learning for Living Series*, (Norman, OK: The Library-College Associates, 1978); Florence E. De Hart, "The Library-College Concept: For the Want of a Horse Shoe Nail," available full-text as an Eric Document 098995. Chief promoters of the concept were Louis Shores and Patricia Knapp. Shores promoted the concept beginning with a speech at the American Library Association in 1933 and 25 years later, Patricia Knapp picked up the torch and carried it. See Sister Helen Sheehan, "The Library-College Idea Trend of the Future?" *Library Trends* 18 (1969): 93-102.

court records, among them.⁶¹³ Noting that “backyard history” was in vogue, Leon Warren, a member of the Museum Education Department at Old Sturbridge Village, suggested that teachers prepare source packages about their local communities, including reproductions of a wide range of items that helped reveal the story of those local institutions and places that children might recognize or know well, and he noted that the source materials could be integrated across several classes and not just be relegated to the social studies. (They could be used in math class or to teach map-reading, for example.) But he also warned that attempting to gather material with nothing more specific in mind than teaching “our local history,” would lead to a disjointed and amorphous collection—and a nearly pointless lesson. Instead, he suggested that teachers choose materials around

⁶¹³ James A. Percoco, *A Passion for the Past: Creative Teaching of U.S. History* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1998); Nancy Spaulding, “Bathtubs, Biographies and Burials: a Guide to Doing Ordinary and Extraordinary Historical Research,” *PNLA Quarterly* 63 (Fall 1998): 18; Tom Gray, et al, “From Attics to Graveyards: How to Locate Primary Documents for your Classroom,” *Social Education* 67 (November/December 2003): 386-8; Lewis Bissell and Mark S. Olcott, “Using Primary Sources at the Secondary Level: The Civil War Letters of Lewis Bissell (in The Craft of Teaching),” *The History Teacher*, 17 (May, 1984): 329-338; K. Needles, et. al., “Just a Picture?,” *Knowledge Quest* 29 (September/October 2000): 28-9; R. V. Morris, et. al., “The Diary of Calvin Fletcher—Using Primary Sources in the Elementary Classroom,” *The Social Studies* 92 (July/August 2001): 151-3; Paul Horton, “The WPA Slave Narratives: Teaching with Oral Histories,” *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 14 (January/February 2002 supp): 3-8; Kay Reeve, “Writing, and Walking: Student Projects Linking Primary Documents, Classroom Learning, and Historical Sites,” *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 25 (1): 15-24; Andi Stix and Frank Hrbek, *Social Studies Strategies for Active Learning* (Westminster, CA: Teacher Created Materials, 2004); Thomas Dublin, “Drawing on the Personal: “Roots” Papers in the Teaching of American History,” *The Social Studies* 88 (1997): 61-64; Huerta, Grace C. and Leslie A. Flemmer “Using Student-Generated Oral History Research in the Secondary Classroom,” *The Social Studies* 91, 3(2000): 110-115; L. M. Penyak and P.B. Duray, “Oral History and Problematic Questions Promote Issues-Centered Education,” *The Social Studies* 90, 2 (1999): 68-71; Morris, R.V. “Teaching Social Studies With Artifacts,” *The Social Studies*, 91 1 (2000): 32-37; Loren Schweniger, “Delving Into the Past: County Court Records and the Pursuit of History,” *The Social Studies* 89 (1998): 260-262; K. Reeve, “Reading, Writing, and Walking: Student Projects Linking Primary Documents, Classroom Learning, and Historical Sites,” *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 25 (1): 15-23; Candace L. Boyer, “Using Museum Resources in the K-12 Social Studies Curriculum,” *Teacher Librarian* 26 (March/April 1999): 26-27.

a theme (family life, work, etc,) and then closely tie that set of material to the pre-existing curriculum.⁶¹⁴

One of the most influential of texts in the “primary sources for teaching” genre in the last few years has been David Kobrin’s *Beyond the Textbook: Teaching History Using Documents and Primary Sources*, which presented case studies from Providence, Rhode Island, history and social studies classes in grades 7 through 12. Rather than use textbooks to study history, the students used documents and primary sources to construct history, acting as historians and drawing their own conclusions from the past. In his book, Kobrin provided accounts of classroom lessons, discussion topics, sample handouts and primary sources, along with excerpts from students' writings. His work showed “real” students involved in “real” historical research, and demonstrated that they can learn to “pose pertinent questions, define problems, analyze relevant information, support their conclusions, and understand their own values,” while connecting students with the past and propelling them beyond the idea that history has only one truth that everyone should learn.⁶¹⁵ It was an activity that Mary Sheldon Barnes, Fred Morrow Fling, and the planners of the New Social Studies and the Schools Council 13-16 Project would have applauded.

⁶¹⁴ Leo Warren, “Preparing a Primary Source Package on Your Community’s History,” *Social Education* 44 (November/December 1980): 612-18.

⁶¹⁵ David Kobrin, *Beyond the Textbook: Teaching History Using Documents and Primary Sources* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996). Other notable works along this line include James A. Percoco, *A Passion for the Past: Creative Teaching of U.S. History* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1998) and Monica Edinger, *Seeking History: Teaching with Primary Sources in Grades 4-6* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 2000).

But as this study has also shown, there have always been those who have strongly argued that “school history” does not share the same goals as what they define as “academic history.” These individuals believe that the objective of teachers and students in the elementary, middle, and high schools are quite different from that of professors and graduate students around an ivied seminar table. As Dennis Gunning states:

There is an academic discipline called ‘History’. There is also a school subject called ‘History’. There is no self-evident reason why they have to be the same. If we are teaching fourteen-year-olds, we should subject everything we want to teach them.... to this question: “Of what use or potential use, is this knowledge to them?” We should not ask, ‘Is this piece of knowledge, or skill, part of the equipment of an academic historian?’ because the vast majority of our pupils will never be academic historians.⁶¹⁶

Or, as another writer has stated, “to compare the mature work of historical research with the exercises conducted by children from limited and pre-selected material . . . is the sort of clap-trap that brings the scholarship of educationists into doubt.”⁶¹⁷ And yet, no one says these things about children learning to play musical instruments by tackling classical pieces “scaled down” or beginning to bat in baseball by first “teeing” the ball up on a stake and then moving to “coach pitch” before finally facing a pitcher adversary. But as Stephen Thornton has noted, research into student’s thinking, by itself, cannot be an adequate guide to the design of instructional methods—and it can’t be the only response to those who carry a more traditional view of teaching the subject. Societal values, political issues, and issues of power are also at work and need to be directly

⁶¹⁶ Dennis Gunning, *The Teaching of History* (London, Croom Helm, 1978): 14-15.

⁶¹⁷ W. B. Stephens in *The Journal of the Society of Archivists* 4 (April 1970): 84, quoted in Ken Osborne, “Archives in the Classroom,” *Archivaria* 23 (Winter 1986-1987): 22.

addressed by those wishing to change what goes on in the classroom.⁶¹⁸ In an attempt to harmonize the seemingly never-ending dialogue between those who promote the “knowing” of history and the “doing” of history—while also addressing what educational psychologists and researchers into historical thinking skills have discovered since the early 1980s—Keith Barton and Linda Levstik, once again, stepped forward to offer an approach that leads inevitably begins at the heart of this particular curricular squabble: why do we teach history and what is its purpose? Their answer to this question that has hounded history as a school subject since it first entered the formal classroom is presented in “four stances.”

Barton and Levstik’s Four Stances

Drawing upon a long line of thinking back to the beginning of history education in the United States, Barton and Levstik hold that the ultimate goal of history education is the preparation of students for participation in democratic life. One of the major arguments for creating public schools in the United States revolved around the idea that an educated citizenry was essential if a democratic republic was to succeed (although this seems to have quickly shifted to the need for a strong workforce to ensure the success of a capitalistic society fairly early). Of course, there are those who hear phrases such as “preparation for democratic life,” and “creation of a strong workforce,” and they immediately think “brainwashing” or “indoctrination.” They think about the “great white man” school of history and the creation of secular saints who provide models for unquestioning behavior. They find woven into such statements, nearly invisible but

⁶¹⁸ Stephen Thornton, “Subject-Specific Teaching Methods: History,” in Jere Brophy, ed., *Subject-Specific Instructional Methods and Activities*, (New York: Elsevier Science, 2001).

potent threads such as “Go forth and fight for the ‘American Way’ in the foxholes, along the assembly line, and—increasingly—in your computer cubicles.” But as more than one scholar has pointed out on the pages that have preceded this one, a true education— and especially, one that includes the creation of historical thinking skills—actually creates a questioning, analytic mindset. It provides training for the democratic process by creating knowledge, skills, and questioning, critical attitudes that lead to more in-depth exploration. Perhaps this exploration will lead to more intelligent decisions, moving from the individual to the body politic. Of course, none of this is new. It goes back, at least, to John Dewey’s ideas regarding democracy and education: “a Democracy is more than a form of government; it is primarily a mode of associated living, of conjoint communicated experience.”⁶¹⁹ It is a mode of associated living that is participatory, pluralist, and deliberative. Few educational subjects are more suited for developing an individual to live in such a system than is history.

History as preparation for life in a democracy is an answer to the question “why teach history?” that would satisfy a wide range of school history’s critics and would make any of a number of former thinkers, writers, teachers, and historians mentioned previously in these pages satisfied. It is an answer that is so simple, it runs the risk of being meaningless, but Barton and Levstik went beyond the seemingly simple answer to

⁶¹⁹ John Dewey, *Democracy and Education* (New York: MacMillan, 1916): 87 viewed August 8, 2009 at WWW.books.google.com. Democracy was at the root of Dewey’s personal philosophy for most of his life and all of his writings. In 1888, while he was at the University of Michigan, Dewey wrote, “Democracy, and the one, ultimate ethical ideal of humanity are to my mind synonymous.” John Dewey, *Early Works* (Southern Illinois University press, cited in Douglas Anderson, *The Journal of the Academy of Religion* 61, no. 2 (1993): 383. There are many examples of this idea in the published record. In one state, North Carolina, this philosophy is perhaps best seen in the work of Charles B. Aycock (primary and secondary schools) and Edward Kidder Graham (the university). See, Edward Kidder Graham, *Education and Citizenship and Other Papers* (New York, NY: G.P. Putnam and Sons, 1919) and R.D.W. Connor, *The Life and Speeches of Charles B. Aycock* (Raleigh, NC: Edwards and Broughton, 1903).

describe how meeting this objective involves the development of the full range of historical thinking skills. A brief summary of their important work follows.

Barton and Levstik set their work, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, in the theoretical context of mediated action, a sociocultural approach that “conceptualizes acts as being performed by agents who use tools that differ by setting and for different purposes.” This theoretical approach emphasizes the idea that purpose plays a central role in human thought and action. It also focuses on what people do in concrete settings rather than what people are assumed to hold in their heads, and it maintains that all human thought and action is embedded in social contexts. People do not construct historical knowledge on their own. They create their own understanding of the past through the stories told to them by relatives, books, Web sites, television, movies, comic books, American girl dolls, and family trips to museums and historic sites. A socially mediated approach, then, tries to understand what students know about history and how that is related to the social contexts of which they are a part, *and* what they then *do* with this knowledge of history as a result of this context. By using mediated action as a theoretical foundation for their work, Barton and Levstik drew attention to the fact that history education is socially situated, and they focused on what the student *does* with history rather than seeing the subject as simply a body of knowledge that resides in the students’ heads or in the development of skills that they could *potentially* use.⁶²⁰ This is an approach that is particularly suited to showcasing their answer to that question, “Why

⁶²⁰ Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004) Mediated action grows out of Vygotsky’s social constructivism, see James V. Wertsch, *Voices of the Mind: A Sociocultural Approach to Mediated Action*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991).

teach history?” They answer the question by showing what people “do with history.” Thus, schools teach history because people use history to do certain acts.

By approaching school history in this manner, Barton and Levstik identify four different historical practices that are important in the schools; each of these, they noted, can be oriented to three distinct purposes; and each of those makes use of six different cultural tools. Thus, they identified 72 different ways of making sense of the past—of doing history—and that is just in school history, not including academic history. The four different practices, or the four “verbs” of history education that they identified, include: 1) identify: embrace connections between themselves and those in the past; 2) analyze: explore causal linkages between events in history (most often emphasized by reformers); 3) respond morally: remember, admire and condemn acts of the past (prevalent component of history education not usually stated explicitly); and 4) display: exhibit information about the past.

For each of these four different practices, Barton and Levstik identified three distinct purposes, which they then combined with classroom practices to create what they called “stances.” Thus, they compellingly described four “stances” of history education in the schools. The first is the analytic stance, in which some element of the past is analyzed with three distinct purposes: 1) to understand causes and consequences of historical events, 2) to establish historical generalizations, and 3) to learn how accounts are created from sources. As has been shown, this is the stance that is most often promoted by professional or academic historians and educational reformers. As Barton and Levstik have noted, there are different purposes stated for this analytic stance: showing how history came to be the present, providing lessons from the past (although this purpose

does cause academic historians to howl), and giving students an idea about the nature of and the ability to take part in the historical research and presentation process. In teaching related to this stance, Barton and Levstik call for the classroom to dwell upon items related to the development of present issues, shape many of these stories of development of present issues into almost moral tales, and emphasize the historical processes used to build these narratives.

The second stance identified by Barton and Levstik is that of identification. In the identification stance, school history builds an individual or familial, even national sense of self. It shows where the individual, family, or community exists in the context of the wider world. This stance seeks to forge shared connections between individuals, groups, communities, and nations. It is the stance most often associated with amateur historians, especially local historians and genealogists/family historians. In the schools, this stance is most often associated with the “heroes and holidays” curriculum of elementary schools and in later years, it tends to move toward the stories of national origin and development.⁶²¹ The identification stance is one of the most controversial aspects of school history with professional historians castigating it because such a stance seems to call in to question the objective nature of historical research. Others question this stance because it carries the potential of building as many barriers between people as it does connecting them. Too often the identification stance is used to exclude instead of include; it can lead to a form of chauvinism and can build a dangerous form of nationalism. (As

⁶²¹ Linda Levstik, “Articulating the Silences: Teachers’ and Adolescents Conceptions of Historical Significance” in Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000); Keith C. Barton and Linda Levstik, “It Wasn’t a Good Part of History: National Identity and Ambiguity in Students’ Explanations of Historical Significance,” *Teachers College Record* 99 (Summer 1998): 622-646.

Goethe remarked, “Patriotism ruins history.”) And just as often, critics note, this stance is used to present a romantic view of the past, to celebrate history instead of critically examining it. Barton and Levstik argue that if schools approach this stance in the right way, it can lead to greater understanding, especially if a multicultural approach is used, since not everyone identifies with the national story in the same way. Instead of using the identity stance to exclude, the schools can use it to promote a national identity based upon an inclusive, multicultural story. In this way, history education could help address the tension currently felt between diversity and unity, by finding the uniting story in harmonious diversity. Instead of reinforcing stories of African Americans or Scots Irish, the identification would be with the shared multicultural experience (“southern” cuisine being a mixture of the Scots Irish and African American). In addition, this stance could be used to show the dangers of chauvinistic nationalism (see how the Nazis used history to build a harmful identity . . .). As Barton and Levstik demonstrated, it is all in the way the subject is presented, the context of the discussion, and more importantly, the goal that is consciously identified.

The third stance identified by Barton and Levstik is that of moral response. For as far back as history has been studied, it has been touted as a source bed of examples for the heroic to demonic and most gradations in between. In its most basic aspect, according to the authors, the moral stance is about remembrance and forgetting, honoring those who have preceded us. Most recognize that there is a duty to remember those who have suffered and died, given of themselves for ideals that those in the present might hold dear. But, as Barton and Levstik show, in doing so, teachers too often gloss over the divisive issues of the past. The story of national unity, the freedom narrative, and steady

“progress” tends to easily pave over difficult issues from the past upon which there might not be agreement in the present. Too often, especially in the lower grades, the moral stance is almost synonymous with the study of heroes and heroism in an attempt to provide exemplars. Children, however, don’t often look to history for their source of role models. On the other hand, students are extremely interested in issues of fairness, and because of this, they are drawn to the moral stance in history, and as Barton and Levstik state, when concerns for fairness move beyond self, then one is approaching concerns for justice, and if history can lead to discussions of justice, then it has performed a noble role.

The fourth and final stance, that of exhibition, is the stance that is most often promoted by the schools because it is the easiest to assess since it often deals with discrete bits of factual information. Students can easily “exhibit” what they “know” about the past by recounting factual tidbits on tests and in brief essays. Unfortunately, as Barton and Levstik note, this is the one stance that seems to have the least to do with the promotion of participatory democracy. Content knowledge is important because, as research has shown, it supports the development of historical thinking skills required by the other stances. Indeed, most of the other stances could not exist without some level of content knowledge on the part of students, but, as countless individuals cited in this literature review have noted, building up stores of content simply to exhibit them on tests should not be an end unto itself. Indeed, as the numerous studies footnoted in this study have shown, those stores so assiduously assembled do not persist for any extended periods of time, especially if they are hardly ever called upon in the performance of activity requiring some higher-level thinking. As Levstik and Barton explain, teaching to

the test is not necessarily a bad thing; it just depends what that test is. Unfortunately, too often, the tests are not worthy to be taught to. That does not mean that the exhibition stance should be forgotten or that it should only be emphasized as a support mechanism for the other stances. The authors note that there is another element to the exhibition stance that is useful for the purpose of creating a more perfect democratic society, and it is closely related to the realm of personal interest and hobbies. All sorts of people are involved in the exhibition stance as they collect antiques, perform historical reenactments, and do family histories. This can be thought of as the exhibition stance as service to others, as opposed to the exhibition stance of the game show variety. From house museum volunteer docents to scrap-bookers, individuals engage in the exhibition stance to present information or experiences to others for their benefit. Students have wide experience with the exhibition stance beyond the school multiple choice test. They have visited museums; they have listened to a grandparent's story. Barton and Levstik state that the best use of the exhibition stance in the history classroom is when students exhibit for the benefit of each other, not only to display the fact that they have managed to remember a set of details from the past. (This is the form of exhibition stance that is most often explored in history seminars at the graduate level.) The history classroom should encourage students to use the exhibition stance to engage their fellow students—much like the model lesson discussed earlier that required the interaction of a teacher playing the part of Oprah Winfrey.

These four stances of school history are not always mutually exclusive, although they can be. The western “pioneers” can be explored in a classroom to build the identification stance, while those same pioneers can be used in a moral response stance

manner to explore the impact of these pioneers' arrival upon the lives of Native Americans. When two stances like this seem to be mutually exclusive, then controversy can arise, but that controversy comes not from different interpretations or different perspectives, but from the fact that the stances are different. In other words, the purpose of the history being taught is different in the two uses, and it is often difficult to reconcile the two. For example, as Barton and Levstik have noted, devoting class time to the fact that an African American invented the traffic light might seem trivial to the analytic stance, but covering topics like this are important for the identification stance. Such lessons show that individuals from different ethnic groups in multicultural America have contributed their part. Despite the potential friction between the stances, most teachers probably would argue that all four should be taught.

Levstik and Barton's approach to school history offers a purpose and a unity to the subject, providing an important answer to the "why" of history education that is too often ignored in the serious search for the "how" of historical thinking. This "why" is intensively connected to "doing history," and the doing of history is tied to the interaction of the student with the evidence of the past, primary resources writ large. As one student reported about history after having cleaned out his grandmother's desk following her death, "When somebody is trying to teach it to me it sort of seems boring, but when you are looking through something and you find something, it doesn't seem like you are learning history."⁶²²

⁶²² Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton, "'They Still Use Some of Their Past': Historical Salience in Elementary Children's Chronological Thinking," *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 28 (September/October 1996): 531-576.

Part I: Summation

Infused with the ideas of scientific history, in the late 19th century Mary Sheldon Barnes, Fred Morrow Fling, and a few others attempted to change the teaching of history, emphasizing the analytical process over the memorization of names and dates. They and their colleagues were almost successful in steering “school history” into something that more closely resembled the way they, themselves, had been taught history as the first generation of United States students to experience graduate seminar education at the collegiate level. But the entropy of the classroom, and especially the history classroom, could not be overcome. Practical considerations concerning teaching resources and classroom management were significant barriers to change and have remained such. Primary sources became simply illustrations, supplementing traditional teaching methods. When the need for standardized curricula and university application processes led to calls for more objective measures of student achievement, the resulting tests of “content knowledge” seemed to drive the memorization stake even deeper into the heart of the subject. The desire to add other social science disciplines like geography and sociology to elementary and secondary school curricula laced that stake with garlic, only to have the tenets of Behaviorism tie a crucifix neatly near its top. But ideas about developing the “historical sense” were not completely destroyed. Inspired by Cold War concerns and informed by a better understanding about childhood cognitive development, explorations into historical thinking were revived, and the use of primary sources to teach the doing of history, as well as the content of the subject, rose again. As a part of this new life, Ted Fenton and others involved in the New Social Studies movement investigated the teaching of history as a media-infused, constructive inquiry process, and developed an

impressive body of model projects and numerous useful teaching tools. But changes required to teach history in a more active way with these new media and tools required changes beyond the history and social studies classroom, and full-scale reform of educational structures was just a bit more change than most of the reformers of history education could foster. Eventually, societal changes turned the attention of most of these educational reformers to other worthy topics of concern.

Across the Atlantic, educational psychologists led by Edwin Peel and Roy Hallam, building upon tenets of constructivism, initially detailed how most young people were not able to think in the analytical/critical manner required by “history as process” until they were fully mature cognition-wise. This “ages and stages” school of thought carried serious implications for the teaching of history at the elementary and secondary school levels, and as a result, research growing out of this line of exploration led to works that sought to “accelerate” students’ cognitive development through the piagetian stages of development. Led by Martin Booth, other educational psychologists, building upon ideas related to domain-specific cognition, questioned the ages and stages school, arguing that historical thinking was not only deductive reasoning about sources (the type of cognition more often described by piagetians), but a more creative, adductive form of thinking, a type of thinking not often investigated by those working in the areas of Peel and Hallam. A new era of research into historical thinking developed as researchers attempted to analyze and describe the various elements of the subject-specific cognition, the “adductive,” involved in historical thinking. Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, researchers on both sides of the Atlantic investigated these elements. One work of Peter

Seixas provides a good way to view historical thinking by compartmentalizing it into six different types of cognitive skills. By doing so, it does an admirable job of describing historical thinking, although his six elements do leave out the important role of narrative and narrative building. Other research points to the crucial role of the teacher in the enterprise. Specifically, this research shows the need for the teacher to understand the nature of history as discipline and how historical thinking skills support that discipline as a form of inquiry, in addition to it being a body of facts and figures. This research also indicates that teaching tools such as textbooks should also reflect this understanding.

The thread running throughout this history of history teaching and learning is the tension between the teaching of “doing history” and “learning history,” or as some have called it, the difference between “school history” and “academic history.”⁶²³ In a strong thought piece, which draws upon the substantial body of research summarized here, Keith Barton and Linda Levstik have sought to provide a unified field theory of sorts to the scholarship concerning the teaching and learning of history by tying the different purposes of history teaching to the different practices of school history. Their result is what they call “stances.” Their exposition on the “four stances” of school history is a compelling piece of work. They argue that “learning” and “doing” history are entwined in these stances and that the purposes for which one does or learns history causes the emphasis to shift between these two interconnected poles. Each of their four historical stances (analytic, identification, moral response, and exhibition) leads to a potentially different set of interconnected classroom activities that teach the doing and learning of history for different purposes. To do history well, students must learn history, and to help

⁶²³ For an examination of some differing views of history, see Gaea Leinhardt, Catherine Stainton, and Salim M. Virji, “A Sense of History,” *Educational Psychologist* 29 (1994): 79-88.

them not only appreciate but also remember to any extent what they learn, students must know how to do history. But they do that history differently, depending upon what they are trying to accomplish. In history, all “doing” is not the same.

Barton and Levstik argue that teaching students to both “do” and “learn” history for these four purposes, taken together, is necessary to prepare students to live in a democratic society. Although substantial progress has been made in raising the consciousness of school administrators, teacher educators, and teachers, themselves, about the teaching of historical thinking skills along with the content of history, there have been only modest changes along these lines in the average American social studies and history classroom. The rise of “media” in the 1950s-1970s (influenced by the promotion of constructivist teaching practices) seemed to hold out great promise as compelling tools to help change history teaching methodology. After all, new media could provide a wider, more exciting array of reproduced primary sources for use in the classroom, more constructive student activities, and more engaging multi-media based narratives to hold the television generation’s attention. But, teaching tools, alone—even exciting ones like film strips, records, models, and maps—could not pull off this elusive trick. As the next section of this study shows, the rise of digital technologies carried an even greater promise along these lines and attracted even a wider array of supporters and proponents, but the use of digital technologies to teach history is still evolving and its full promise has yet to be reached. There are some significant online resources being created that are grounded in the research previously described. But, as history seems to indicate, tools alone do not seem to have that much impact upon the pedagogy of history.

Part II

History Comes to the Computer

“It’s just a question of using the tools that are available when they are available. And more and more now there are all kinds of electronic goodies which are available for people like us to use who can be bothered. And we can be bothered.”

Rock Musician Roger Waters on the use of synthesizers in “Pink Floyd Live at Pompeii”

Chapter 6.

School Tool

“I am always ready to learn although I do not always like being taught.”
Sir Winston Churchill

Drill and Practice
Simulation
Databases

Composed of a myriad of switches, relays, rotating shafts, clutches, and hundreds of miles of wires, the IBM Automatic Sequence Controlled Calculator (AASC), also known as the Mark I, was shipped to Harvard in 1944. Designed by Howard Aiken for the U.S. Navy war effort, it is considered the first large-scale, fully automatic computer in the United States. The Mark I was soon joined by the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer (ENIAC), which was financed by the U.S. Army (again for the war effort), and hailed as a “Giant Brain” by the press when it appeared at the University of Pennsylvania in 1946. These massive machines paved the way for other university-based computers, which generally served researchers in computational heavy subjects of science and mathematics, speeding up research and slowly leading to the death of the slide rule. Only fifteen years after Harvard received its first computer, a lab assistant at the University of Illinois, Donald Bitzer, began PLATO (Programmed Logic for Automated Teaching Operations), which became the first large-scale use of computers in education. PLATO (later subsumed by Control Data Corporation, CDC) eventually grew to serve thousands of students from elementary school to college, providing them with

what was, at least in the beginning, primarily drill and practice exercises. (Think, “Flash cards and multiplication tables.”)⁶²⁴ Before the mid-1960s, computers were extremely expensive and used only for special-purpose tasks. Almost all computer use required the writing of custom code, and only mathematicians and scientists could generally build those custom codes. A simple batch processing arrangement ran only a single “job” at a time. In 1963, Dartmouth’s John Kemeny and Thomas Eugene Kurtz, seeking a way around the long lines of students associated with computer punch cards and batch processing, developed a new programming language, “Beginner’s All-purpose Instruction Code,” better known as BASIC. It allowed the use of computer time sharing and came to support a wide range of computer-based instructional materials, while providing a tool for more widespread use of computers. Ten years after BASIC’s development, Stanford’s Patrick Suppes and Richard Atkinson established a program of research and development on computer-assisted instruction in mathematics and reading, emphasizing individualized experiences and rapid feedback, polishing the drill and practice educational machinery to high sheen.⁶²⁵ In the early 1970s, seeking a new, more constructive, way of teaching

⁶²⁴ The story of PLATO is fascinating and continues. PLATO is where key online concepts such as forums, message boards, emails, instant messaging, remote screen sharing, and multi-player games had their start. PLATO was the first system to combine graphics with touch-sensitive screens. Donald Bitzer, who won an Emmy for his research in screen technology (including inventing the plasma display panel in 1964) was successful in his development of the educational aspects of PLATO largely because he went against the educational grain (at least on the research and theoretical level, if not what was actually happening in the classroom) by adopting drill and practice exercises as opposed to more constructivist pedagogies, which tended to be more difficult to construct with the technology then available. Bitzer is currently a Distinguished Research Professor in the Department of Computer Science at North Carolina State University. Andrew Molnar, “Computers in Education: A Brief History,” *Technical Horizons in Education* (June 1997) viewed on March 12, 2008 at www.thejournal.com/magazine/vault/A1681.cfm and Dr. Bitzer’s resume at <http://renoir.csc.ncsu.edu/Faculty/Bitzer/>

⁶²⁵ Patrick Suppes is a philosopher of science. From 1959 until 1992, he was the director of the Institute for Mathematical Studies in Social Sciences at Stanford University. Following his years at Stanford, Richard C. Atkinson would go on to be chancellor of the University of

mathematics, MIT's Seymour Papert designed the LOGO programming language, which attempted to go beyond drill and practice to teach students to think more like mathematicians.⁶²⁶ LOGO became the language of the elementary school computer literacy movement, and Papert would later seek to extend the constructivist capabilities of LOGO by connecting it to Legos, the construction toy. In their use, students used LOGO to make Lego creations. This method used an educational form of problem-solving that taught students to use the computer to do something “real,” as opposed to learning simply how to use a computer for potential future “real” reasons.

With the National Science Foundation providing massive support for the growing computerized teaching infrastructure, by 1974 more than two million students were using computers in their classrooms—a use which had to be rationed because of expense, time required for computing, and the relative lack of computing resources devoted to teaching. That was soon to change as IBM introduced the IBM 5100 in 1975 and a couple of friends, Steve Jobs, Steve Wozniak, and Ronald Wayne, began to sell a new computer called an Apple I in July of 1976.⁶²⁷ (The asking price was \$666.66)⁶²⁸ Along with

California, San Diego, regent and president of the University of California System, and director of the National Science Foundation. Stanford's Education Program for Gifted Youth and the Computer Curriculum Corporation, now known as Pearson Educational Technologies, grew out of their work with computers in the teaching of math and science to Palo Alto schoolchildren.

⁶²⁶ Seymour Papert is a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is one of the pioneers of Artificial Intelligence. Considered one of Jean Piaget's most brilliant protégé's, he developed the Epistemology and Learning Research Group at MIT Media Lab where he created the learning theory of constructionism, which was based upon constructivism.

⁶²⁷ Ronald Wayne, who drew the first Apple logo and wrote the first manual for the Apple I sold his 10% share in the enterprise for \$800 only two weeks after the company's founding. He is now working as a defense contractor in Salinas, CA.

⁶²⁸ Computer History Museum, Exhibits, viewed on February 20, 2009 at <http://staging.computerhistory.org/exhibits/highlights/apple1.shtml>

products from Commodore and Tandy, personal computers, or microcomputers, were soon fairly widespread in the United States with 54% of all schools using computers in some fashion by 1980.⁶²⁹ In 1983, only eight years after their creation, *Time* was declaring not a “man of the year” but a “machine of the year.” It was the personal computer.⁶³⁰ These personal computers spread rapidly within schools. In 1987, there was a total of two million computers being used by United States schools, a 25% jump in the number used by the schools over the previous year.⁶³¹ In that same year, Robert Tinker and his staff at TERC helped National Geographic create what was one of the most constructivist uses of computers in education at the time, “Kidsnet.”⁶³² A new way to teach through inquiry-based learning, through Kidsnet, children participate in data gathering about topics such as acid rain and water quality. They then analyze their shared data, look for trends, and communicate with each other about their findings. In other words, schoolchildren use Kidsnet as a communication tool in the doing of science. By 1991, there were more than 6000 classrooms in 72 countries participating in the program.⁶³³

⁶²⁹ Jack Chambers and Alfred Bork, “Computer Assisted Learning in U.S. Secondary/Elementary Schools,” *The Computing Teacher* (September 1980): 50-51.

⁶³⁰ “The Computer Moves In,” *Time* (January 3, 1983): 14-24.

⁶³¹ Jonathan Goodspeed, “Two Million Microcomputers Now Used in U.S. Schools,” *Electronic Learning* (May/June 1988): 16.

⁶³² Founded in 1965, TERC is an education research and development organization. For the TERC Website, see <http://www.terc.edu/aboutus/> For more on Kidsnet, see <http://www.kidsnet.org/>

⁶³³ Much of the information in this paragraph has been condensed from Andrew Molnar, Computers in Education: A Brief History,” *Technical Horizons in Education* (June 1997) viewed on March 12, 2008 at www.thejournal.com/magazine/vault/A1681.cfm For more on Kidsnet, see

In the same year that Kidsnet was launched, a survey of computer use in United States classrooms revealed that very few social studies teachers were employing the new machines in their instruction. This minimal computer use was blamed on a lack of teacher training, competition with math and science classes for access to hardware, difficulty in assessing the impact of instructional technology on student learning, the increased amount of prep time required for this form of teaching methodology, the organizational and technical difficulties inherent in “computer-based lessons,” and the lack of reputable software.⁶³⁴

In response to the widespread dissatisfaction with the quality of social studies software products, the National Council for the Social Studies quickly developed a guide for evaluating microcomputer courseware, publishing it in 1983.⁶³⁵ Most

“About Kidsnet” viewed on April 12, 2009

http://kidsnet.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=12&Itemid=27,

⁶³⁴ Lee H. Ehman and Allen D. Glen, “Computer-based Education in the Social Studies,” Bloomington, IN, 1987(ERIC Clearinghouse for Social Studies/Social Science Education, ERIC ED 284 825); Ivor F. Goodson and J. Marshall Mangan, “History, Geography, and Social Studies,” in Ivor F. Goodson, J. Marshall Mangan, and Valerie Rhea, eds., *The Use of Computers for Classroom Learning* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1991) (ERIC ED 363 265). For later numbers concerning computers in social studies classrooms, see C. S. White, *Information Technology in U.S. Social Studies Classrooms: Potentials and Realities*. Washington, DC: Office of Educational Research and Improvement. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 421 415). For a good overview of the pre-Internet history of computers in history instruction, see A. Martin, L. Smart, and D. Yeomans, eds. *Information Technology and the Teaching of History: International Perspectives* (Amsterdam: Harcourt, 1997); M.J. Berson, “Reflecting on Technology in the Social Studies: Past Present and Future Perspectives,” *The International Social Studies Forum* 2(2): 159-161; Joseph A. Braun, Jr. “Social Studies Education and Technology: A Rock and Roll Perspective,” *The International Social Studies Forum* 2(2): 167-169; and Lee H. Ehman and Allen D. Glenn “Interactive Technology in the Social Studies,” in J. P. Shaver, ed., *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning* (New York: MacMillan Publishing, 1991): 513-522. For a United Kingdom perspective, see Alaric Dickinson, “History Using Information Technology: Past, Present and Future” *Teaching History* (November 1998): 16-21.

⁶³⁵ P. Kenneth Komiski, “Educational Computing: The Burden of Ensuring Quality,” *Phi Delta Kappan* 66 (December 1984): 244-248; George Flourish, “Developing Appropriate Designs for

microcomputers at that time had black and white screens, 256K of memory, and 5.25 inch dual floppy disk drives. (A few months after the National Council for the Social Studies first courseware guide came out, Apple's Macintosh and its graphical user interface, memorably, was advertised on a commercial during the superbowl.⁶³⁶) By 1988, the Office of Technology Assessment was indicating that there were more recommended software titles to teach social studies than there were those for language arts, mathematics, reading, or science.⁶³⁷ Still, in 1990, researchers reported that while most social studies teachers in the United States finally had access to computers, only a little over half ever used them, and when they did, it was to no great extent. While studies indicated that elementary teachers tended to use computers more than their secondary school colleagues and a high percentage of all teachers tended to have strong positive attitudes toward the use of computers in the classroom, most felt that there was a great

Instructional Software," *Social Studies* 78 (1987): 17-22; Merle Miller Marsh, *Computer Assisted Learning in Social Studies: Development and Evaluation of Computer Programs for Middle School Students*. Dissertation University of Maryland, 1984.

⁶³⁶ Stephen A. Rose and Phyllis Maxey Fernlund, "Using Technology for Powerful Social Studies Learning," *Social Education* 61(1997): 160-166. The Apple Superbowl advertisement, which was only ever shown one time on television, is considered a watershed moment in the history of both computers and advertising. The ad famously ends with the following text on the screen: "On January 24th, Apple Computer will introduce Macintosh. And you'll see why 1984 won't be like 1984. "

⁶³⁷ Jay P. Sivin and Ellen R. Bialo, "The OTA Report: Education Software Quantity, Quality, and the Marketplace," *Classroom Computer Learning* (November/December 1988): 54-57. The Office of Technology Assessment was an office of the United States Congress from 1972 until 1995. OTA was charged with providing Congress with objective analysis of complex scientific and technical issues, and was an early advocate of using digital technologies to deliver government services. It produced close to 1000 studies during its existence on topics ranging from acid rain to health care, efficacy of polygraphs, and climate change. Beginning with Ronald Reagan, it was a target of conservative politicians who felt its efforts were duplicative and expensive, and it was branded as an "unnecessary agency." It was abolished as a part of Newt Gingrich's "Contract with America." See, Chris Mooney, *The Republican War on Science*, (New York, NY: Basic Books, 2005).

need for professional development to help them integrate their use into their lessons.⁶³⁸

Although there were, no doubt, a few true believers who could claim for computers what Thomas Edison had for film in 1922, when he said that “[this technology] is destined to revolutionize our educational system and . . . in a few years it will supplant largely, if not entirely, the use of textbooks,” their numbers were few.⁶³⁹ Simply put, many teachers worried that the return in student learning would not be worth the investment of time and resources required to incorporate the use of computers in their teaching.⁶⁴⁰ But others did see the potential of computers to revolutionize instruction. The use of computers could allow students to pay attention to the processes of their own thinking, to have control over their own learning.⁶⁴¹ This new technology carried the promise of supporting both effective group learning and individualized instruction, and those blinking one-eyed boxes, everyone was assured, could hold an ever-increasing amount of information; memory work would not have to be stressed if such an effective “memory tool,” was going to be so widely available.⁶⁴² Computers could support problem-based activities and provide a mechanism to create and share successful student-created products based upon

⁶³⁸ Terry Northrup and Gene E. Rooze, “Are Social Studies Teachers Using Computers? A National Survey,” *Social Education* 54 (1990): 212-214.

⁶³⁹ Michael J. Berson, Barbara C. Cruz, James A. Duplass, and J. Howard Johnston, *Social Studies on the Internet*, 3rd edition (Merrill/Prentice Hall, 2007): vii.

⁶⁴⁰ G. Flourish, “Developing Appropriate Designs for Instructional Software,” *Social Studies* 78 (1987): 17-22; Steve Bailey, “Using the Computer in Middle School Social Studies,” *Social Studies* 78 (1987): 23-25; Mark C. Schug, “Computers in High School Social Studies,” *The Social Studies* 79 (1988): 112-115.

⁶⁴¹ Ken Ryba and Bill Anderson, *Learning with Computers Effective Teaching Strategies*, (Eugene, OR: International Society for Technology in Education, 1990).

⁶⁴² Edward L. Vockell and Walter Brown, *The Computer in Social Studies Curriculum*, (Watsonville, Ca: Mitchell-Hill, 1992).

the solving of those activities.⁶⁴³ Educators were especially excited by the possibility that computer resources could be designed to effectively address the various learning styles of students, even the kinesthetic.⁶⁴⁴ In short, in the late 1980s, a few teachers and professors of education were led to the mount, and there they were allowed to gaze down upon constructivism's Promised Land, and that land was populated by little boxes attached to keyboards.⁶⁴⁵ Unfortunately, few of those standing on the mount—if any—would ever lead more than an experimental classroom in supping from the educational milk and honey. What follows is a brief overview of some thoughts and activities surrounding the

⁶⁴³ N. Eastmond and Andrew S. Gibbons, "The Single-Parse Method of Design for Problem Based Instruction," *Educational Technology* 48 (1998): 110 and Dave Clark, *Effective Use of Computers in Social Studies: A Review of the Literature with Implications for Educators*, (Long Beach, CA: California State University at Long Beach (ERIC ED 370 828).

⁶⁴⁴ Keith A. Dils, "Facilitating Incursions into the Novel": Now and In the Future, The Use of Computers in Middle School Social Studies," in Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Merriman, ed.s *History.edu: Essays on Teaching with Technology* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001): 181-189; Margaret L. Rice, at al., "How Technology Aids Constructivism in the Social Studies Classroom," *The Social Studies* 90 (January/February 1999): 28-33. Although they were written later during the computer revolution, the same sentiment regarding possibilities of teaching to multiple intelligences were expressed. See Garey Nelson, "Internet/ Web-Based Instruction and multiple intelligences," *Educational Media International* 35, no. 2 (June 1998): . Michelle D. Walker, "Multiple Intelligences and the World Wide Web: A New Approach to Teaching About the War," *OAH Magazine of History* 12, no.3 (Spring 1998); Wendy Ecklund Lambert, "From Crockett to Tubman: Investigating Historical Perspectives," *Educational Leadership* 55, no. 1 (September 1997): 51-54; D. Antonio Cantu, "A Web-Based Left & Right Brain 4MAT Approach to Teaching Middle and High School History" *Journal of the Association of History and Computing*, viewed on June 20, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/JAHC/2001/issue1/k-12/cantu> ; Keith Dils, "The Use of Technology to Reach the Various Learning Styles of Middle School History and Social Studies Students" viewed on June 20, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/JAHC/1999/issue3/articles/dils/>

⁶⁴⁵ Barbara A. Boyer and Penelope Semrau, "A Constructivist Approach to Social Studies: Integrating Technology," *Social Studies and the Young Learner*, (January/February, 1995): 14-16. Boyer and Semrau emphasize that this form of educational technology seems ideally suited for reinforcing *constructivist* theories in learning. They provide five characteristics of a *constructivist* lesson. See also, P. E. Doolittle and D. Hicks, "Constructivism as a Theoretical Foundation for the Use of Technology in the Social Studies," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 31(1): 72-104; Margaret Lincoln, "Constructivist Learning With Primary Sources," *Book Report* 20 (November/December 2001): 12-14.

use of computer technology in the teaching of history (although in a great many cases, inquiries into social studies are “lumped in,” as well).

Early uses of computers in history teaching included drill and practice exercises, simulations, and problem solving activities, which largely involved manipulation of databases filled with social science, geographical, and some historical data.⁶⁴⁶ The later rise of the World Wide Web provided an expanded opportunity for bringing huge amounts of primary source material in a wide range of formats into the classroom. But despite these robust tools and resources, educators are still struggling with how to prepare and present that material for effective and efficient instruction

Drill and Practice

During the reign of the microcomputer, drill and practice exercises dominated social studies software.⁶⁴⁷ Being little more than electronic versions of flashcards, these software programs could effectively build a student’s capacity for memory—at least for short periods of time.⁶⁴⁸ Whether because of their novelty or the ability of multimedia

⁶⁴⁶ H. Budin, “Computers in Social Studies: Trends and Directions,” *Social Studies* 78 (1987): 7-12; Gordon Batho, foreword in J. Wilkes, ed., *Exploring History with Microcomputers* (Newcastle: Council for Educational Technology, 1985): 8-10; and Richard W. Slatta, “Teaching Historical Research with a Microcomputer,” (in *The Craft of Teaching*) *The History Teacher*, 18(November 1984): 45-55.

⁶⁴⁷ Christine Chan, “Computer Use in the Elementary Classroom-I An Assessment of CAI Software,” *Computers in Education* 13 (1989): 109-115 and E. W. Ross, “Microcomputer Use in Secondary Social Studies Classrooms,” *Journal of Educational Research* 85 (1991)39-46.

⁶⁴⁸ James L. *Methods of Instruction in Social Studies Education* (3rd edition) (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1990); J. D. Eckerson, “CAI in Social Studies,” *Clearing House* 60 (1986): 63-65; Beverly Hunter, “Knowledge-Creative: Learning with Databases,” *Social Education* 51 (1987): 38-43.

and moving images to attract a person's attention over less animate forms of information, these computerized memory lessons proved to be much more motivational than their 3" x 5" cousins. In other words, kids looked forward to participating in the often competition-lite forms of computerized memory games over other forms of school-based memory work.⁶⁴⁹ (From the teacher's point of view, these computer-based activities also bested earlier types of classroom memory games such as geography bees, spelling bees, history bees, etc., by being able to support individualized forms of competition—"Beat your best score! Try again!") One researcher also found that while drill and practice, computer-based activities were effective in helping high-achieving students and remediating lower achieving students, they did not have a strong impact upon "average" student learning.⁶⁵⁰ In addition, these "drill and practice" programs were more appropriate for some tasks and some subjects than they were for others. For example, they were useful in mathematics and foreign language self-testing, but not so much in the learning of history or social studies.⁶⁵¹ This form of "Computer-Assisted Instruction" (CAI), while having modest success in building "content knowledge," attracted the displeasure of a few who feared that these computerized lessons detracted from an understanding of "social studies

⁶⁴⁹ Ivor F. Goodson and J. Marshall Mangan, "History, Geography, and Social Studies," in Ivor F. Goodson, J. Marshall Mangan, and Valerie Rhea, eds., *The Use of Computers for Classroom Learning* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1991) (ERIC ED 363 265); Ivor F. Goodson and J. Marshall Mangan, "History, Geography, and Social Studies," in Ivor F. Goodson, J. Marshall Mangan, and Valerie Rhea, eds., *The Use of Computers for Classroom Learning* (Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1991) (ERIC ED 363 265).

⁶⁵⁰ Margaret A. Ray and Paul W. Grimes, "Performance and Attitudinal Effects of a Computer Laboratory in the Principles of Economics Course," *Social Science Computer Review* 10 (1992): 42-58.

⁶⁵¹ Terry Hayden, "Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past," in Terry Haydn and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

processes.” In other words, time spent memorizing—even when done in front of a flashing screen—is time not spent constructing understanding about how those blinking facts and figures were determined by whoever the software company might have been quoting or citing. And time spent memorizing is not time spent learning how to weave disparate sets of facts and events into a compelling narrative meant to explain some situation.⁶⁵² In other words, time spent memorizing is not time spent doing history.

Simulation

Although social studies started using computer simulations in 1959, it wasn’t until the late 1980s that simulations and games had begun to corner the social studies software market.⁶⁵³ At the beginning of the decade, a list of elementary social studies software products had included 66 titles, including those such as “Balance of Power,” where students represent four imaginary nations trying to maintain peace while keeping as many small nations under their influence as possible. (It, perhaps, could have been called “Cold War 101.”) There was also “Blue Wodjet Company,” where students took on the role of stock holders, managers, and the work force of an imaginary company. Similar games covered anthropology, economics, geography, and political science. There were a few history games, as well. “Discovery” simulated early American colonization, and had roles for students to play along the line of leaders, bankers, and trappers, while

⁶⁵² Gary R. Roedding, “Using Computer-assisted Instruction to Improve Students’ Performance Skills in Social Studies, (Fort Lauderdale, FL: Nova University, 1990) ERIC ED 332 950

⁶⁵³ Rex Walford, *Games in Geography* (London: Longman Group Limited, 1969). Simulations weren’t just for elementary and high school students. One of the first books (if not the first) written about the use of computers in teaching for college professors had a section on computer simulations—right along with a tutorial on Appleworks and spreadsheets for classroom management. James B.M. Schick, *Teaching History with a Computer: A Complete Guide* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 1990).

“Homestead,” helped kids work through the challenges of establishing a frontier farm community (with each round covering five years from the passage of the Homestead Act; “‘Ding!’ Time to buy your mule . . .”). And in “Skins,” students joined the fur trade of the 1820s American Rockies.⁶⁵⁴ But the granddaddy of all these games was “The Oregon Trail,” designed originally by three Carleton College students (Don Rawistch, Bill Heinemann, and Paul Dillenberger) in 1971, who used teletype and a mainframe computer to give life to their creation. One of these three students, Don Rawitsch, was then doing his student teaching, and he wanted a way to use computers in his history class. (Heinemann and Dillenberger were studying to become math teachers.)

In 1974, Rawitsch went to work for the Minnesota Educational Computing Consortium (MECC), and he placed his homemade game on the consortium’s time-shared computer system where it became a hit among his fellow educators and their students. Soon, MECC was selling the “Oregon Trail” game on floppy disks to teachers all over the nation. In the game, students were placed in the role of covered-wagon-borne settlers heading west in 1848. In the beginning, students (or players) could decide whether they wanted to be a banker, farmer, or carpenter, and they picked the month for their departure. The goal was to reach Oregon alive with as many supplies as possible left over. Players bought supplies (oxen, clothing, bullets), monitored their livestock, rations, local geographic features, the weather, and even their own health. Every choice a player made had a definite impact on his or her ability to make it across the continent. The game

⁶⁵⁴ Sharon Pray Muir, “Simulation Games for Elementary Social Studies,” *Social Education* 44 (January 1980): 35-39. See also C.B. Parker, “The Uses of Simulation,” *Social Studies Teacher* 8 (4): 6; Walter M. Bacon, Jr. and M. Glenn Newkirk, “Uses of Simulation in Teaching History,” *Contemporary Education* 46 (1975): 38-41. For another example, see James Schick, ““Using Historical Microcomputer Simulations: Teaching Survival in Early Virginia,” *Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians*, VI (1985 [actually 1986]).

was difficult (especially if a person happened to choose to be the farmer) and addictive. As the program officer in charge of the MacArthur Foundation's Digital Media and Learning Program recently fondly remembered, "I don't know what else it taught me, but I definitely remember one thing: you could die! That was serious. You could die! I loved that game."⁶⁵⁵ Teachers chose to use simulations and games in their teaching because they allowed students to engage in activities that were not logistically or practically possible otherwise.⁶⁵⁶ And while these games were most often designed to build students' problem-solving skills while exposing students to a range of information in a compelling, interactive way, their abilities to do so were mixed—at least partly because of muddy objectives, and also because they often were not thoroughly integrated into other classroom work. Still, some studies seem to show that students working with the games experienced increased motivation for the subject, and built some problem-solving

⁶⁵⁵ Ben Stokes conversation with the author, Webwise Conference, Washington, DC February 27, 2009. A great deal has been written about the Oregon Trail, its successes and weaknesses over the years, but a whole generation of early geekdom seems to feel nostalgic about the game. See "The Greatest Games of All Times," at Gamespot.com <http://www.gamespot.com/gamespot/features/all/greatestgames/p-34.html> MECC later released the Yukon Trail and the Amazon Trail, as well. The Oregon Trail is currently in its fifth edition with a cell-phone capable version. Apparently, the nostalgia dies quickly when those who remember it so fondly do finally go back to their childhood to cross the country digitally again. Oregon Trail doesn't hold up and gaming and gamers have changed. Mark Milian, "The Dangers of Retracing the Classic Oregon Trail Game on the iPhone," *The Los Angeles Times* (February 24, 2009), viewed on February 28, 2009 at <http://latimesblogs.latimes.com/technology/2009/02/oregon-trail.html> MECC was created in 1973 to manage the state of Minnesota's educational computer network. Its software became extremely popular and profitable. In the late 1980s, the state of Minnesota spun MECC off to a private venture capitalist, and it became a private corporation for five million dollars. Less than a year later, the venture capitalist sold MECC to The Learning Company (TLC) for 250 million dollars. At first blush, it appears that the people of Minnesota were bamboozled.

⁶⁵⁶ Ambrose A. Clegg, "Games and Simulations in Social Studies Education," in J. P. Shaver, ed., *Handbook of Research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning* (New York: MacMillan Publishing): 523-529; Gene Rooze, "Are Social Studies Teachers Using Computers? A National Survey," *Social Education* 54 (1990): 212-214; E. Wayne Ross, "Microcomputers in the Social Studies Secondary Classrooms," *Journal of Educational Research* 85 (September-October 1991): 39-46.

skills along the way—all the while developing recall abilities just as well as if they had participated in other teaching strategies.⁶⁵⁷ Better yet, one study, at least, seemed to indicate that students who took part in computer simulations as class groups performed better on measurements of achievement than did those who did the simulations in pairs. Although it stretches the definitions of “simulation” in this arena, one researcher created a program called, “Amnesia,” which was filled with Manitoban content, graphics, immediate meaningful feedback, and randomization designed to represent real world situations (on the same level as chess might be thought of as a form of simulated battle). After testing, the researchers found that it made no difference whether the game was played by only two students or whether the entire class looked on and “played.” The researcher’s conclusion: this form of simulation can be used to teach history effectively. It does seem, however, that the teaching of history effectively in this case might simply mean the building of recall.⁶⁵⁸ Only a few students may have “played,” but all “watched,” and most remembered something from their “interactions.”

In 1990, studying simulations, S. H. Ruef and T. N. Layne discovered that there was no difference in the measurable effect upon student learning in U.S. history classes when they were instructed with a computer database simulation versus a traditional

⁶⁵⁷ Michael J. Berson, “Effectiveness of Computer Technology in the Social Studies: A Review of the Literature,” *Journal of Research on Computing in Education*, 28(1996): 486-499. More than one researcher found that simulations such as *Where in the USA is Carmen San Diego*, *Cross Country USA*, *Oregon Trail*, and *The National Inspirer* were effective in teaching higher order thinking skills in both process and content. For one example, see David Lancy, “Microcomputers and the Social Studies,” *OCSS Review* 26(1990): 30-37.

⁶⁵⁸ Irma Penn, “A Social Studies Computer Simulation: Alternative Treatments with Grade Five Students,” *History and Social Science Teacher*, 24 (Fall 1988): 35-38. For another discussion of computer simulation in the teaching of history, see James Schick, ““Using Historical Microcomputer Simulations: Teaching Survival in Early Virginia,” *Proceedings and Papers of the Georgia Association of Historians*, VI (1985 [actually 1986]).

instructional method.⁶⁵⁹ In a case study using two simulation packages, “The U.S. Constitution Then and Now” (produced by Scholastic) and “The Constitution and the Government of the United States” (produced by Educational Activities), they found that students did as well on assessments following the playing of the games as they did following a traditional classroom lesson on the subjects. Of course, small sample size and the inability to control for previous knowledge could be grounds for challenging their findings, but despite the seeming success of the computer-based lessons, the researchers determined that use of simulations were not worth the extra disruption brought to the classroom and the extra expense required to purchase and maintain the computer. They also found that students, after the original shine had worn off of their new toys, were ready to return to their printed materials. Based upon these results, Ruef and Layne suggested that teachers cautiously explore the introduction of the computer into instruction, and warned that teachers should ask themselves, “What will a computer allow me to do that I cannot already do myself?” Even with studies such as these providing cautious advice, it seems that teacher attitude toward the possibilities opening up before them at the time can still be best described by quotes such as “Through using computer simulations, video cassette recordings and recorders, and computer software packages, the ways to teach history have grown almost beyond imagining Tapping into the same mania that children seem to have for playing Nintendo and PacMan, teachers today can implement the same technology to interest their students in history.”⁶⁶⁰ While

⁶⁵⁹ Seth H. Ruef and Thomas N. Layne, “A Study of the Effects of Computer-Assisted Instruction in the Social Studies,” *The Social Studies* 81 (March-April, 1990): 73-76.

⁶⁶⁰ Vickie J. Schlene, “Using the New Technology in the History Classroom: An ERIC/ChESS sample,” *History Microcomputer Review* (Spring 1992): 27-29, quoted in Elizabeth Anne Yeager

conjuring the image of a huge, yellow smiley face rolling along the Oregon Trail devouring buffalo, this quote also provides an example of the excitement generated by the promise of the computer among those teachers who were laboring to capture the attention of their students. One can almost hear their wheels in motion, “You think history is boring? Wait until you play this microcomputer pioneer game! . . . Now, where is that floppy disk? . . . Does anybody know where the ‘on’ button is on this thing?”

Databases

In an attempt to move beyond memorization and to include more problem solving activities in computer-aided instruction in history, teachers and software producers began to create databases filled primarily with social science data, but which also included some historical data, as well. (Think, square footage of “arable land,” “gross domestic product,” etc.) Students were given a problem to solve, which they could do by manipulating the information in the database. This type of activity promised more than “seek-n-find” sessions. The database exercises led students through the process of identifying the problem, manipulating technology to help solve the problem, and then reporting out and reflecting upon their learning.⁶⁶¹ Soon, among the most frequently cited rationales for incorporating computers into the social studies classroom was the belief that programs along these lines promoted inquiry-driven learning. Various studies found that organized collections of related subject matter encourage students to explore vast

and James W. Morris, “History and Computers: The Views from Selected Social Studies Journals,” *The Social Studies* 86, no. 6 (1995): 277-283.

⁶⁶¹ J. D. Butler and R. W. Clouse, *Educational Technology and the Teaching of History: Promise, Practice, and Possibilities* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University, 1994) explains this process well.

amounts of information in a systematic and consistent way, facilitating their investigative learning and self-construction of knowledge.⁶⁶² A frequently-cited article on the use of databases in history instruction was published way back in the days when the term “microcomputer” was still being frequently used in the literature. In that article, Ramos and Wheeler discussed how their students used databases to perform statistical analysis on information gleaned from primary sources.⁶⁶³ The authors pointed to the absence of good, introductory guides to computers in history instruction and went on to attempt to remedy this situation by providing practical suggestions and illustrations from their own teaching experiences in college classrooms. Emphasizing the use of computers to teach historical methodology, not computer expertise, they led their students through the use of the “Statistical Package for the Social Sciences” (SPSS), helping them mine the data for relevant information on censuses, wills, and inventories in order to research nineteenth-century, rural life in the United States and Brazil. The authors promoted what they called

⁶⁶² H. N. Riggs, “Computer Database Activities in Upper Elementary School Social Studies: A Stimulus for Curriculum Integration,” *History and Social Science Teacher* 25 (1990): 145-50; Sumitra Unia, “Computers in the Curriculum: Social Studies, Exploring Information,” *Computing Teacher* 19 (August-September, 1991): 33-34; Richard Welford, “Introductory Analysis in the Social Sciences Using Small-scale Databases,” *Journal of Computer-Assisted Learning* 5 (1989): 95-102; Howard R. Budin, Diane S. Kendall, and James Lengel, *Using Computers in the Social Studies*, (New York: teachers College Press, 1986) ; J. O. Hodges, “Using Database Management to Achieve Social Studies Objectives,” *Virginia Resolves* 27 (1985): 6-14.; Beverly Hunter, “Powerful Tools for Your Social Studies Classroom,” *Classroom Computer Learning* 4 (1983): 50-57; J. O. Hodges, “Using Database Management to Achieve Social Studies Objectives,” *Virginia Resolves* 27 (1985): 6-14.; Beverly Hunter, “Powerful Tools for Your Social Studies Classroom,” *Classroom Computer Learning* 4 (1983): 50-57; J. Pankin, “Databases, Important Tools That Can be Fun to Use,” *Electronic Learning* 7 (2): 44; and Harvey C. Foyle and Bill Yates, “Using Databases in the Social Studies Classroom,” *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 18 (1993): 73-79; Don Karl Rowney, “The Microcomputer in Historical Research: Accessing Commercial Databases,” *History Teacher* 18 (February 1985): 227-242.

⁶⁶³ Donald Ramos and Robert A. Wheeler, “Integrating Microcomputers into the History Curriculum,” (in State of the Profession) *The History Teacher*, Vol. 22, No. 2. (Feb., 1989):177-188.

"productive" software, a term that refers to those programs that enable students to organize, analyze, and report the data they collect. Doing so, they argued, students can experience the nature of the historian's task by using databases to gather and analyze information (doing mathematical computations of data on spreadsheets rather than textual or evidentiary analysis), and by writing reports on their findings on a word processor. With articles such as Ramos and Wheeler's pointing the way, the use of databases in social studies, and some history classrooms began to rise dramatically.⁶⁶⁴ By 1990, social studies teachers were the largest number of "subject matter" teachers who reported using databases in their instruction.⁶⁶⁵

At about the same time, several case studies explored the effectiveness of these databases in teaching social studies.⁶⁶⁶ One of the earliest showed that students can learn to use databases quickly and use them to visualize complex, historical relationships while developing critical awareness of current events and integrating information from various

⁶⁶⁴ Beverly Hunter, "Research and Evaluation Trends in the Uses of Computer-based Tools for Learning and Teaching," in *Proceedings of the National Education Computer Conference* (Dallas, TX, 1988) ED315045.

⁶⁶⁵ Karen Sheingold and Martha Hadley, *Accomplished Teachers: Integrating Computers into Classroom Practice*, (New York: Bank Street College of Education, Center for Technology in Education, 1990).

⁶⁶⁶ Carol Lang Elder, "Development of a Social Studies Database with Accompanying Curriculum Materials to Enhance Information-Processing Skills and Geographic Knowledge," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, George Mason University, 1988. Rawitsch, D. "The Effects of Computer Use and Student Work Style on Database Analysis Activities in the Social Studies," in *Improving the Use of Technology in Schools: What Are We Learning. Research Bulletin no. 1* (University of Minnesota, Center for the Study of Educational Technology, Educational Computing Consortium, 1988): 1-3 and D. Rawitsch, W. M. Bart, and J.F. Earle "Using Computer Database Programs to Facilitate Higher-order Thinking Skills," *Research Bulletin No. 1* (University of Minnesota, Center for the Study of Educational Technology, Educational Computing Consortium, 1988): 7-9. For an examination of one representative database, see P. Britton, "The Appian Way Data—100 Series: A Case Study on the Development of Software for, and its use in, the school history Classroom," *History and Computing* 11 (1990): 220-224.

library resources.⁶⁶⁷ Other studies found that there was no difference in the resulting grasp of factual information by students learning social studies through the use of databases, but that their use did require more instruction time than more traditional forms of teaching. In addition to taking longer, these researchers also found that computer-based instruction tended to favor the development of information skills over the teaching of “subject” knowledge—but this, perhaps, was more reflective of the fact that few students at the time had more than rudimentary computer and database knowledge. Other research demonstrated that databases can help students learn facts as well as concepts while showing a deeper understanding of those concepts. This was one concern of teachers who worried that the use of databases was accomplishing little beyond their computer-based, “flash card” forebears.⁶⁶⁸ Crozier and Gaffield found that databases built the critical analysis skills of students, encouraging them to develop insights, examine relationships, and analyze patterns. They also argued that the greater access to a wider range of information provided by database systems allowed for more systematic comparison of people in the past, including groups traditionally marginalized by textbooks and other teaching tools. (Granted, Crozier and Gaffield were studying college students and not elementary or secondary school students.)⁶⁶⁹ Ehman, Glen, Johnson, and White performed case studies in eight locations in four different states and found that the

⁶⁶⁷ Mark Rothman, “Using the Microcomputer to Study the Anatomy of Revolution,” *The Computing Teacher* 10 (September 1982): 16-20.

⁶⁶⁸ Tama Traberman, “Using Interactive Computer Techniques to Develop Global Understanding,” *The Computing Teacher* 11 (September 1983): 43-50 and Tama Traberman, “Using Microcomputers to Teach Global Studies,” *Social Education* 48 (February 1984): 130-137.

⁶⁶⁹ William Crozier and Chad Gaffield, “The Lower Manhattan Project : A New Approach to Computer-assisted Learning in History Classrooms,” *Historical Methods* 23 (1990): 72-77.

effective use of databases in instruction was associated with the level of integration of computers into the social studies curriculum, constructive use of time, and instructional structuring that included the modeling of steps and procedures, ample student practice time, the debriefing of students learning, and their public sharing of learning outcomes (project presentations).⁶⁷⁰ These researchers found that prior exposure to content, functional computer knowledge, use of simplified databases, and the structuring of lessons using small group activities were all significant factors in the effective use of the databases to teach social studies lessons. Those factors being in place, their study supported prior research that found databases to be a useful tool in developing higher order thinking skills. Other studies repeated these findings and soon there were guides appearing that attempted to encapsulate this research into a system of effective “database teaching” pedagogy for a wide range of grade levels—elementary to college.⁶⁷¹

One can assume that while it was fairly easy for most teachers to imagine a computer database assisting in the memorization tasks of history, and—with a bit of a nudge—to understand how those machines might teach analytical skills, using them to teach historical empathy, the ability to make a connection with those from an earlier era and then go beyond that connection in an attempt to understand those others in the context of their own unique environment—was probably a bit more of a stretch for some.

⁶⁷⁰ Lee H. Ehman, Allen D. Glen, Vivian Johnson, and Charles S. White, “Using Computer Databases in Student Problem Solving: A Study of Eight Social Studies teachers’ Classrooms,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 20 (1992): 196.

⁶⁷¹ Some examples for the college level instructors include Daniel Greenstein, *A Historian's Guide to Computing* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1994) and Evan Mawdsley and Thomas Munck's *Computing for Historians; an Introductory Guide* (Manchester University Press, Manchester, 1993).

Computer simulation had long strived for this outcome, but some believed that databases filled with various types of historical evidence could do the same. Early work along this line was explored using a mix of simulation and databases concerning the Irish immigrant experience in the United States. The researchers were, indeed, able to observe students building empathy for the people of the past.⁶⁷² Of course, it is not known to what extent this empathy was based upon prior knowledge or the practice of the teacher in preparing the students to use the databases.

For all of the papers published about computers in scholarly and practitioner journals, for all of the talks presented at professional conferences, for all of the software packages created and marketed, and for all the computer hardware and software purchased and added to classrooms (largely as “enhancements to core instruction”) during the 1980s and 1990s, very little changed in regards to history instruction.⁶⁷³ History teachers continued to lecture, assign textbook readings (with some supplements), show films now and again, assign an essay here or there (usually requiring no more than the rewording of paragraphs from secondary sources), and assessed learning through tests

⁶⁷² R. B. Mendrinis and D. M. Morrison, “The Irish Immigrant: How the Program Works,” *Classroom Computer Learning* 7 (1986): 42; D. M. Morrison and J. Walters, “IMMIGRANT: A Social Studies Simulation for Appleworks” in Charles Thompson and Larry Vaughan, eds., *Computers in the Classroom: Experiences Teaching with Flexible Tools* (Chelmsford, MA: Northeast Regional Exchange, 1986) available full text from ERIC 268013.

⁶⁷³ Elizabeth Ann Yeager noted that there was an increasing number of professional articles dealing with instructional technology between 1990 and 1995, and she analyzed articles about technology in *The Social Studies*, *The History Teacher*, and *History Microcomputer Review*, all professional education publications. She found that there was a great many more articles on social studies software projects than on history, and that many of these articles focus on the “knowing how” of technology rather than the “knowing how” of history. She noted that before computers can aid in history instruction, it might be a good idea to give teachers a better idea of doing history rather than give them another tool to continue teaching it as a collection of facts and figures. Elizabeth Anne Yeager and James W. Morris, “History and Computers: The Views from Selected Social Studies Journals,” *The Social Studies* 86, no. 6 (1995): 277-283.

of content knowledge. As one writer noted in 1991—joining a long line of frustrated observers of the classroom—social studies pedagogy is stable and does not change much, if at all.⁶⁷⁴ Eight years later, that same writer surmised that the main reason for this non-use of the available technology was due not only to the lack of continuing education on the topic provided to teachers, but also to the lack of ongoing tech support for the classroom. Few teachers wanted to waste valuable instruction time scrambling to get one of the computers back up and running or finding a lost mouse or cleaning unidentified, but probably child-produced, gunk out of keyboards.⁶⁷⁵ Add to this the fact that this form of instruction took much more upfront planning and equipment set-up time, and it was a wonder that computer-aided teaching had penetrated the history classroom as far as it had.⁶⁷⁶ Another writer blamed the lack of integration of computers into the classroom upon the field's focus on technical and logistical issues involved in their use as opposed to pedagogical styles and the structural organization of classroom.⁶⁷⁷ Apparently, to be successful teachers with computers, teachers could not simply do a digital dip. Something close to full immersion was needed. At least one researcher found that these structural and pedagogical styles changed a great deal when computer use was added to the social

⁶⁷⁴ Larry Cuban, "History of Teaching in Social Studies," in J. P. Shaver, ed., *Handbook of research on Social Studies Teaching and Learning* (New York: MacMillan, 1991): 197-209 and James P. Shaver, O.L. Davis, and Suzanne W. Helburn, "The Status of Social Education: Impression from three NSF Studies," *Social Education* 43 (1979): 150-153. For a broader look at the constancy of the classroom, see Larry Cuban, *How Teachers Taught: Constancy and Change in American Classrooms, 1890-1980* (White Plains, NY: Longman, 1984).

⁶⁷⁵ Larry Cuban, "Don't Blame Teachers for Low Computer Use in Class, *Houston Chronicle* (September 13, 1999): 23 (and carried by newspapers nationally) viewed on August 9, 2009 at <http://articles.latimes.com/1999/aug/22/opinion/op-2609>

⁶⁷⁶ Henry J. Becker, "Running to Catch a Moving Train: Schools and Information Technologies," *Theory into Practice* 37(1998): 20-30.

⁶⁷⁷ Michael J. Berson, "Effectiveness of Computer Technology in the Social Studies: A Review of the Literature," *Journal of Research on Computing in Education*, 28(1996): 486-499.

studies classroom in a substantive, rather than decorative fashion. In classrooms where computer use was more fully integrated, Pahl found that teachers tend to be more guides to their students as they explored, leading the classroom to be less teacher-centered. More full integration of technology, in other words, required a different teaching style and a different approach to learning overall. Pahl also found that student motivation to be involved in these kinds of classrooms tended to be quite high.⁶⁷⁸ Finally, more than one researcher found the lack of research in the area also to be a hindrance to further integration of technology into the history classroom, with one noting that “substantive research about using computers to facilitate the process of inquiry is still lacking.”⁶⁷⁹

Despite these challenges, the promise of computers in the teaching of history remained, leading one writer on the subject to characterize technology as “the sleeping giant” in the social studies classroom.⁶⁸⁰ Still as the 1990s came to a close, one of the most prolific writers on technology and social studies, Charles S. White, stated that many teachers seemed to believe that the use of computers might simply be a more sophisticated and expensive way to meet the same learning outcomes as those produced

⁶⁷⁸ Ronald H. Pahl, “Digital Technology and Social Studies,” in B.G. Massialas and R. F. Allen, eds., *Crucial Issues in Teaching Social Studies K-12* (New York: Wadsworth, 1996): 341-386.

⁶⁷⁹ Michael J. Berson, “Effectiveness of Computer Technology in the Social Studies: A Review of the Literature,” *Journal of Research on Computing in Education*, 28(1996): 486-499.

⁶⁸⁰ Peter H. Martorella, “Technology and Social studies—or: Which Way to the Sleeping Giant?” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 25(1997): 511-514.

by more traditional methods, but he hoped that this would change, and he was banking his hope, in part, upon the rise of a new computer-based technology, the Internet.⁶⁸¹

⁶⁸¹ C. S. White, "Technology and Social Studies: An Introduction." *Social Education*, 61(1997): 147-148. Charles S. White was associated with the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University.

Chapter 7.

The Web as Warehouse

“There is no history of mankind; there is only an indefinite number of histories of all kinds of aspects of human life.”

Karl Popper

Hyper Forerunners
Early Exemplary Sites
Discovery Phase

The World Wide Web has changed the world as we know it. It has revolutionized banking, shopping, advertising, even travel. It is restructuring radio, television, newspapers, and the film and music industries. To say that it has had an impact upon libraries and archives is a hyperbolic understatement. From its beginnings, many have predicted its inevitable, tectonic plate-shifting impact upon the schools. There have been a few tremblers, but the educational earth has yet to heave and crack. Educational technologists, school library media specialists, instructional designers, teacher educators, educational administrators, and not a few teachers, themselves, have probed the many possibilities of the Web. They have developed and promoted their tools; demonstrated their specialized pedagogies; performed their research (both qualitative and quantitative); presented their Powerpoints by the conference-load; and published, published, published. But classroom practice—especially history classroom practice—seems impervious to the effect of academia’s forces. Terra firma, indeed.

A review of some of the thoughts about the use of the Web in history instruction shows numerous individuals charmed by its many possibilities, especially for a discipline

that is Web-like itself: in evidence, interpretation, and narrative. It shows movement from perplexity at the unorganized mass of “stuff,” through a discovery phase where the most useful stuff is described and brought to the attention of educators. The Web, to the educational pioneers who, in their age of discovery surfed its wilds, was a warehouse filled with both numerous resources and amazing pedagogical possibilities.

Hyper Forerunners

By the late 1990s, the professional education literature and technology “teacher-speak” had been filled with one prefix for a number of years. That prefix was “hyper.” Hypertext. Hypercard. Hypermedia. Hypertext or media allows one piece of information (text in the case of print, media in the case of audio or video) to have multiple connections to other pieces of information. Much like the popular, “choose-your-own-ending,” or “choose-your own-adventure” paperbacks that once claimed display space in five and dime stores, using hypertext, a reader could choose his or her own path through sets of information. Using hypertext and later hypermedia, information no longer had to be shared in a linear, one-way fashion. Any of a number of individuals realized early on in the evolution of the computer that such a hypertextual system could be used to provide a more realistic environment for the study of history, a subject that had multiple perspectives, multiple pieces of evidence, and multiple potential narratives that could be told based upon those perspectives and pieces of evidence. History was already “hyper.”⁶⁸² When hypertext expanded into hypermedia and began to include video and audio, the excitement for the format simply increased. More than one teacher could see

⁶⁸² This was a point that would be memorably made later by the University of Virginia’s Edward Ayers in the much-cited “History in Hypertext,” viewed on July 6, 2009 at <http://www.vcdh.virginia.edu/Ayers.OAH.html>

the incorporation of primary source audiovisuals into the classroom—perfect for the so-called “television generation.” One of the early projects that grew out of the thinking along these lines was ACCESS (American Culture in Context: Enrichment for Secondary Schools), which proposed to help students create better concept maps concerning America’s past by reinforcing their questioning, helping them hypothesize about causation, and aiding them in developing their arguments based upon evidence—all of which could be linked in multiple intersecting sets. They could be given a flexible structure through hypertext.⁶⁸³ Other products/projects along these lines included “The Sourcer’s Apprentice,” which provided students with hypertext access to primary sources, again helping them develop their own interpretation of events, and HyperCAP, which stressed comparative analysis of sources and combined the use of print with audiovisual material in an interactive environment through the use of the software package HyperCard 2.1.⁶⁸⁴ Indeed, many of the simulations and “drill and practice” products mentioned earlier came to have hypertextual components.

⁶⁸³ Kathryn T. Spoehr and Luther W. Spoehr, “Learning to Think Historically,” *Educational Psychologist* 29 (1994): 71-77. ACCESS was largely a Brown University-sponsored project with teachers providing the content. For more on ACCESS see, Kathryn Spoehr, “Enhancing Acquisition of Conceptual Structures through Hypermedia,” in Kate McGilley, *Classroom Lessons: Integrating Cognitive Theory and Classroom Practices*, (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994): 75-102.

⁶⁸⁴ M. Anne Britt, Jean-Francois Rouet, Charles A. Perfetti, “Using Hypertext to Study and Reason about Historical Evidence,” in Jean-Francois Rouet, Jarno J. Levonen, and R.J. Spiro, *Hypertext and Cognition* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Associates, 1996) and M Anne Britt, Charles A. Perfetti, Julie A. Van Dyke, and Gareth Gabrys, “The Sourcer’s Apprentice: A Tool for Document-Supported History Instruction,” in Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Samuel Wineburg, eds., *Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History: National and International Perspectives* (New York: New York University Press, 2000): 437-467; James M. Jennings, “Comparative Analysis, HyperCard and the Future of Social Studies Education,” (1994) ERIC Documents ED381439. Hypercard was an application program created by Bill Atkinson of Apple Computers and was among the first successful hypermedia systems before development of the World Wide Web. It was originally released in 1984 (free on all Macs) and was pulled from the market in 2004, having gone many years by that point without having an upgrade. Hypercard 2.0

Most of these hypertext/hypermedia systems required what was thought of at the time as a great deal of computer storage, so their rise in development and use was greatly aided by the introduction of compact disks with read only memory, CD-ROMs, and later “CD towers,” which allowed a computer to switch its use up and down a “stack” of CDs filled with information. Indeed, an entire industry of educational CDs sprang up almost overnight with its own cadre of scholars who studied their use, and practitioners who reviewed their contents and features for classroom effectiveness.⁶⁸⁵ Even though one writer would observe that they were difficult to use and few were “little better than coffee table books,” these CD-based products were colorful and attractive, and most professional journals began carrying CD review columns. At least one professional review source and journal specifically tailored to history began to be published regularly, *History Computer Review*, which was a publication of Pittsburg State University’s Department of History. It began in 1985 and lasted nineteen years.⁶⁸⁶

came out in the early 1990s. Some believe that the success of the program was based upon its being free and easy to manipulate, thus it was used for a wide range of applications and not just for educational software. For more research in Hypercard and social studies, see Ted Reiken and Robyn Evans, “Building Practical and Theoretical Knowledge About Hypercard through Collaborative Action Research,” *Journal of Technology and Teacher Education* 1, n.2 (1993): 121-131; and Richard C. Adams, “Cool Moves: Teaching Geography and History with Hypercard,” *Computing Teacher* 22 (April 1995): 31-33.

⁶⁸⁵ CD-ROMs grew out of music compact discs and were introduced to the general public in mass quantities in 1984. *Grolier’s Encyclopedia* came out on CD the next year (holding 9 million words, but taking up only about twelve percent of the storage space on the CD), followed by Microsoft bookshelf in 1987. In 1991, the CD-R was introduced, which allowed individuals to copy information to CDs. The appearance of the DVD in 1996, which could hold substantially more information in about the same amount of physical space, spelled the demise of the CD, except for certain niche markets such as the sales of software. Many laptop computers today do not come with internal CD drives.

Just two examples of CD publication of the type that garnered so much attention: beginning in 1994, Primary Sources, Inc. produced a popular CD-ROM multiple disk “publication,” *American Journey*, which held hundreds of documents of various types. *American Journey* came with a “Timeline Series,” “Multicultural Series,” etc., and allowed various search options, including full-text.⁶⁸⁷ It was, essentially, a traditional source packet, but one on steroids. This CD publication lacked, however, any ties to specific standard courses of study, although it did come with a copy of James Percoco’s *Using Primary Sources: A Guide for Parents and Teachers*.⁶⁸⁸ A year before *American Journey* appeared, Roy Rosenzweig, Joshua Brown, and Stephen Brier, along with the Voyager Company, produced *Who Built America?* This publication held an incredible (for the time) amount of information: five thousand pages of text; seven hundred images; four hours of oral history, music, and speeches; and forty-five minutes of film!⁶⁸⁹ Projects such as *American Journey* and *Who Built America?* spoke to those history teachers who had long decried the use—or uselessness—of history textbooks, and many began to predict the immediate demise of that time-honored teaching tool, knowing that something a little more interactive, complete with moving images and sound, would surely soon

⁶⁸⁶ Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Hayden and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003): 19.

⁶⁸⁷ Stephen Paul Dundis and Bruce R. Fehn, “Historical Thinking Skills and Computerized Archives: Exploring the American Journey CD-ROM Series,” *The Social Studies* 90 (November/December): 273-277.

⁶⁸⁸ James Percocco, *Using Primary Sources: A Guide for Parents and Teachers* (Primary Source Media, 1995).

⁶⁸⁹ Roy Rosenzweig, “Digital Archives are a Gift of Wisdom to be Used Wisely,” viewed on May 22, 2009 at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/resources/essays/d/32>

begin to take its place.⁶⁹⁰ In one exploration of “hypermedia as textbook,” which took place in Canada, the results for such a new type of creation was positive, and the researchers found that it was especially helpful to remedial students and those with learning disabilities.⁶⁹¹ Some teachers, following their precursors from the early twentieth century (although they probably didn’t know it), even went so far as to lead their students in the creation of their own hypermedia, history creations.⁶⁹² Another teacher reported on a high school classroom’s use of CD-based primary sources to create the students’ own histories. But that teacher had to report that the software operated poorly, and it was difficult to maintain the interest of the students as they searched through numerous sources; they were unable to maintain their focus for the amount of time required by the task, something anyone who has ever sat in a reading room confronted by a full Hollinger box can sympathize with.⁶⁹³ While these early forays into hypertext, stored on ever

⁶⁹⁰ The predictions that textbooks will be replaced by computers continue, but now some school administrators and politicians hold out hope for “open source, digital versions” of online textbook-replacing resources. Tamar Lewin, “In a Digital Future Textbooks are History,” *New York Times* (August 8, 2009) viewed on August 9, 2009 at http://www.nytimes.com/2009/08/09/education/09textbook.html?_r=2&ref=technology

⁶⁹¹ Kyle Higgins and Randall Boone, “Hypermedia Computer Study Guides for Social Studies: Adapting a Canadian History Text,” *Social Education* 56 (1992): 154-159. A sample of other works along these lines Martin A. Siegel and Gerald A. Sousa, “Inventing the Virtual Textbook: Changing the Nature of Schooling,” *Educational Technology* 34 (1994): 49-54 and James Schick, “Online History Textbooks: Breaking the Mold,” *History Computer Review*, 17:2 (Fall 2001), 25-47.

⁶⁹² Lynn A. Fontana, C. Dede C. A. White, and W.M. Cates, “Multimedia: A Gateway to Higher Order Thinking Skills,” in *Proceedings of Selected Research and Development Presentations at the Convention of the Association for Educational Communications and Technology Sponsored by the Research and Theory Skills* Washington, DC: Association for Educational Communications and Technology, 1993) ERIC ED 362 165.

⁶⁹³ Sally Rehmel, “That’s a Good Quote—What’s the Source?: Integrating Media Technology Research and Presentation Skills in a High School Social Studies Class,” *The Social Studies* 89 no. 5 (September-October, 1998): 223-226.

increasing stacks of CDs, were taking place, a young English physicist, Tim Berners-Lee, and a Belgian computer scientist, Robert Cailliau, were about to make things in the world of computers really hyper.

Using concepts taken from earlier hypertext systems and modeling their prototype in part upon Electronic Book Technology's Dynatext SGML reader, in 1989, Berners-Lee and Cailliau proposed building a web of nodes that would store hypertext pages viewable by a "browser."⁶⁹⁴ Berners-Lee built that prototype "web of nodes" over Christmas break in 1990 and announced his work to the online newsgroup alt.hypertext the next year.⁶⁹⁵ In 1993, the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN), where Berners-Lee worked, announced that it would not charge for use of the newly named World Wide Web.⁶⁹⁶ This announcement came two months after the other major Internet application at the time, Gopher, announced that it *would* begin charging, and a major shift away from the list-based Gopher to the node-based Web began to take

⁶⁹⁴ SGML, Standard Generalized Markup Language, is an International Standards Organization (ISO) Standard meta-language which is used to mark-up texts so that they can be shared in machine-readable form. It was primarily intended for the publishing industry.

⁶⁹⁵ Newsgroups are discussion boards used primarily in the days before the Web. The original organizers of newsgroups, (which were arranged hierarchically by subject being discussed in almost a library-like classification fashion), did not originally allow any discussion of recipes, drugs, and sex. That led to the designation of alt.* discussion groups, meaning "alternative" to the supposedly more controlled list of topics. Before long, almost every discussion group no matter the topic that they might cover had moved to the more "open" alt world, leading to the "backronym for alt, "Anarchists, Lunatics and Terrorists." "Usenet," one of the most popular of the newsgroups, was created at Duke University in 1979. Google acquired the archive of most newsgroups dating back to 1981 and has incorporated them into Googlegroups. Thus, a large part of the "primary sources" associated with early use of the Internet is owned by Google, which has ceased to support this "archives," leading Wired.com to note, "In the end, then, the rusting shell of Google Groups is a reminder that Google is an advertising company — not a modern-day Library of Alexandria. Kevin Poulsen, "Google's Abandoned Library of 700 Million Titles," viewed on November 10, 2009 at <http://www.wired.com/epicenter/2009/10/usenet/>

⁶⁹⁶ The Web was originally called MESH.

place.⁶⁹⁷ Researchers at the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign in that same year released the Mosaic Web browser, which allowed the inclusion of graphics, as well as text, on that increasingly famous web of nodes. Early on, the Mosaic developers were able to publish a list of new sites added each week and these lists included an on-line coffee pot camera at the Cambridge physics lab and an on-line Coke machine at Carnegie Mellon. (A graduate student in Pittsburgh could receive a cold drink dispensed online). The World Wide Web took off, and other nodes, or Web sites as they came to be known, began to spread rapidly around the world.⁶⁹⁸ By the fall of 1993, there were already 600 Web sites worldwide, and within three years of Mosaic's creation even small public libraries in rural parts of North Carolina were beginning to mount their own, basic Web pages.⁶⁹⁹

⁶⁹⁷ The Gopher Protocol, developed at the University of Minnesota, is still in existence but is largely maintained by a few university-based enthusiasts. Its search engines, Archie, Veronica, and Jughead were named for characters from the Archie comics. This shift also led to a change in Master's thesis topics for the author of this work who at the time was contemplating writing his paper on the use of Gophers in archives. He was working at a student job in the special collections of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill libraries when Tim West, who would become curator of manuscripts, returned from a meeting at Duke University to announce, "You can forget gophers. You need to see this new thing called the World Wide Web."

⁶⁹⁸ For an overview of the development of the Web, see Tim Berners-Lee, *Weaving the Web: The Original Design and Ultimate Destiny of the World Wide Web by its Inventor* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1999) and James Gillies, *How the Web was Born: The Story of the World Wide Web*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000). Rob Semper, "From Online Exhibits to Online Experiences to Online Community: Thirteen Years of Science Centers Experimenting on the Web," paper presented at Museums and the Web, Albuquerque, New Mexico, March 22-25, 2006, viewed on September 10, 2009 at <http://www.archimuse.com/mw2006/papers/semper/semper.html>

⁶⁹⁹ In 1996, following a brief workshop at the School of Library and Information Science in Chapel Hill, librarians at Rowan Public Library in Salisbury, NC returned home to build a basic Web page, which initially held only a photograph of the director and the library's name. It quickly evolved. This is thought to be the second public library Web page in the state as it followed close on the heels of the site created by the Public Library of Charlotte and Mecklenburg County. The credit for the first public library Web site in the country is often given to Saint Joseph County Public Library in South Bend, Indiana.

It should be noted that there were a handful of forays into the teaching of social studies using the Internet before the advent of the World Wide Web. One example would be Nancy Lourie Markowitz and Beverly Crane's work with integrating online searching skills using Dialog Information Services into a fourth grade classroom. These researchers wanted to see if such a teaching methodology would have an impact upon students' critical thinking, information technology, and writing skills.⁷⁰⁰ The methodology did, indeed, build greater information technology skills in the students, but the results concerning the development of critical thinking, writing, and social studies subject knowledge were not so clear. In addition, the in-depth use of technology as required by their project, Markowitz and Crane determined, probably could not be sustained in most schools because of time constraints and logistics. Agreeing with other researchers in computer-aided teaching, they determined that for this teaching methodology to be effective, it must be thoroughly integrated and not just treated as an "add-on" to the classroom. But the Internet would soon carry even greater possibilities than the text and command system of Dialog.

By 1996, Bill Tally of the EDC's Center for Children and Technology was describing how an 8th grade social studies teacher named Paul had only a short time before "browsed wide-eyed through an on-line archive of Matthew Brady's Civil War photos located at the Library of Congress. "If only my students had more access to this," he said, "We could throw away the textbook. They'd be researching history themselves,

⁷⁰⁰ Nancy Lourie Markowitz and Beverly Crane, "A Case Study in Collaboration for Curricular Reform," *Paper Presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Atlanta, GA*, 1993. (ERIC ED 361 329)

not just memorizing names and dates.”⁷⁰¹ As Tally reported, Paul's enthusiasm was common.

And it's easy to understand. After years of teaching with textbooks cobbled together so as to offend no one, and with the inadequate resources of a small school library, classroom teachers with World Wide Web access now face an exciting prospect: access to a growing number of primary source collections in government and university libraries around the world —materials that, up to now, have been available only to scholars who could make a special trip to visit them.

Tally went on to note that

on-line primary sources promise, most of all, more authentic materials that can enliven history for students and teachers. Instead of consuming history as an 'end-product' —the closed and consensus-based narrative that students find in textbooks — students get fragmentary and detailed pieces of evidence that historians themselves use as building blocks in fashioning their narratives. At their best, these fragments are vivid and personal — a letter, a domestic photograph— in ways that intrigue students and provoke questions and curiosity. And what teacher doesn't want students who are genuinely curious and motivated to inquire into the fascinating complexities of history? For a teacher like Paul who's taught the Civil War through textbooks and lectures for a decade, the Brady photos—views of battlefields, but also portraits of slave “contrabands,” documentation of military technology, and images of what daily life was like for common soldiers—open new windows onto an old subject, and new avenues for his own, as well as students', curiosity and research.

⁷⁰¹ Bill Tally, “History Goes Digital: Teaching When the Web is in the Classroom,” *D-Lib Magazine* (September, 1996) viewed on August 9, 2009 at <http://www.dlib.org/dlib/september96/09tally.html>. EDC's Center for Children and Technology is a non-profit research and development organization that explores the roles that new technologies can play in children's lives. Originally the research and development center of Bank Street College, in 1993, the Center became a division of the Education Development Center, Inc., a nonprofit education organization located in Newton, MA. It was one of the first education technology research and development organizations. For more about the center, see <http://cct.edc.org/ourhistory.asp> Bill Tally has spent his entire career at EDC, beginning right out of college in 1984. Much of that time has been spent on various projects associated with the Library of Congress' American Memory, “The Learning Page.”

Tally then described the challenges facing teachers interested in making these online primary sources available to the classroom. First, there were the logistical matters of computers, connections, download speeds, etc. These were not low barriers to use for most schools in the mid-1990s. More problematic—as anyone who had dealt with the attempts at incorporating “microcomputer-aided lessons” during the two previous decades could explain—was the lack of time among teachers to plan for the incorporation of the new materials into the classroom (exploring the content, experimenting with various assignments and activities, etc.). And even more challenging was the fact that these Internet-based materials would provide a wider range of materials from, and perspectives on, the past—which was both a positive and a negative, but would certainly require a level of contextualization that only a few teachers on the elementary- or secondary-school level probably had ever attempted. Online collections of primary source materials don’t play the textbook’s role of filter. Textbook filtering makes sure its content is “age-appropriate,” that the vocabulary used is understandable for certain reading levels, and that the materials provided do not contain sentiments that today would be considered abhorrent (such as the proper place of women in society or ideas about racial inferiority). While textbooks provide “big picture views,” Tally warned that on-line collections of primary source materials, instead, offered a “more complex, fragmentary, and multi-vocal view of history than most traditional classroom materials.” There was no big-picture overview. Historical collections on the Web, he warned, “are more idiosyncratic and unruly.” That, of course, is the very value of primary sources, but it does mean that someone has to prepare students to understand how to think about the language, thought, and behavior of individuals in the past “even when these are out of

step with contemporary values, or are even patently offensive to many.” How does a teacher handle a 1930s WPA oral history interview with a former slave in Georgia who said, while talking about his slave days, “Oh, miss, we was the happiest little niggers in the world?” First, there is the “N” word, a challenge for any classroom. Then there is the sentiment that goes against just about everything that most children have ever heard about the topic. Tally predicted that “[u]ltimately, using these online resources to advance a more dynamic, inquiry-based approach to history teaching and learning will require creative teachers to collaborate with each other —perhaps using the Web itself—and share lesson plans, teaching approaches, and assessment methods.” This long-sought-after goal would also require that teachers, themselves, would need to receive more training in the use of primary sources, and that the creators of the online materials would need to do a better job in preparing those materials for the classroom. Two of the sites that Tally mentions in his important, early article on history teaching and the Web were leading examples of good primary source contextualization. They were “The Valley of the Shadow,” a project about the American Civil War created by the Institute for Advanced Technology in the Humanities (IATH) at the University of Virginia, and the “The Learning Page,” the student/teacher portal to the Library of Congress’ massive American Memory Project. Both still provide examples of the kind of materials, which so excited the teachers Tally first consulted in his research during the late 1990s.

Early Exemplary Sites

“The Valley of the Shadow” began in 1991 when the University of Virginia’s Edward Ayers proposed a book that would explore the American Civil War by closely exploring the stories of two communities on either side of the conflict, Augusta County,

Virginia and Franklin County, Pennsylvania. Early on in the process, Ayers determined that the use of computers would offer a novel way of presenting his subject, and he and his team began to gather that source material which most professional historians would have used to build their own narrative. Instead of providing that narrative from one author's point of view, Ayers and his collaborators used new technologies to allow others, their "readers," to do their own exploration of these sources in order to provide their own narratives. By the summer of 1993, they had begun to mark-up these source materials in SGML, and by that fall, they had discovered the Web browser Mosaic. Everything changed. With thousands of hours of work among various teams of scholars, graduate students, and undergraduate student workers, the resulting Web site grew with letters, diaries, maps, and images, all structured to allow individuals to explore the raw materials of history—but to do so in an "enclosed," pre-selected, and highly accessible format. Alongside these "raw" materials was a textbook-like narrative, contextualizing the materials in the broader sweep of events and providing an overview of the war. There were also individual narratives about the two communities that were so thoroughly documented by the collections of source materials.⁷⁰²

The other site that Tally mentions is the Library of Congress' Learning Page, which had begun as a CD publication and moved to a video laser disc system before finally moving online. The Learning Page was much broader in scope than an in-depth look at two communities in the American Civil War. From the broad range of topics and materials covered by its digitized collections, the Library of Congress selected the most "classroom-friendly" of materials, provided orienting essays, guides for teachers, and

⁷⁰² "The Story Behind the Valley of the Shadow," viewed at <http://valley.vcdh.virginia.edu/usingvalley/valleystory.html> on May 22, 2009.

suggestions for classroom activities. The library would go on to constantly update its site, tying materials to current events, drawing attention to special anniversaries, and generally keeping the materials “fresh” and “relevant.”⁷⁰³ Despite some initial worries about search engines and their primary concern for advertising revenue; potential, unequal competition between glitzy commercial history sites and more serious or politically controversial, independent historical productions; and the sustainability of nonprofit and educational Web presences, sites like the Valley of the Shadow” and the Library of Congress’

⁷⁰³“ The Learning Page,” Library of Congress, American Memory, viewed on May 22, 2009 at <http://memory.loc.gov/learn/> For more about The Learning Page, see Susan Veccia, “Information Powered by Primary Sources,” *Knowledge Quest* 29 (September-October 2000): 12, 14-15; Laurel R. Singleton and James R. Giese, “American Memory: Using Library of Congress Online Resources to Enhance History Teaching,” *Social Education* (March 1998): 142-144; Harriet Hangenbruch, “American Memory—History Meets the Age of Technology,” *Library Software Review* 13 (Spring 1994): 35-38; Susan Veccia, “American Memory User Evaluation, 1991-1993,” ERIC document ED382511; Jean Armour Polly and Elaine Lyon, “Out of the Archives and into the Streets: American Memory in American Libraries,” *Online* 16 (September 1992): 51-54, 56-57; F. K. Rottman, “History Comes Alive: The American Memory Project,” *School Library Journal* 38 (November 1992): 33-36; Stephen E. Ostrow and Robert Zich, “Research Collections in the Information Age: The Library of Congress Looks to the Future” *Center for the Book Viewpoint Series* No. 27 (1990). Gary Marchionini, C. Plaisant, and A. Komlodi, *User Needs Assessment for the Library of Congress National Digital Library Program* (Human Computer Interaction Laboratory, University of Maryland at College Park 1996); Susan Veccia, M. Springer, et al, “American Memory User Evaluation 1991-93,” Prepared by American Memory User Evaluation Team, The Library of Congress ERIC 382 511; Agnes MacRitchie Dunn, “American Memory: Primary Sources on CD,” *Multimedia Schools* 7 (November/December 2000): 73-4; M. Hutchison, “American Memory Primary Sources,” *T.H.E. Journal* 29 (October 2001): 90; Gayle Lawrence, “Making Sense out of Pimary Sources,” [experience of an American Memory fellow]. *Book Report* v. 20 no. 5 (March/April 2002): 36-8; Y. French, “On-line Teaching: Forum Asks Teachers’ Views on Using Digitized Primary Sources,” *Library of Congress Information Bulletin* 54 (September 18, 1995): 383-4; Eva Chen, Corinna Fales, and Julie Thompson, “Digitized Primary Source Documents from the Library of Congress in History and Social Studies Curriculum,” *Library Trends* v. 45 (Spring 1997): 664-7; Judith K. Graves, “Design Considerations for the Library of Congress Learning Page: Providing Learners Context and Access to the Collections,” *Library Trends* (Spring 1997): 676; M. Hutchison, “American Memory Primary Sources [review],” *T.H.E. Journal* v. 29 (October 2001): 90 “Learning from History: Use Online Resources to Teach, Says Librarian,” *Library of Congress Information Bulletin*, 62 (May 2003): 105. There were many guides published to help teachers use the Learning Page, see copies of *Source: A Newsletter of Practical Teaching Ideas for American Memory Users*. One article along those lines: Laurel R. Singleton, “Using Photographs from American Memory,” *Source: A Newsletter of Practical teaching Ideas for American Memory Users* (November 2001).

Learning Page showed the possibilities offered by the new technologies to the teaching of history, and many individuals raced into the exciting virtual world, hoping to find that set of Web sites that would transform the teaching of history.⁷⁰⁴

Discovery Phase

Soon Frederick Risinger, longtime director of the School of Education's Office of Professional Development and School Service at the University of Indiana, was

⁷⁰⁴ Thomas J. Brown, "The House Divided and Digitized," *Reviews in American History* (June 2001): 205-215; William G. Thomas III, "In the Valley of the Shadow," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* (Summer 1998): 301-319; William G. Thomas II and Edward Ayers, "An Overview: The Differences Slavery made: A Close Analysis of Two American Communities," *American Historical Review* 108 (December 2003): 1299, 1303-06. In this article the authors had wanted to use digital media to provide their readers with the full evidence behind their arguments by using GIS, ties to evidence, interlinking, etc., and, thus, fusing form and function. They wished to provide a model for other researchers, but no other scholar picked up on this form of publication. Thomas and Ayers' article shows how materials for Valley of the Shadow could be repurposed for scholarly work; it was *not just* for K-12 exploration. A number of state libraries, state archives and coalitions of cultural institutions followed the Library of Congress' lead to create their own collections of materials about their state, usually aimed at serving the classroom among other constituencies. A few examples: Brenda Bailey-Hainer, "Supporting K-12 Education with Web Resources—The Colorado Virtual Library for Kids," *Colorado Libraries* 27 (Fall 2001): 9-11.; Lisa Yesson and Lynn Jones et. al., "Under Construction: The California Heritage Project's K-12 Outreach Experience at the University of California, Berkeley *College & Research Libraries News* 62 (March 2001): 296-7, 306, viewed on August 9, 2009 at <http://ala.org/ala/mgrps/divs/acrl/divs/acrl/publications/crlnews/2001/mar/underconstruction.cfm>; D. Bressler, "Kentuckiana: Educational Web Sites for Kentucky Teachers and Librarians," *Kentucky Libraries* 65 (Winter 2001): 4-7; Drew Kiesling Racine, Kristi McFarland, et. al., "Bringing History to Your Desktops: The Texas Archival Resources Online Project," *Texas Library Journal* 77 (Spring 2001): 24-7; Thomas J. Frusciano and William R. Fernekes, "Electronic New Jersey: A Model High School-University Web Site Collaboration," *OAH Magazine of History* (Fall 2000): 65-69; "Documents for the Classroom," (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, December 1999; accessed 11 April 2000), on-line at <http://www.mdarchives.state.md.us/msa/educ/html/sc2221.html>. For information on how one state archives reached out to social studies classrooms online, see "Teaching in the Age of the Internet: A Collaborative Program Promoting Computer Technology in Social Studies Education" (Annapolis: Maryland State Archives, December 1999; accessed 11 April 2000), online at <http://www.mdarchives.state.Md.us/msa/stagser/s1259/121/7295/html/0000.html> Some of these initial worries are briefly addressed in Michael O'Malley and Roy Rosenzweig, "Brave New World or Blind Alley? American History on the World Wide Web," *Journal of American History* (June 1997) viewed on August 9, 2009 at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/resources/essays/bravenewworld.php>.

explaining the basics of the Internet and the World Wide Web to teachers in a *Social Education* article, getting right down to the nuts and bolts by providing succinct answers to questions such as “What is the Internet?” “What does it cost?” and “What kind of equipment do I need?”⁷⁰⁵ Other articles along these lines soon followed, such as Ronald Pahl’s “Tech Talk for Social Studies,” which provided a brief but useful introduction to Web resources and the applications of the Internet, discussing the relationship between the Internet, servers, and hypertext.⁷⁰⁶ Along the same lines, Joseph Braun’s “Past, Possibilities, and Potholes on the Information Superhighway,” gave a brief history of the seven-year-old Web and described search tools such as Alta Vista and Yahoo, email, listservs, and newsgroups, going on to explain how to develop a home page for a class.⁷⁰⁷ Braun warned his readers of the impermanence of the Web, its lack of mediation, and the potential for accessing materials not appropriate for the classroom. In a similar article, Deborah Vess explained that the Web promised “an active encounter with the past,” and again described how a homepage could be made into a valuable instructional tool.⁷⁰⁸ The

⁷⁰⁵ Frederick Risinger, “Webbing the Social Studies,” *Social Education* 60 (February 1996): 111-112.

⁷⁰⁶ Ronald H. Pahl, “Tech Talk for Social Studies Teachers,”⁷⁰⁶ *Social Studies* 87 (July/August, 1996): 186-187.

⁷⁰⁷ Joseph A. Braun, Jr., “Past, Possibilities, and Potholes on the Information Superhighway,” *Social Education* 61(1997): 149-153;

⁷⁰⁸ Deborah Vess, “Applications for the World Wide Web in the History Classroom” (in *The Craft of Teaching*) *The History Teacher* 30 (May 1997): 265-282. Some other articles along these lines at the time include Mary Sooh, “Using Online Resources in Social Studies,” *Media & Methods* (May/June 2000): 12-15; Joan D. Lewis, “How the Internet Expands Educational Options,” *Teaching Exceptional Children* 30 (May/June 1998): 34-41; Greg Byerly, et. al., “Pursuing the Primary Source,” *School Library Media Activities Monthly* 17(February 2001): 32-4, 36; Ronald Schachter, “Bringing History to Life,” *Technology and Learning* 23 (April 2003): 13-15; Mary Delgado, et. al., “Making History on the Web,” *Learning and Leading with Technology* 30 (February 2003): 28-31, 34-35.; and D. Betsy McCoach, “Using the Web for Social Studies Enrichment,” *Gifted Child Today* 25 (Summer 2002) p. 48-52.

explorers had walked over the new territory, and they were describing its vast resources to the pioneers who would follow.

Websites, email, listservs, and the like were all very well and good, and probably would provide the teacher with worthwhile classroom tools, but, as Tally's piece demonstrated, it was access to the primary sources that really excited the writers on the subject. By the 1990s, most social studies and history teachers knew of the value of teaching with primary sources, whether they actually used them in their own instruction or not. Most of the writers praising the advent of the Web believed that it carried the promise of *finally* providing the resources necessary for teaching with the long sought-after source method.⁷⁰⁹ No longer would teachers need to cobble together their own packets. No longer would they need to purchase the expensive commercially-produced packets of materials, most often called "jackdaws," to supplement their lessons. The World Wide Web could be the jackdaw to end all jackdaws.⁷¹⁰ And, if they were lucky,

⁷⁰⁹ For one more article advocating the use of primary sources, see H. Dhand, "The Source Method to Teach Social Studies," *Canadian Social Studies* 26, 4 (1995): 165-69; John A. McCoy, *Student Validation of Primary Source Documents*, Available full text through ERIC 389 202.

⁷¹⁰ Phillip J. VanFossen, et. al., "Using the Internet to Create Primary Source Teaching Packets," *The Social Studies* 91 (November/December 2000): 244-52. A "jackdaw" is a packet of primary source material reproductions which are commercially produced by Jackdaw Productions. Jackdaw produces dozens of primary source packets on all sorts of topics (Vikings, Story of the Declaration of Independence, Women's Rights, etc.). A typical packet might include reproductions of maps, photographs, speeches, etc. In the 1990s, these packets typically cost around \$40. This company is named for a jackdaw, which is the British cousin of the crow. These birds are known to pick up bright-colored objects and carry them back to their nests. In the process they tend to collect a wide variety of objects. Thus in a Jackdaw packet, the primary sources are the bright objects "carried back" to the packet for use in the classroom. For a discussion of supplementary materials that promote active learning in the classroom including ancillary materials provided by textbook publishers (maps, illustrations, activities, etc. historical events from various points of view) and the software program, Web Course in a Box, from the time see Margaret Manchester, "'Doing History': Evaluating Technologies That Promote Active Learning in the History Classroom," in Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Merriman, ed.s

teachers might even be able to find local materials on the Web to help illustrate national and international events in a local context.

Noting that “[s]adly, the primary sources found in textbooks tend to be more decorative than informative,” Mark Newmark, too, was excited about the possibilities of Web-based history teaching materials, which he hoped would be broader in scope than those which had populated supplemental course packets for years.⁷¹¹ The Web, unlike those traditional packets, could provide materials about women and minorities in history; it could provide more sources for social history rather than the traditional political, economic and military topics so often covered by school history, its textbooks, and their supplements.⁷¹² In addition, Newmark looked forward to “stand-alone” primary sources, those without narrative, and the inherent bias involved in that narrative, no matter how bland and factual they might appear on the surface. The very selection of those bland facts was a form of bias. “If primary sources are to foster individual thinking and hone analytical skills, then primary sources should optimally be presented to students with a minimum of outside interference.”⁷¹³ Not only that, but he argued that the Web promised to give teachers an extraordinary amount of control over the materials being presented. It

History.edu: Essays on Teaching with Technology (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001): 108-115. Web Course in a Box is basically a course management tool.

⁷¹¹ Mark S. Newmark, “Navigating the Internet for Sources in American History,” (in the Craft of Teaching) *The History Teacher*, 30 (May, 1997): 283-292.

⁷¹² Mark S. Newmark, “Navigating the Internet for Sources in American History,” *The History Teacher* (May 1997): 283 At the time of publication, Newmark was a teacher in the Isidore Newman School in New Orleans.

⁷¹³ Mark S. Newmark, “Navigating the Internet for Sources in American History,” *The History Teacher* (May 1997): 284 (This issue of *History Teacher* has these articles which set up use of Web in a particular area, then follow with “Webliographies.”

was a level of flexibility never offered by a textbook. Teachers could download materials that they wanted to use, edit it, and provide their version to the class. They could construct their own virtual fieldtrips. The excitement was palpable. Even the *New York Times* got into the game and posted a lesson plan about primary sources and history as a part of its own new student/teacher Website, *The New York Times* “Learning Network.”⁷¹⁴ (Targeted at grades six through twelve, the lesson plan provided was based upon the analysis of a newspaper article. In the lesson, students examined the role of primary source documents and the availability of these documents on the Internet.) After all, as one writer put it, every high school student does dissection in biology class, but almost none do history in history class. The Web could give them the equivalence of the scalpel and fetal pig, show them the “real” history, and cut away some of the dullness involved in the subject. And, best of all, there were all sorts of good things on the Internet.⁷¹⁵ The Internet was a *huge* and ever-growing warehouse for primary sources, as

⁷¹⁴ Alison Zimbalist and Zorin Driggs, “Digging up Artifacts On Line: Using Primary Sources in the Social Studies or Language Arts Classroom,” *New York Times* Learning Network Web site, created November 30, 1998 and viewed through OCLC’s Firstsearch on January 31, 2005 at <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/teachers/lessons/19981130monday.html?searchpv=learning%5Flessons>. The *New York Times*’ Learning Network is now a part of the papers Newspapers in Education Project. See <http://www.nytimes.com/learning/>

⁷¹⁵ Wilson J. Warren, “Using the World Wide Web For Primary Source Research in Secondary History Classes,” in Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Merriman, ed.s *History.edu: Essays on Teaching with Technology* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001): 171-179. For a few other examples of articles calling for careful selection of materials from the Web for the teaching of history, see Daniel F. Rulli, “Big and Famous is Not Always Best: Guidelines for Selecting Teachable Documents,” *Social Education* 67(2003): 378-81; Elisabeth McGrath, “Is it Unique and Compelling? A Test for Internet Activities in the Classroom,” *Momentum* 32 (September/October 2001): 26-8. In his article, Wilson J. Warren modeled a type of inquiry-based historical activity. He pointed to materials at the National Archives, and then discussed a module on the development of barbed wire and the development of the frontier, including how he had divided his class into groups, which explored pre-selected materials, including Cole Porter’s song, “Don’t Fence Me In.” Warren’s class also created a “patent” for a new design for something used in the classroom, and they also used census data to build both math and history skills.

one well-known researcher in the field noted; the expectations were high, the promoters of a more constructive history classroom euphoric.⁷¹⁶

The Discovery Phase

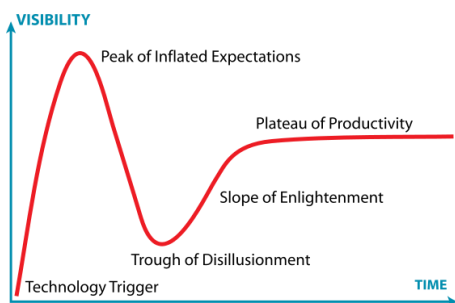
It was very easy to put things on the Web. Anyone could do it, and throughout the 1990s it looked like most people *were* doing it. Teachers, one prolific writer on history instruction warned, should pay close attention to these sites and evaluate these new Web resources closely.⁷¹⁷ It was this evaluation of the huge amount of “good stuff” to be found on the Web (with brief suggestions for its incorporation into the classroom, including lesson plans and activities), that seemed to develop into its own professional genre for a while.⁷¹⁸ Teachers and professors of education were in their “discovery phase.”⁷¹⁹

⁷¹⁶ John K. Lee, “Digital History in the History/Social Studies Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 35 (August 2002): 503. For a brief sampling of those articles displaying the excitement noted by Lee, see Lee Ann Potter, “The Digital Classroom,” *Information Searcher* 10 (1998): 28-31; Mark W. Gordon, “Making Sense of a Changing World: Digitized Primary Source Documents in Schools,” in Barbara K. Stripling, ed., *Learning and Libraries in an Information Age*. (Greenwich CT: Libraries Unlimited, 1999); Deborah Hopkinson, Lesley S. J. Farmer; Jacqueline Briggs Martin, and Sharron L. McElmeel, “History Must Be Seen; Plug into Primary Sources; Kids Search: Social Studies Research and Local Resources,” *Library Talk*, 14 (November-December, 2001): 6-8, 10-15. Phyllis DiBianco, “Primary Sources: Clues to the Past,” *Information Searcher* 13 (2002): 18-19; Lisa Trumbauer, “E-Activities: Internet-based Activities To Expand Your History Curriculum,” *Instructor* 111 (January/February 2002): 65; Alice Yucht, “As the World Turns: Social Studies and the Library Media Connection,” *Library Media Connection* 22 (October 2003): 14-16, 18-19; Ronald Schachter, “Bringing History to Life,” *Technology & Learning* (April 2003): 13-15; Adrienne Lim, “Collaborative Digitization Projects: Opportunities to Enhance Teaching and Learning,” *Information Technology and Libraries*, 22 (June 2003) p. 75-8.

⁷¹⁷ John K. Lee, “Digital History in the History/Social Studies Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 35 (August 2002): 503-17.

⁷¹⁸ William Tally, “Up Against Authentic History: Helping Teachers Make the Most of Primary Sources Online,” *Electronic Learning* 16 (1996): 40-41. The story of computers to teach history seems to follow the well-known, “hype cycle.” Jackie Fenn, “When to Leap on the Hype Cycle,” *Gartner Group*, January 1, 1995.

Beginning in 1996, the journal *Social Education* began to publish a regular featured column on “technology.” The goal of this column was to guide educators in locating and utilizing World Wide Web resources. And *Social Education* wasn’t the only publication carrying a regular slate of suggestions for good sites to explore. The Web sites and suggested topics for study varied widely, from the broad (the “19th Century American History Top 11 sites;” “some of the best 20th century American history sites,” “ten good Web sites on general history,” “primary sources second to none on the Internet,” and “Web wonders”) to the specific (the Salem Witch Trials, Japanese Internment, the Underground Railroad, and the Holocaust); topics included wars (especially the American Revolution and the Civil War), the presidency (in general), specific presidents, Congress, the Constitution, the American South, sports history, and the “non-sports hall of fame.”⁷²⁰ And that is a short list. In an analysis of the literature, one pair of



For the above image see, <http://www.spellboundblog.com/>

⁷¹⁹ One good personal account of a teacher coming to use the Internet: Howard M. Wach, “How I Arrived on the Web: A History’s Teacher’s Tale,” *The History Teacher* 36 (November 2002): 75-88.

⁷²⁰ Scott Merriman, “Electronic Resources: A 19th Century American History Top 11,” 9 (October 2006) viewed on February 18, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2006/issue2/merriman.php>; Dennis Trinkle and Scott Merriman, “Some of the Best 20th Century American History Sites,” *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* 4 (August 2001) viewed on February 9, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2001/issue2/reviews/merriman.php>; Dennis Trinkle and Scott Merriman, “Ten Good Web Sites on General History,” *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* 5 (November 2002) viewed on February 9, 2009 at

researchers found that between the Spring of 1996 and the Fall of 2001, there were 325 articles, texts, chapters, and government reports pertaining to technology and the social studies. A total of 102 of those articles, or 31.3% of them, pertained to the Web as a repository for the classroom.⁷²¹

<http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2002/issue3/reviews/trinkle.php>; Peter Milbury, "Primary Sources: Second to None on the Web," *Book Report* 18(May/June 1999): 45-48; J. Troutner, "Web Wonders," *Teacher Librarian* 28 (December 2000): 38-40 (This was a regular column written by Troutner in *Teacher Librarian*, which apparently ran from 1998 until 2001); Kenneth D. Fink, "The Future of the Past: History Sources on the Internet," *Searcher* 8 (November/December 2000): 46-52; Deanne Shiroma, "Using Primary Sources on the Internet to Teach and Learn History," viewed on January 31, 2006 at <http://www.ericdigests.org/2001-1/history.html>; Blythe Bennett, "Internet Resources: Student Resources," *Teacher Librarian* 28 (September 2000): 12-14; Benjamin Ray, "Salem Witch Trials," *Organization of American Historians Magazine of History* 17 (July 2003): 32-6; Gary Mukai, "Teaching about Japanese-American Internment," ERIC Digest. December 1, 2000; Lisa Trumbauer, "E-Activities: Internet-based Activities To Expand Your History Curriculum," *Instructor* 111 (January/February 2002): 65 [Underground Railroad]; Ann E. Barron and Roy Winkelman, "A Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust: An Online Review," *Social Education* 65(2001): 140-143. Ann E. Barron, Brendan Calandra, John Fitzpatrick, and Kate Kemker, "Teacher's Guide to the Holocaust: An Extensive Online Resource for Teachers." *Journal of Computers in Social Studies*, 9(2001); D. Antonio Cantu, "Teaching the American Revolution and Founding of the American Republic on the Web," *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* (November 2001) viewed on August 21, 2008 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2001/issue3/k-12/cantu/>; Rick Dyson, "The Civil War on the Internet: A Selection of the Best Web Sources for Educators and Students," *Social Studies* 95 (September –October 2004): 211; Scott Merriman, "Legal History Sites and a Few Good Lesser Known General Ones," 8 (September 2005) viewed on <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2005/issue2/reviews/merriman.php>; Sarah E. Drake and Thomas S. Vontz, "Teaching about the U.S. Presidency. ERIC Digest. October 1, 2000; Thomas S. Vontz and William A. Nixon, "Teaching about George Washington," ERIC Digest. December 1, 1998; Thomas S. Vontz, and Sarah E. Drake, "Teaching about the U.S. Congress," ERIC Digest; Monica Edinger, "Fourth Graders and the Constitution," *Knowledge Quest* 29 (September/October 2000): 32-3; Derek H. Alderman, et. al. "Finding the Southern Part of Cyberspace: Using the Internet to Teach the South," *Journal of Geography* 97 (July/October 1998): 213-27; Scott Merriman, "Sports History," 7 (December 2004) viewed on February 18, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2006/issue2/merriman.php>; Scott Merriman, "Non-Sports Halls of Fame," 8 (May 2005) viewed on February 18, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2005/issue1/reviews/merriman.php>; Scott Merriman and Fred Risinger were most prolific in finding sites around a specific theme and writing them up for professional journals with ideas for their integration into the classroom.

⁷²¹ Shelli A. Whitworth and Michael J. Berson, "Computer Technology in the Social Studies: An Examination of the Effectiveness Literature (1996-2001)" *CITE* (Contemporary Issues in Technology and Teacher Education) 2(4) viewed on January 31 2006 at <http://www.citejournal.org/vol2/iss4/socialstudies/article1.cfm> (an electronic journal).

Articles such as these descriptive pieces led to highly popular books that organized Websites along certain themes, while also providing useful suggestions for the classroom. Berson, Cruz, Duplass and Johnston's *Social Studies on the Internet* was first published in 2000 and went in to three editions by 2007.⁷²² The authors covered general databases for use in education, Internet terminology, Internet safety, and legal issues involved in using Web materials, but they spent most of their efforts on providing an in-depth look at a range of online resources available to the classroom teacher. Among the Websites described were those of the National Archives and Records Administration, the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the National Park Service, the University of Virginia's Valley of the Shadow, the National Women's History Museum (still only an online institution), the History Channel, the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill's "Documenting the American South" site, the National Museum of American Indian, the History Place (an advertiser-supported, private publication written by Philip Gavin); and the Government Printing Office's "Core Documents of US Democracy," among others.⁷²³ Dennis Trinkle and Scott Merriman's *The History Highway* went in to four editions by 2006.⁷²⁴ Each edition largely followed the outline of

⁷²² M. J. Berson, B. Cruz, B. J. Duplass, and H. Johnston, *Social Studies on the Internet* 3rd edition (Merrill/Prentice Hall, 2007) first in 2000.

⁷²³ Philip Gavin is the author of *World War II in Europe* (San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, 2004) and *The Fall of Viet Nam* (San Diego, CA: Lucent Books, 2003), both histories for young people. The History Place was first published on the Web in 1996. For a good early discussion of the Smithsonian's educational web site, see Stephanie Norby, "Hardwired Into History," *Educational Leadership* 61 (December 2003/January 2004): 48-53.

⁷²⁴ Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Meeirman, eds., *The History Highway 3.0: A Guide To Internet Resources*, 3rd ed. (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002). Trinkle was a professor in Instructional Technology at Depauw University and was later named associate vice president for

the first. This book provides a general introduction to the skills and tools necessary to navigate the Internet and then plunges in to a series of chapters that briefly describe a few thousand history-related sites on the Internet. Using one of the earliest similes for the Web, the “superhighway,” this work acts as a guidebook of sorts, telling the traveler the worthwhile places to explore while categorizing those “places:” state historical societies, maps, libraries, archives, museums, ancient history, world history, Medieval and Renaissance history, military history, religious history, etc. Trinkle and Merriman also note whether the sites are oriented toward researchers or teachers. Another popular, book-sized work along these lines was Joseph Braun and Frederick Risinger’s *Surfing Social Studies: The Internet Book*. Theirs was more than a directory of notable sites, and included chapters by individuals which look closely at specific teaching tools (such as classroom Web sites), and methodologies (such as the use of “virtual tours” and problem-based or art-based learning), as well as different subjects (geography, history, civic education, economics).⁷²⁵ As two writers noted in 1997, the number, scope, variety, and

academic affairs and chief information officer at the school. Scott Merriman is a professor of history at the University of Kentucky.

⁷²⁵ Joseph A. Braun Jr. and Frederick Risinger, eds. *Surfing Social Studies: The Internet Book* (Washington, DC: National Council for the Social Studies, 1999) Chapters in the book are: (1) "Effective Internet Searching" (Barbara Brehm); (2) "The Webmaster's Tale" (Tim Dugan); (3) "The Classroom Website" (Timothy A. Keiper and Linda Bennett); (4) "Teaching History" (Frederick Risinger); (5) "The Virtual Tour" (Eileen Giuffre Cotton); (6) "Teaching Geography" (Cheryl L. Mason and Marsha Alibrandi); (7) "Creating Teledemocracy" (Bruce Larson and Timothy A. Keiper); (8) "Civic Education" (Bruce Larson and Angie Harwood); (9) "Economics Education" (Lawrence A. Weiser and Mark C. Schug); (10) "Global Education" (Bob Coulson and Alma Vallisneri); (11) "Global Issues" (Gregory A. Levitt); (12) "Art-Based Resources" (David B. Williams); (13) "Multiculturalism and the Internet" (Deborah A. Byrnes and Grace Huerta); (14) "Teacher Education" (D. Mark Myers); (15) "Problem-Based Learning" (Anthony W. Lorschach and Fred Basolo, Jr.); (16) "Citizenship Projects" (John W. Saye and John D. Hoge); (17) "Civic-Moral Development" (Joseph A. Braun, Jr.); (18) "Safe Web Exploration" (Michael Berson and Eileen Berson); and (19) "Assessment" (Pat Nickell). Frederick Risinger is the Director of Professional Development, School Services, and Summer School at Indiana

up-to-date nature of much of the information on the Web could be used to meet a range of performance expectations identified by the National Council for the Social Studies Curriculum Standards for Social Studies, and as the huge number of articles and these popular books demonstrated, the Web, was, as David Boldt and his colleagues described it, a “curriculum warehouse.”⁷²⁶ A teacher need only go in and pull down a few related Web sites by reputable organizations or institutions, and he or she was ready to roll.

Really?

Despite there being one computer for every five students in schools on average nationally at the turn of the century, that didn’t seem to be happening.⁷²⁷ One researcher found an overwhelming majority of teachers had access to the Internet, but most used it infrequently, and when they did it was for basic information gathering only, not more in-depth curriculum support.⁷²⁸ Some believed this was because they did not have time to select and evaluate the Web materials.⁷²⁹ It could also have been due to the fact that few

University’s School of Education. Joseph A. Braun, Jr. is a professor in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Illinois State University.

⁷²⁶ David J. Boldt, et al, “The Internet: A Curriculum Warehouse for Social Studies Teachers,” *Social Studies* 86 (May/June, 1995): 105-112; Clark Johnson, and Jack Rector, “The Internet Ten: Using the Internet to Meet Social Studies Curriculum Standards. *Social Education*, 61(1997): 167-169.

⁷²⁷ J. K. Lee, “Digital History in the History/Social Studies Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 35 (August 2002): 503-17.

⁷²⁸ Phillip J. VanFossen, “An Analysis of the Use of the Internet and World Wide Web by Secondary Social Studies Teachers in Indiana,” *The International Journal of Social Education* 14 (1999/2000): 87-109.

⁷²⁹ L. Cuban, H. Kirkpatrick, and C. Peck, “High Access and Low Use of Technologies in High School: Explaining an Apparent Paradox,” *American Educational Research Journal* 38 (2001): 813-834.

had any training on how to incorporate Web-based materials into the classroom and didn't have much of an idea on how to go about getting it.

Chapter 8.

Scaffolding Inquiry

“‘History’ is a Greek word which means, literally, just ‘investigation.’”
Arnold Toynbee

Webquests
WIPS
Wikinquiry

As one writer on the subject observed in 1997, “Volume of content does not equate with richness of experience. . . . One of the chief dangers of information overload is that it can, at one and the same time, inhibit authentic thinking, and seduce us into believing that all we need to solve problems is yet more information.”⁷³⁰ As another writer noted, one of the chief challenges to the teaching of history in an authentic way is its very vastness. The amount of detail, the number of players, the huge array of evidentiary sources and the multiple interpretations of those sources is massive. To the beginner, it all seems unmanageable and confusing.⁷³¹ The Web only added to these concerns. A teacher could not just sit a student in front of a computer screen and say, “Find some sources and write me a paper on the Civil War.” Even when that teacher

⁷³⁰ Michael Bonnet, “Computers in the Classroom: Some Values Issues,” in A. McFarlane, ed., *Information Technology and Authentic Learning: Realising the Potential of Computers in the Primary Classroom* (London: Routledge, 1997): 155.

⁷³¹ Christine Counsell, “Defining Effectiveness in History Using IT: Approaches in Successful Practice,” (London: BECTa Association, 1998) cited in Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Hayden and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

happened to pull up the search engine Yahoo to aid in searching, the amount of materials returned could be overwhelming.⁷³² In a November, 1996 essay in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, well-known historian Gertrude Himmelfarb stated that she was "disturbed by some aspects of ... the new technology's impact on learning and scholarship." She complained that "the Internet does not distinguish between the true and the false, the important and the trivial, the enduring and the ephemeral." Internet search engines, she said, "will produce a comic strip or advertising slogan as readily as a quotation from the Bible or Shakespeare."⁷³³ Eight years later, Leon Botstein, president of Bard College and also a historian, concurred, telling *The New York Times* that a Google search of the Web "overwhelms you with too much information, much of which is hopelessly unreliable or beside the point. It's like looking for a lost ring in a vacuum bag. What you end up with mostly are bagel crumbs and dirt."⁷³⁴ And, as another

⁷³² Cynthia Szymanski Sunal, Coralee Smith, Dennis W. Sunal, and J. Britt, "Using the Internet to Create Meaningful Instruction," *The Social Studies* 89 (1998): 13-17. Fairly early on, Deborah Lines Andersen decided to test what sort of results one would get if the historical research involved only Web-based information. See Deborah Lines Anderson, "Heuristics for Educational Use and Evaluation of Electronic Information: A Case for Shaker History on the World Wide Web," *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* 2 (August 1999) viewed on February 14, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/1999/issue2/articles/andersen/> Her finding?"[I]t seems absurd to throw students onto the Web and ask them to find information that meets their research needs. Not only is pertinent information hard to find, but it is a frustrating waste of teaching time." Anderson later became an editor of the *Journal for the Association of History and Computing*.

⁷³³ Quoted in Roy Rosenzweig, "Digital Archives are the Gift of Wisdom to be Used Wisely," viewed on May 29, 2009 at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/resources/essays/d/32>. This essay was originally published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* 51 (June 24, 2005): B20. Gertrude Himmelfarb, also known as Bea Kristol, is a scholar of the Victorian era and writes intellectual history. She is professor emeritus from City University of New York and is married to William Kristol who is known as the "godfather of neoconservatism."

⁷³⁴ Quoted in Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, "No Computer Left Behind," viewed on June 1, 2009 at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/resources/essays/d/38>, originally published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* (February 24, 2006). This sentiment was quite widespread at the time. See David Shenk, *Data Smog* (San Francisco: Harper Edge, 1997).

longtime researcher in history education complained, even if all of the information returned on a search were highly valid, it would take forever to sort through that huge amount of valid information to get to the most useful. “Sounds like librarians’ work! Think of walking into a library with over 320 million documents and no card catalog.”⁷³⁵

As late as 2004, educators were worrying about the disorganized nature of Web resources and the inability to efficiently find useful sources. In that year, John Lee and Philip Molebash explored the use of the Internet to provide evidence for a historical question.⁷³⁶ They asked 30 graduate students in education to use online sources to answer the question, “How was the Cuban Missile Crisis resolved? The participants were divided into three groups, each given a different search/scaffolding strategy. One was asked to use the Google search engine, another was given a collection of 275 documents, and the last was given five “high-quality” sources. Four primary findings resulted: 1) Google can return high-quality sources by using such simple terms as “Cuban Missile Crisis;” 2) learners need mediating pedagogical structures when using large and medium size archival historical collections for historical inquiry; and 3) participants who used the five pre-selected documents were more likely to retain contextualized knowledge; and 4) residual learning effects are related to reflective thinking which occurs during and after using digital historical resources. The authors recommended that Web developers

⁷³⁵ James P. Shaver, “Electronic Technology and the Future of Social Studies in Elementary and Secondary Schools,” *Journal of Education* 181 (1999): 18. Of course, historians do this all of the time in manuscripts collections. Finding aids get them close to what they are looking for, and then it is the hunt . . .

⁷³⁶ John K. Lee and Philip E. Molebash, “Outcomes of Various Scaffolding Strategies on Student Teachers’ Digital Historical Inquiries,” *Journal of Social Studies Research* 28 (Fall 2004): 25-35. Kelly Schrum also discussed the need to teach evaluation of Web sites, see Kelly Schrum, “Surfing for the Past: How to Separate the Good from the Bad,” AHA Perspectives (May 2003), viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/resources/essays/d/7>.

consider the limitations of online historical resources and suggested that social studies teacher educators and K-12 teachers carefully select Web based historical resources for use in their class.

Others at the time didn't worry so much about the levels of "bad" information or its lack of organization. They worried about how the good information, once found, would be used to teach. As Roy Rosenzweig commented, "Thus far we have done much better at democratizing access to resources than at providing the kind of instruction that would give meaning to those resources. Hundreds of millions of dollars have gone into digitizing historical resources; the money devoted to using the Web to teach students the kinds of historical procedures that trained historians make part of their routine can be measured in the hundreds of thousands of dollars."⁷³⁷ Or, as another writer noted about the promise of the web, or lack thereof, it "is less a transformer of data or processor of symbol systems . . . than a conduit to other people's information." It carries the promise of freeing learners from tedious, low-level tasks, allowing time for higher level thinking, and, like most classroom tools, it can be used to support either traditional or innovative means of teaching.⁷³⁸ In addition to that, Terry Hayden noted that all of this access leads to another unwanted effect, the "leaving for later" phenomenon. Students and teachers, faced with a huge amount of information, will gather, gather, and gather pleased with the "progress" that they are making, all the time knowing that they will assimilate this wealth of information later. Later, Hayden writes, rarely comes. Hayden also worried that all of

⁷³⁷ Roy Rosenzweig, "Digital Archives are a Gift to be Used Wisely," viewed on May 29, 2009 at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/resources/essays/d/32>. This essay was originally published in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* 51 (June 24, 2005): B20.

⁷³⁸ Mark Windschitl, "The WWW and Classroom Research: What Path Should We Take?" *Educational Researcher* 27 (January-February 1998): 28-33.

this easy retrieval of information might make students accustomed to getting quick and easy answers, leading them to be unwilling to spend time on tasks that might take longer to master.⁷³⁹ “The excitement about access to information is that it is the first step to expertise, to knowledge construction. Only when access to data is seen as a first step—rather than as an end unto itself, will it be useful.”⁷⁴⁰ As one exhaustive analysis of the literature on the effectiveness of technology to teach social studies, stated, “If the findings of this study are representative of social studies education and classrooms, then it appears that computers continue to serve the primary function of facilitating students' access to content and remain somewhat relegated to being an appendage to traditional classroom materials”⁷⁴¹ The Web, then, appeared to be just another means of offering content. A lot of content. But accessing content is not learning. Obviously, this content had to be prepared for the class, if it was going to teach students in the way Roy Rosenzweig seemed to hope.

Frederick Risinger, author of the column in *Social Education* that regularly featured Web sites for the classroom, stated that the one question posed to him most often was, “O.K., I have an Internet connection in my classroom. Now tell me how

⁷³⁹ Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Haydn and Christine Counsell, eds., *History, ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

⁷⁴⁰ Christopher Dede, quoted in Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Haydn and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

⁷⁴¹ Shelli A. Whitworth and Michael J. Berson, “Computer Technology in the Social Studies: An Examination of the Effectiveness Literature (1996-2001)” *CITE* (Contemporary Issues in Technology and Teacher Education) 2(4) viewed on January 31 2006 at <http://www.citejournal.org/vol2/iss4/socialstudies/article1.cfm> (an electronic journal).

to teach with it.”⁷⁴² Risinger admitted that “[n]early all the columns in this series [“Surfing the Net” in *Social Education*] have focused on content;” he had not focused as much on instructional strategies. (Few of his fellow chroniclers of good educational Web sites had done so either in any in-depth way.) In response to this repeated request, Risinger noted that just as there was no best way to use a textbook or a library, there was no best way to use Web resources. The Web could be a powerful source for individual research projects, but it could also support collaborative project work (which, he noted, current research seemed to indicate has a greater affect on student achievement). There were also logistical concerns to factor in. For example, the way that a teacher might choose to use the Web depends upon his or her school’s Internet connection and the number of those connections he or she might have available. In short, there was no simple answer to that oft-asked question. And, even if there was a simple answer, it would not lie in the technology. As James P. Shaver noted, “Research on instructional technology suggests that more thoughtful curriculum development and careful instructional design are more likely to enhance learning than the particular delivery medium used.”⁷⁴³ Or, as the editor’s note in an early 20th century sourcebook for history classes explained, “We have no wish to prescribe for the teacher the manner in which he shall exercise his craft,” the editors explained, “but simply to provide him and his pupils with materials hitherto not readily accessible for school purposes. The very moderate price of the books in this series should bring them within the reach of every secondary school. Source books enable the pupil to take a more active part than hitherto in the

⁷⁴² Frederick Risinger, “Instructional Strategies for the World Wide Web,” *Social Education* 62(1998): 110-111.

⁷⁴³ James P. Shaver, “Electronic Technology and the Future of Social Studies in Elementary and Secondary Schools,” *Journal of Education* 181 (1999): 13-40.

history lesson. Here is the apparatus, the raw material: its use we leave to the teacher and taught."⁷⁴⁴

Many of those not satisfied with Risinger's answer to the "how to teach" question, apparently turned to Kathleen Craver. One of the most often cited and influential early works that addressed how to teach with online primary sources was Craver's 1999 book, *Using Internet Primary Sources To Teach Critical Thinking Skills in History*.⁷⁴⁵ This work provided more than one hundred recommended primary source Internet sites, but went beyond earlier "directories of the teaching Web" to also provide guidelines and examples for using a variety of primary sources in a number of formats to help stimulate critical thinking skills. "Faced with expanded access and increased storage and retrieval capabilities in an electronic environment, we are fast discovering how obsolete our former methods of instruction have become and how particularly limiting the textbook-lecture-classroom approach is to learning in this new electronic age."⁷⁴⁶ Citing Robert Reich's *The Work of Nations*, Craver argued that the future workforce would be made up of "symbolic-analysts who would need to be able to combine four critical thinking skills: abstraction, system thinking, experimentation, and collaboration."⁷⁴⁷ Reading, writing,

⁷⁴⁴ James Munro, ed. *Canada: 1535–1913*, (Edinburgh: George Bell and Sons, 1913): 3.

⁷⁴⁵ Kathleen W. Craver, *Using Internet Primary Sources To Teach Critical Thinking Skills in History*. (Greenwood Professional Guides in School Librarianship, 1999). Craver is head librarian at the National Cathedral School in Washington, DC and the author of several well-received works on school library media.

⁷⁴⁶ Craver, Kathleen W. *Using Internet Primary Sources to Teach Critical Thinking Skills in History*. Greenwood Professional Guides in School Librarianship. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1999): i.

⁷⁴⁷ Robert Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism* (A.A. Knopf, 1991). She also cites Richard Paul's *Critical Thinking: What Every Person Needs to Survive in a Rapidly Changing World* (Rohnert Park, CA: Foundation for Critical Thinking,

public speaking, and group interaction are among the activities which build critical thinking skills, she maintained, and history was just the subject to teach these skills.⁷⁴⁸ When learning to do history, students learn to infer, hypothesize, examine multiple perspectives, deal with cultural nuances, understand the importance of context, examine internal and external evidence, discern main ideas in a source, make generalizations supported by evidence, communicate ideas clearly and persuasively, and work together in groups. But to teach these skills, students must be able to practice the “doing of history,” and to practice the doing of history, they must have access to primary sources, or reasonable facsimiles thereof.⁷⁴⁹ She illustrated multiple approaches to teaching with primary sources: thematic approach, database approach (on one topic, students form their own thesis), role playing approach (put themselves in someone else’s shoes), class involvement (mock trials), Counter factual approach (students ask “What if?”), assignment approach (individual questions), and simulation approach (allows students to see immediate consequences of actions), among them.⁷⁵⁰

1992). He makes the point that students can compute math problems but cannot reason; they can write a dent sentence but cannot construct a convincing written argument.

⁷⁴⁸ Craver, Kathleen W. Using Internet Primary Sources to Teach Critical Thinking Skills in History. Greenwood Professional Guides in School Librarianship. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1999): 4-5.

⁷⁴⁹ Craver, Kathleen W. Using Internet Primary Sources to Teach Critical Thinking Skills in History. Greenwood Professional Guides in School Librarianship. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1999): 6, citing Norman Cantor and Richard I. Schneider, *How to Study History* (New York: Thomas W. Crowell, 1968): 8.

⁷⁵⁰ Craver, Kathleen W. Using Internet Primary Sources to Teach Critical Thinking Skills in History. Greenwood Professional Guides in School Librarianship. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1999): 6, citing Norman Cantor and Richard I. Schneider, *How to Study History* (New York: Thomas W. Crowell, 1968): 26-27.

In their attempt to answer this same question, “How do you teach history with the Web,” Randy Bass and Roy Rosenzweig, responded by asking another question, “What are we trying to accomplish?” As they pointed out, it’s difficult to know how best to do something, if you don’t really know what it is you are trying to do. One can provide an answer to Bass and Rosenzweig’s question by looking back at the wave of “using-primary-sources-in-your-classroom” publications that appeared following the New Social Studies movement. The authors of these works generally agreed with a raft of thinkers on the subject who had gone before: primary sources were best used to spark the interest of students, to give them a feel for the past, to help them make connections to an earlier age, and to give them exposure to the very nature of the subject, while building critical thinking and communication skills. Bass and Rosenzweig identify the same kind of objectives for the online teaching of history and argued that the most successful classroom use of digital technologies to accomplish these goals fall into three broad categories: inquiry-based learning, the bridging of reading and writing through online interaction, and making student work public through the use of new media formats.⁷⁵¹ Of these three categories, inquiry-based learning appears to be the one most often pursued in

⁷⁵¹ Randy Bass and Roy Rosenzweig, “Rewiring the History and Social Studies Classroom: Needs, Frameworks, Dangers, and Proposals,” *Journal of Education* 181 (1999): 41-61. Roy Rosenzweig founded the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University in 1994. Since its founding, this center has “used digital media and computer technology to democratize history—to incorporate multiple voices, reach diverse audiences, and encourage popular participation in presenting and preserving the past.” Rosenzweig, who passed away in 2007, was an American historian and co-authored the award winning CD-ROM *Who Built America?* And, with Daniel J. Cohen, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006). He and the Center for New Media received a great deal of attention outside of history and the academy for their work in documenting and preserving online materials concerning the September 11, 2001 attack on the World Trade Center. The Center has also developed groundbreaking opensource software to aid in the doing of “digital history,” such as Zotero, a reference management application, and Omeka, which is a Web publishing system that uses Dublin Core and allows for the creation of ‘Web exhibits.’ For more information, see “About the Center for History and New Media” at <http://chnm.gmu.edu/about/>. Randall, “Randy” Bass is an Associate professor in the English

the history classroom—and it is the methodology pursued in one form or another since Mary Sheldon Barnes first picked up the “Source Method” call more than one hundred years ago. At least, it is the methodology most often written about in the literature.⁷⁵² The word “history,” is, after all, derived from the Greek word for “to inquire.”

Webquests

Using inquiry methodology, a teacher might ask that his or her students use “Valley of the Shadow” to describe—in some sort of project—the life of free Blacks before the Civil War. Technology, itself, does not necessarily have to be used with this form of methodology, but technology does provide greater access to the resources required for the associated classroom activities. And those resources are often more compelling than a stack of photocopies. But, as has been pointed out, this access provides its own set of challenges. The Web has a lot of materials. It is always changing, and teachers have a limited amount of time. Knowing that they needed a mechanism to provide structure to the inquiry-learning process to make them more manageable through selection and contextualization, in 1995 San Diego State University’s Bernie Dodge and Tom March developed Webquests, an inquiry-oriented lesson format, which leads

Department and an assistant provost, Teaching and Learning Initiatives Executive Director, Center for New Designs in Learning & Scholarship Director, Visible Knowledge Project at Georgetown University.

⁷⁵² Inquiry-based learning is a close relative to problem-based learning, both belong to the constructivist family. See Peter Milbury and Brett Silva, “Problem Based Learning, Primary Sources, and Information Literacy,” *Multimedia Schools* 5 (September-October 1998): 40-44; Susan E. Gibson, “How Can Social Studies Teachers Best Use the Internet with Young Learners,” *Canadian Social Studies* 39 (Fall 2004), viewed on July 5, 2009 at www.quasar.ualberta.ca/css ; Andrew J. Milson, “The Internet and Inquiry Learning: Integrating Medium and Method in a Sixth Grade Social Studies Classroom,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 30, 3 (2002): 330-353; and Randy Bass, “Engines of Inquiry: Teaching, Technology, and Learner-Centered Approaches to Culture and History,” *Crossroads* Web site, viewed on February 19, 2009 at <http://cndls.georgetown.edu/crossroads/about/publications/engines1.cfm>

learners through the process of reading, analyzing, and synthesizing Web-based materials. In Webquests, teachers preselect Websites and link to them, allowing students to spend time working with information resources, rather than searching for information resources.⁷⁵³ A Webquest process includes an introduction, task, process, evaluation, and conclusion, all developed by the teacher. The most important part of the model is the “task,” which provides a concrete, focused activity for the students to pursue, which ideally would be “authentic” (in other words, something that a person might actually need or want to do outside the walls of a classroom). These tasks should strive to capture the students’ attention, and lead them to “stretch,” going beyond what they initially think that they might be able to do. Webquests almost immediately became extremely popular with teachers because they could be created fairly easily, and they were highly flexible. As a result, Webquests have been developed to teach a wide range of historical topics.⁷⁵⁴

WIPS

Variations on Webquests for the teaching of history include Milson and Downey’s call for collaborative Webquests, which was based upon social constructivist thought and assessments of learning that routinely show the value of group work, and Philip Molebash’s Web Inquiry Projects (WIPs) which provide “[o]pen inquiry learning

⁷⁵³ For more on Webquests, see <http://webquest.org/index.php>. The paper that started Webquests, “Some Thoughts on Webquests” by Bernie Dodge may be found at http://webquest.sdsu.edu/about_webquests.html. The Oracle Education Foundation sponsors a free, online platform to support its own project-based learning model, which is similar to Webquests. This platform and model is called “Thinkquest.” See www.thinkquest.org

⁷⁵⁴ The Center for Teaching History with Technology have a number of history Webquests listed here: <http://thwt.org/webqueststhinkquests.html>

activities that leverage the use of uninterpreted online data and information.”⁷⁵⁵

Performing tasks in a set of online materials that have already been selected, interpreted, and highly contextualized (primarily through the creation of the orienting task or question), as Webquests are designed, is not all that different from a great deal of Jackdaw or even textbook work. But “[i]n WIPS, students play an active role in defining their own tasks, determining procedures necessary for completing the tasks, and finding the online resources to help them complete the task.” WIPs are designed to support a spiral path of inquiry, providing teachers with six stages of scaffolding as they lead students in a Web-enhanced inquiry project. (It is a process that is reminiscent of Mary Sheldon Barnes’ and Fred Fling’s methodologies from the late nineteenth century.) There are six stages in the WIP: Reflect, Questions, Procedures, Data Investigation, Analysis, and Findings. In the “reflect” stage, teachers leverage previous activities by sparking students’ interest in a topical area. This is the only stage of a WIP that is given directly to the students. The critical part of this stage is the “learning hook.” In “questions,” the teacher helps students develop their own questions about the topic. As Molebash points out, providing questions directly to students removes a significant step in the inquiry process. In “procedures,” the teacher helps the students design the methodology by which they will answer their questions, and in “data investigation,” students seek and gather online information, with the teacher providing guidance on relevancy and reliability of data. In the next step, analysis, students use appropriate data analysis tools to manipulate data, and the “findings” step completes the process. Here, a final product is created that

⁷⁵⁵ Philip Molebash and Bernie Dodge, “Kickstarting Inquiry with Webquests and Web Inquiry Projects,” *Social Education* 67, 3 (2003): 158; Andrew J. Milson and Portia Downey, “Webquest: Using Internet Resources for Cooperative Inquiry,” *Social Education* 65, 3 (2001): 144.

brings the project together, but which also points to new questions. It is a process that is familiar to most individuals who have ever been involved in any research project.

Molebash suggests that teachers begin with Webquests and then provide support to their students, slowly leading them to WIPs.

Wikinquiries

Individuals working with The Learning Page, the student and teacher portal of the Library of Congress' American Memory project, also advocated more open-ended inquiry using its materials. While the Learning Page provides online sets of materials related to a specific topic, Singleton and Giese suggested that teachers help students develop five investigative questions, and then encourage students to create their own "packets" of primary sources that might address those questions.⁷⁵⁶ With advancing Web technologies, other methods of structuring students' inquiry into historical sources have been proposed. Jeremy Stoddard, Mark Hofer, and Molly Buchanan suggested "Wikinquiries" in which students evaluate primary and secondary historical sources not to construct a new historical account but to edit an existing historical account in a medium that they all know well: their textbooks.⁷⁵⁷ It was a history teaching methodology that was espoused (without the technology) long ago by Fred Fling. Stoddard maintained that while Webquests and Web Inquiry Projects promote student construction of new historical knowledge and can be powerful teaching tools, they don't necessarily instill in students an understanding of the nature of history and how it is commonly encapsulated

⁷⁵⁶ L.R. Singleton and J.R. Giese, "Using Online Primary Sources with Students," *The Social Studies* 90 (July/August 1999): 148-51.

⁷⁵⁷ Jeremy D. Stoddard, Mark J. Hofer, Molly G. Buchanan, "The Starving Time Wikinquiry: Using a Wiki to Foster Historical Inquiry," *Social Education* 72 (April 2008): 144-146.

in various historical texts. They don't show students how history is constructed from evidence. Wikinquiries seek to do this in a social constructivist way by leveraging the collaborative nature of wikis and inviting students to reconcile incomplete and conflicting accounts found in a genre of teaching material with which they were all-too-familiar, the textbook. There are four steps to a Wikinquiry: 1) pose problem, 2) explore sources, 3) analysis and reconstruction, and 4) debriefing and comparison of accounts. Whether they were completing Webquests (in groups or singly), participating in WIPs, "compiling their own packets," or participating in Wikinquiries, in the process, students would move from learning about history to actually doing history, developing and exploring their own questions while using online primary resources.⁷⁵⁸

⁷⁵⁸ Philip Molebash, "Web Historical Inquiry Projects," *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 226-230. Molebash is the director of Educational Technology at Loyola High School of Los Angeles and Research Professor at Loyola Marymount University.

Chapter 9.

Scaffolding Historical Thinking Skills?

“What a child can do in cooperation today, he can do alone tomorrow. Therefore, the only good kind of instruction is that which marches ahead of development, and leads it.”

Lev Vygotsky

SCIM-C Strategy
Persistent Issues in History Network
Who Killed William Robinson
Picturing Modern America, 1880-1920
Historical Scene Investigation
HistoricalThinkingMatters
Building Empathy

As Professor of History Margaret Manchester has explained, teachers of history are concerned with exposing students to a range of historical sources both secondary and primary, teaching them to analyze those sources, encouraging them to form and defend their own opinions based upon that analysis, and comparing their opinions to what others think and have thought. In short, history teachers should “strive to get our students to think and act as historians by helping them develop the research, critical thinking, and analytical skills to construct a usable past.” The development of these skills, she joins others in arguing, will not only provide a corpus of narratives that might help build identity and community, but will also encourage habits of mind that will contribute to lifelong learning.⁷⁵⁹ Teaching students to analyze sources builds one of the six types of

⁷⁵⁹ Margaret Manchester, “‘Doing History’: Evaluating Technologies That Promote Active Learning in the History Classroom,” in Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Merriman, ed.s *History.edu: Essays on Teaching with Technology* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2001): 108-115. Manchester is an assistant professor of history at Providence College in Rhode Island.

“habits of mind” involved in historical thinking as delineated by Seixas, the evidentiary/epistemological. As research into the teaching and learning of history expands and use of digital technologies to teach history matures, a great deal of work has gone in to developing online programs and methodologies that structure the online experience with primary sources to teach this particular historical thinking skill.

If anything, the Internet—with its wide range in quality of materials, its many opinions (educated and not), and its free-for-all, unmediated nature—requires critical thinking skills. These are, arguably, the same sort of evidence-reading abilities taught by the doing of history. Just one example: some students at one school were instructed to write about the Holocaust. Quite naturally, they went to the Internet for their research, and there found sites that stated the murder of more than six million Jews in the first half of the 20th century was nothing but a hoax. These students dutifully copied this information into their own essays.⁷⁶⁰ The students had not stopped to evaluate what they could so easily retrieve. Going to the Internet, as more than one observer has noted, is not the same thing as visiting the school library. Now, more than ever, students must be taught to look at the source, evaluate objectivity and bias, check references, note currency, corroborate sources, and pick up on clues such as the quality of writing to evaluate what they find with a quick click of the “enter” button. They must be taught to critically think about the information that they can so easily retrieve using a single search

⁷⁶⁰ James M. Shively and Phillip J. VanFossen, “Critical Thinking and the Internet: Opportunities for the Social Studies Classroom,” *The Social Studies* 90 (1999): 42-46; Frederick Risinger, “Separating the Wheat from the Chaff: Why Dirty Pictures Are Not the Real Dilemma in Using the Internet to teach Social Studies,” *Social Education* 62 (1998):148-50. The United States Holocaust Memorial has created a site filled with Web resources aimed at the schools. See, Hilarie B. Davis, William R. Fernekes, and Christine R. Hladky, “Using Internet Resources to Study the Holocaust: Reflections from the Field,” *The Social Studies* (January/February 1999): 34-41.

box centered in the middle of a computer screen. As one researcher has noted, “In social studies classes, students amass piles of information and sometimes become quite articulate about what they have learned. But the moment the discussion turns to assaying the quality of information, voluble students turn mute. Asked to exercise judgment, they throw up their hands and vote.”⁷⁶¹ As this same author noted, “The place to teach students to ask questions about truth and evidence in our digital age is the history and social studies classroom, and we should not delay.”⁷⁶² But how to do that?

As Frederick Risinger pointed out to his readers (so many of whom wanted to know how to teach with the great Web resources he regularly described in his columns), it is possible to use Web-based primary sources to teach in any manner one would like, and to teach most subjects, skills, or abilities, for that matter. It is up to the teacher and the teacher’s creativity and talent to manipulate those materials in order to produce the desired learning outcome. Those many Web materials could be used to support the traditional narrative approach to history: facts, figures, memorization—here’s an exciting illustration from the Web!—more facts, more figures, exam! Or, it could be used by teachers to build a collection of resources for the in-class “doing” of history in the Fred Fling or Mary Sheldon Barnes or even Webquest manner, and indeed, many writers on online primary sources have promoted this very teaching strategy.⁷⁶³ Or, the Web could

⁷⁶¹D. Antonio Cantu and Wilson J. Warren, *Teaching History in the Digital Classroom*, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003).

⁷⁶²D. Antonio Cantu and Wilson J. Warren, *Teaching History in the Digital Classroom*, (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003).

⁷⁶³ One of the most often cited examples of this: Wilson J. Warren, “Using the World Wide Web For Primary Source Research in Secondary History Classes,” in Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Merriman, ed.s *History.edu: Essays on Teaching with Technology* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe,

be used as a repository for individual or group-work exploration, but as the creators of Webquests and WIPS so convincingly maintained, a student could explore forever on the Web and never get a project completed. There had to be a structuring mechanism like Webquests and WIPS that would directly build historical thinking skills while also building historical content knowledge. These tools/sites are finally, but slowly being created.

SCIM-C

While not based upon a single repository of sources, like Webquests, the “SCIM-C Strategy” seeks to provide teachers with “a tool that can help students acquire the knowledge and skills necessary to interpret primary sources and reconcile various historical accounts.”⁷⁶⁴ Grounded in research on the teaching and learning of history, the strategy leads students through summarizing, contextualizing, inferring, monitoring, and corroborating historical evidence. The teachers provide the pre-selected materials and begin the five-stage process with a brief introduction. They then lead the students through

2001): 171-179. In more general treatments of the subject, others have pointed out that a strength of the computer in education lies not only in its ability to provide information, but also in its ability to provide learning activities. For example, G. Salmon, *E-tivities: The Key to Active Learning* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004).

⁷⁶⁴ David Hicks, Peter E. Doolittle, and E. Thomas Ewing, “The SCIM-C Strategy: Expert Historians, Historical Inquiry, and Multimedia,” *Social Education* 68, 3 (2004): 221. For more on SCIM-C, see <http://www.historicalinquiry.com/index.cfm>. This is just one investigative strategy used in teaching history. For more, see Yohuru Rashied Williams and James Percoco, *Teaching U.S. History Beyond the Textbook: Six Investigative Strategies*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2008). Another popular investigative strategy for documents is SOAP: What kind of Source? What is the Occasion? Who is the Audience? What is the Purpose? What question(s) does this source raise for you? And there is the SOAPStone (which is the same as the SOAP strategy but adds questions about subject and tone). The various SOAP strategies grow out of Richard Larson’s, “Teaching Rhetoric in High School: Some Proposals,” *English Journal* 55 (November 1966): 1060 and has been promoted by the College Board as a way to prepare responses to its documents-based questions. SCIM-C is a bit more sophisticated than SOAP in its representation of historical thinking.

the five-step, investigative “process.” When students “summarize,” they examine a document, noting any information explicitly available, type of source, subject, author, purpose and audience; they also look for key facts, dates, ideas, opinions and perspectives. During this part of the process, a teacher might ask a spiraling question along the lines of “what type of document is the source? And who was the author and audience for the source? As students “contextualize,” they locate that source in time and space and begin to ask about values, habits, customs, and vocabulary that may have been different at the time the source was created from their own time. The idea, here, is to lead the students to treat the evidence in its own “environment” as much as possible, trying to avoid seeing it through a present-day lens. During this part of the process, a teacher might ask, “When and where was source produced? Why was the source produced? What was happening within immediate and broader context at the time the source was produced? And what summarizing information can place the source in time and place?” When the students “infer,” they return to the document to read between its lines, to look beyond the face of the information being provided. During this part of the analytical process, the teacher might ask, “What inferences may be drawn from absences or omissions in the source?” As students “monitor” in the next step, they “check” themselves, reflecting upon their own biases and assumptions. Here, the teacher might ask what other evidence might the student want to explore in answering the question at hand and why. In addition, the teacher might ask “how useful or significant is the source for its intended purpose in answering the historical question?” Only after the students have looked at several sources about one event or situation, will they begin to “corroborate.” This is when the students compare the evidence that they have gathered and evaluate the gaps in that evidence and

further explore any contradictions that they might find. Finally, the students draw conclusions from their process.

Like Webquests, SCIM-C is a method of structuring student inquiry into a pre-selected set of online materials, but in this form of structured inquiry, unlike in Webquests, the nature of primary sources and their relationship to history is the major focus.⁷⁶⁵ This moves the classroom beyond the hunter gatherer stage, and toward marshalling information to answer some historical question. Activities such as these require judgment about the amount of information to provide and the development of exercises to build information handling skills in the context of worthwhile historical enquiry.⁷⁶⁶ Earlier researchers in the teaching of history through the use of computers had complained that the major lessons emphasized and learned seemed to be in the information technology realm and not in anything much related to the historical enterprise. SCIM-C, by providing such a structure to student inquiry, shifts that emphasis, moving it away from the keyboard, away from the search engine, and away from the manipulating software, and returns it to the subject matter. The computer technology simply is an access tool, a tool that provides access to more material than has ever been made available to the classroom before. But that does not mean that teaching strategies such as SCIM-C do not also have a “side effect” of teaching some information technology skills. As Cheryl Mason Bolick and Meghan M. McGlinn, explained in an

⁷⁶⁵ David Hicks, Peter E. Doolittle, and E. Thomas Ewing, “The SIM-C Strategy Expert Historians, Historical Inquiry, and Multimedia,” *Social Education* 68(2004) 221-225.

⁷⁶⁶ Christine Counsell, “Defining Effectiveness in History Using IT: Approaches in Successful Practice,” (London: BECTa Association, 1998) cited in Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Hayden and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

article describing the use of the SCIM-C model to structure inquiry into slave narratives, “By using online primary sources while helping students learn to analyze and interpret hypertext, teachers achieve the dual objectives of building on student understanding of social studies while aiding them to develop literacy skills useful in today’s information age.”⁷⁶⁷

Persistent Issues in History Network

Beginning in the late 1990s, teacher educators John W. Saye (at Auburn University) and Thomas Brush (at Indiana University) developed “The Persistent Issues in History Network.”⁷⁶⁸ Advocating one form of cognitive apprenticeship (modeling problem solving, supporting students’ developing understandings through scaffolding and coaching, and gradually decreasing guidance as student thinking becomes more expert), this network seeks to build and support a community of teachers who are skilled in

⁷⁶⁷ Cheryl Mason Bolick and Meghan M. McGlinn, “Harriet Jacobs: Using Online Slave Narratives in the Classroom,” *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 198. Cheryl Mason Bolick is an associate professor in the School of Education at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

⁷⁶⁸ John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “The Persistent Issues in History Network: Using Technology to Support Historical Inquiry and Civic Reasoning,” *Social Education* 69, 3 (2005): 168; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Scaffolding Critical Reasoning About History and Social Issues in Multimedia-Supported Learning Environments,” *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 50 3 (2002): 77-96; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Scaffolding Problem-Based Teaching in a Traditional Social Studies Classroom,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 32 (Summer 2004): 349-378; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Using Technology-Enhanced Learning Environments to Support Problem-Based Historical Inquiry in Secondary School Classrooms,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 35 (Spring 2007): 196-230. The network Web site may be found at <http://dp.crlt.indiana.edu/>. For a bit on cognitive apprenticeship, see John Seely Brown, Allan Collins, and Paul Duguid, “Situated Cognition and the Culture of Learning,” *Educational Researcher* 18, 1 (1989): 32-42.

engaging their students in problem-based historical inquiry (PBHI).”⁷⁶⁹ They believe and their network supports the belief that “pre-collegiate history study should develop citizens who can critically weigh evidence from historical claims and use content knowledge generated from sound historical analysis to inform their decisions about enduring societal questions.”⁷⁷⁰ Saye and Brush posit that investigation into a persistent issue that presents moral and ethical challenges is much more motivational for students than their exploration into arguments about who fired the first shot at the Battle of Lexington and Concord. The Network has demonstrated that multimedia resources appropriately structured “can enhance student engagement by providing more lifelike and varied representations of the social world that increase the realism of the problem scenario and appeal to multiple ways of knowing.”⁷⁷¹ This is an inquiry-based activity, and as Saye and Bush point out, implementing inquiry-based activities in a classroom environment remains difficult. The success of these endeavors depends upon the organizational structures of the learning environment, the teachers’ abilities, and the learners’ engagement.⁷⁷²

⁷⁶⁹ Persistent Issues in History Network Website, viewed on June 30, 2009 at www.PIHnet.org

⁷⁷⁰ “About the PIH Network,” viewed on June 30, 2009 at <http://dp.crlt.indiana.edu/>.

⁷⁷¹ Thomas Brush and John W. Saye, “Scaffolding Critical Reasoning in History and Social Studies: Tools to Support Problem-Based Historical Inquiry,” paper presented at the American Education Research Association, San Francisco, CA 2006, viewed on May 2, 2009 at http://dp.crlt.indiana.edu/publications/Brush_Saye_AERA_symp_paper_2006.pdf

⁷⁷² L. Cuban, *How Teachers Taught* (New York: Longmans, 1984); Marcia C. Linn, “Designing Computer Learning Environments for Engineering and Computer Science: The Scaffolded Knowledge Integration Framework,” *Journal of Science Education and Technology* 4 (1995): 103-126, and J. Onosko, “Barriers to the Promotion of Higher Order Thinking Skills in Social Studies,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 19, 4 (1991): 341-366; Walter Doyle and Gerald A. Ponder, “The Practicality Ethic in Teacher Decision-making,” *Interchange* 8, 3 (1977-78): 1-12; John W. Saye, “Technology in the Classroom: the Role of Dispositions in Teacher Gatekeeping,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 13, 3 (1998): 210-234; John W. Saye,

Students involved in PBHI are led to “Decision Points” through the researchers’ “Decision Point Civil Rights Interactive Database,” which contains over “1000 conceptually organized multimedia source documents including newspaper accounts, eyewitness recollections, documents, photographs, and news footage from the civil rights era.”⁷⁷³ As they have demonstrated, rich, authentic contexts can be facilitated through multimedia learning environments. These contexts encourage students to become more engaged in the content, explore more deeply, and develop more complex views of issues.⁷⁷⁴ (The videos, especially, seem to engage the students.) Students review the multimedia primary source materials in the online database in order to answer questions such as “What actions are justified to bring about social change?” Such a question might be more specifically focused upon African Americans seeking equal treatment under the law, or it might be used to look at the refusal of American colonists to pay what they considered inappropriate and exorbitant taxes. To answer these types of questions, students would need to discover the “who, what, when, and where” of an event/issue, as well as evaluate the tactics used by the various protagonists of the series of events. As a

“Technology in the Classroom: the Role of Dispositions in Teacher Gatekeeping,” *Journal of Curriculum and Supervision* 13, 3 (1998): 210-234.

⁷⁷³ Thomas Brush and John W. Saye, “Scaffolding Critical Reasoning in History and Social Studies: Tools to Support Problem-Based Historical Inquiry,” paper presented at the American Education Research Association, San Francisco, CA 2006, viewed on May 2, 2009 at http://dp.crlt.indiana.edu/publications/Brush_Saye_AERA_symp_paper_2006.pdf

⁷⁷⁴ David Dwyer, “Apple Classrooms of Tomorrow: What We’ve Learned,” *Educational Leadership* 51, 7 (1994): 4-10; Mabel B. Kinzie and Howard J. Sullivan, “Continuing Motivation, Learner Control, and CAI,” *Educational Technology Research and Development* 37, 2 (1989): 5-14; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Student Engagement with Social Issues in a Multimedia-supported Learning Environment,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 27, 4 (1999): 472-504. These sources are cited in John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Scaffolding Critical Reasoning About History and Social Issues in Multimedia-Supported Learning Environments. *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 50 3 (2002): 77-96

culminating activity to this “investigation,” students create a product that gives their answers to the questions posed, using historical evidence to support their answers.

In an evaluation of the site, Saye and Brush discovered, however, that students lacked both the skills to perform historical inquiry, as well as the content knowledge required to make sound judgments required by that inquiry. To address these issues, they added various forms of scaffolding to the multimedia resources. These include links in their database that lead to essays, which “frame” or contextualize the sources with information that experts might possess (such as biographical information on a writer of some source), as well as links between sources that students might not otherwise know to make. The researchers have also embedded into these essays various competing perspectives on the past (primary sources that “disagree” with each other), forcing the students to confront the “interpretive nature” of history. Other scaffolding includes metacognitive tools, such as those that ask students to compare accounts of an event over time, or others that ask that they reconcile changing beliefs/perspectives of the same people or groups over time.⁷⁷⁵

⁷⁷⁵ The effectiveness of scaffolding through the use of annotations in online resources was explored by John K. Lee and Brendan Calandra. They compared student interaction with two versions of the United States Constitution. One contained conceptual scaffolding devices in the form of annotations; the other did not. Their results showed that annotations function differently and have different impact depending upon their different settings. Their research showed the situational importance of the annotations, as well as the need for instructional Web designers to “make their design intentions transparent.” John K. Lee and Brendan Calandra, “Can Embedded Annotations Help High School Students Perform Problem Solving Tasks Using a Web-Based Historical Document,” *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 37 (Fall 2004): 65-84. Another study showing that contextual material is highly situational is Arvaja Maarit, “Contextual Resources in Meaning Negotiations of a Student Pair in a Web-based History Project,” *International Journal of Educational Research* 46 ¾(2007): 215-228. This research showed that two students had a difficult time treating the contextual material differently from “school knowledge” in traditional “educational” ways. The research also showed that students’ out-of-school interactions with communication technology seemed to play a significant role in

Perhaps, the ultimate scaffold on the site is access to the modeling of inquiry activities. The Network provides this modeling through the “Persistent Issues in History Laboratory for Virtual Field Experiences.” Students can watch online videos of experts at work and participate in a form of apprenticeship no matter where they might live. Teachers also benefit from modeling of activities provided by the site. The Persistent Issues in History Network Web site provides a library of “wise practice” videos that present examples of educators teaching in a way that helps build the historical thinking skills of their students, both the evidence/epistemological skills, as well as another of Seixas’ identified subsets of historical thinking, historical empathy.⁷⁷⁶ The Persistent Issues in History Network provides not only a good site for the classroom and direct teaching of students, but it has also proven to be an effective testbed to explore various forms of scaffolding in online history teaching sites.

how they approached the task at hand, which was “manifested in the hectic communicative approach adopted in the situation.” In short, if nothing else, the study demonstrated the situated and mediated nature of learning act.

⁷⁷⁶ For more on Persistent Issues in History Network, see Thomas Brush and John W. Saye, “The Use of Embedded Scaffolds with Hypermedia-supported Student-centered Learning,” *Journal of Educational Multimedia and Hypermedia*, 10(2001): 333-356; Thomas Brush and John W. Saye, “Implementation and Evaluation of a Student-centered Learning Unit: A Case Study,” *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 38(2000): 79-100; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Promoting Civic Competence through Problem-based History Learning Experiments,” in G.E. Hamot, J.J. Patrick, and R.S. Leming, eds., *Civic Learning in Teacher Education* 3 (Bloomington, IN: The Social Studies Development Center, 2004): 123-145; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Scaffolding Critical Reasoning about History and Social issues in Multimedia-supported Learning Environments,” *Educational Technology Research and Development*, 50(2002) 77-96; John W. Saye and Thomas Brush, “Student Engagement with Social Issues in a Multimedia Supported Learning Environment,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 27(1999): 472-504. Unpublished papers about the project, largely conference presentations, may be found at “PIHNet Papers and Presentations,” viewed on June 30, 2009 at <http://dp.crlt.indiana.edu/pihnet-publication.html>

Who Killed William Robinson?

Revisiting ground first trod by the Schools Council 13-16 Project (which began its curriculum with the exploration of “mysteries” in order to teach the nature of history), one of the earliest online sites to structure primary sources to directly teach evidentiary/epistemological thinking skills was the “Who Killed William Robinson?” Web site.⁷⁷⁷ In 1996, Ruth Sandwell and John Lutz created this history teaching tool to introduce students to primary source documents while also taking full advantage of Web technologies then available.⁷⁷⁸ The site focuses on a murder of an African American man, William Robinson, in British Columbia in 1868. A Native American was eventually tried and hanged for the crime. Instead of giving the students a pre-digested interpretation of the associated events, the site asks them to look over the surviving evidence and come to their own conclusions about what happened. As a form of scaffolding, the site contains contextualizing essays that explain the milieu of the time, lists of vocabulary, etc.,

⁷⁷⁷The Website, “Who Killed William Robinson?” may be found at <http://www.canadianmysteries.ca/sites/robinson/home/indexen.html>. As has been discussed, the Schools Council History Project used “The Mystery of the Tollund Man,” and “The Mystery of the Empty Grave” in its first course on the nature of history. This individual course was later “folded” in to another course.

⁷⁷⁸ Ruth Sandwell, ‘Who Killed William Robinson?:’ Exploring a Nineteenth-Century Murder Online,” *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 210-213. Sandwell and Lutz are not teacher educators but professional historians. The site was redesigned in 2000 by Patrick Szpak. Coming full circle, J.C. Hutchins, the author of the popular supernatural murder mystery thriller, *Personal Affects Dark Art*, has included a packet of fictionalized primary sources to go along with his published work. Readers can delve into these clues to solve more aspects of the crime than anyone in the book attempts. According to an interview on National Public Radio's Weekend Edition, Hutchins maintains that these “primary source” materials make his fiction “a lot more real.” They allow his readers to feel that the book's characters are “in your world now.” Reading the book is a “vicarious experience” according to the author while dealing with the associated materials is more of a “personal experience.” Interview with J.C. Hutchins, Weekend Edition, National Public Radio, August 15, 2009. See <http://jchutchins.net/site/personal-effects> viewed on August 15, 2009. Carrying the historian as detective farther into popular culture, one of the most watched television programs on public broadcasting is “History Detectives,” where historians, antique dealers/appraisers, and folklorists seek the help of archeologists, librarians, archivists, and others to unravel a historical “mystery” that happens to be stumping a viewer. Each episode involves the close analysis of some piece or pieces of historical evidence.

helping the students better understand the evidence. It also contains information for teachers in the form of essays that explain, among other issues, “key concepts in the teaching of history,” “distinguishing biased and impartial perspectives,” “testimony vs. evidence,” “history vs. the past,” “causal explanations in history,” and “what are primary documents?” As the students explore the site and become immersed in the evidence, they learn about different historical events and themes. In short, they learn history while doing history. As it turns out, students generally become quite involved in the story, but they have trouble with the critical inquiry required. Almost ten years after inaugurating the site, one of its authors noted that while the students have found the site to be interesting and engaging, they

were at the same time frustrated and annoyed by the demands the Website placed on them to critically engage with the material. It was clear that many students, indeed, identified (in true nineteenth century fashion) the process of critical inquiry as something extraneous to history. Many students requested that we tell them what ‘really happened’ instead of forcing them to encounter a maze of evidence that many experienced as confusing. In a couple of extreme cases, students saw the opportunity of critical inquiry that we had carefully provided them with as an unfair and unreasonable complication which we were superimposing on an otherwise coherent and straightforward chronicle of events. They identified this chronicle of events, like their nineteenth century forebears, as ‘real’ history. Many, it seems, believe that someone out there really does have the right answer—that there really is an omniscient narrator; or voice over, to tell us what was *really* going on.⁷⁷⁹

The site does provide interpretations from professional historians—behind a password-protected screen—and, of course, these interpretations do not agree with each

⁷⁷⁹ Ruth Sandwell, ‘Who Killed William Robinson?:’ Exploring a Nineteenth-Century Murder Online,” *Social Education* 68 (April 2004): 212. For more of the author’s thoughts about the importance of inquiry and critical thinking and the divide between historians and history teachers, see Ruth Sandwell, “School History versus the Historians,” *International Journal of Social Education* (Spring/Summer 2005): 9-15.

other, surely leading to even greater frustration on the part of those individuals who think that history is not a continuing mystery, but a clothesline hanging with damp and drying, never stretching or shrinking, immutable facts. Nevertheless, the William Robinson site has become very popular in Canada. Its use has spread to the United States, and it has won many awards. The site eventually led to another Web site, “MysteryQuests: Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History.”⁷⁸⁰

Each MysteryQuest, a variation on the Webquest format, is a short, focused, age-specific single lesson, relating to one or more mysteries from history. Each quest is designed to use The Critical Thinking Consortium’s “Critical Challenge” approach to learning and a small selection of primary and secondary sources designed to lead the students to think critically about history.⁷⁸¹ In addition to the William Robinson materials, other topics covered by the site include, “where is Vinland?” “Torture and Truth: Angelique and the Burning of Montreal,” “Jerome: The Mystery Man of Baie Sainte-Marie,” and “who discovered Klondike gold?” The site can be searched by age,

⁷⁸⁰ Mysteryquests Great Unsolved Mysteries in Canadian History, viewed on June 30, 2009 at <http://www.mysteryquests.ca/quests/08/indexen.html>

⁷⁸¹ Formed in 1993 in British Columbia, the Critical Thinking Consortium (also known as TC2) is an international, non-profit association of educational professionals who are committed to promoting critical thinking from primary through post-secondary education through professional development, research, and publications. The Consortium’s critical thinking model includes 1) building a critical thinking community in other words, create a culture of questioning in the classroom rather than regurgitation; 2) provide the students with some challenges that require them to think in a critical way if a situation is not problematic, then there is no need for students to think critically, and finally assess in the way that reinforces the use of critical thinking. Students respond to grades, so grade accordingly. For more on the Critical Thinking Consortium, see “Critical Thinking: An Interview with Roland Case,” *Canadian Teacher Magazine* (Winter 2005) viewed on May 22, 2009 at http://www.canadianteachermagazine.com/ctm_life_skills/winter05_critical_thinking.shtml and William Broderick, “A New Approach to Critical Thinking in Education,” *Humanist Perspectives* 151 (Winter 2004), viewed on May 22, 2009 at http://www.humanistperspectives.org/issue151/new_approach.html

and by title of the quest. Being a Canadian site, it is available in both French and English. Each lesson can be used by a child working alone or in a group.

Picturing Modern America, 1880-1920

Another resource designed to structure primary source materials in a way that will teach the evidence/epistemological portion of historical thinking is the Center for Children and Technology's "Picturing Modern America, 1880-1920" Web site.⁷⁸² It, too, offers "historical thinking exercises" for students. The site uses images from the Library of Congress' American Memory Project and acts as a companion to that much larger site. As the creators of the project note, historical images, in particular, are a useful point of entry into historical records for many students. Text-based materials—print or manuscript—often come with serious built-in barriers to use by young people. These, include difficult vocabulary, "archaic language," and undecipherable script, among others. As a result, students often have a difficult time understanding historical records on the most basic informational level without moving to any more abstract thinking about the sources. On the other hand, photographs, lithographs, cartoons, and maps often present instantly recognizable features and information, and more easily allow students to connect what they already know with information being related by the image. This allows them to more easily analyze and interpret the material. As the creators of Picturing Modern America, 1880-1920 explain,

For many teachers, it is common to use historical images simply as illustrations of established fact, rather than as data from which to reason

⁷⁸² *Picturing Modern America, 1880-1920*, viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://cct2.edc.org/PMA/>

about the past. (This is understandable: it is exactly how most history textbooks use imagery.) What gets overlooked in such cases is the often contradictory information images contain, the purposes they might have served for their creator, and the understandings that viewers might have brought to them.

Based on the insights gained from working with historians and skilled history teachers, we created a set of inquiry tools and templates whose purpose is twofold: (1) to support and scaffold image-based history learning in the online environment; and (2) to make visible and comparable the thinking processes of students, teachers and historians as they interpret documents—both for teaching purposes, and for research. . . . The word "picturing" refers both to the prevalence of mass-produced imagery (lithographs, photographs, films, panoramas, etc) that were characteristic of the period (and that enable students to learn about it), and also to students' active historical imagination.⁷⁸³

There are three main ways to use "Picturing Modern America." The most basic is "Image Detective," which teaches students how to analyze a single photograph. This section contains nine images on immigration, cities, industrialization, the west, women and suffrage, World War I, children, progressive reform, and leisure and amusement. (Almost all are social history topics.) After choosing an image, students are first taught to pose a question inspired by the photograph in question. Then, through close examination, they gather clues to answer their question, finally being led to put forth their own conclusions based upon those clues. As the Picturing Modern America site explains, "Being a historian is like being a detective in some ways. You start with a hunch about something that has happened. You pore over the evidence you find, and try to fit it with what you already know. You use your imagination, and begin to speculate—to make

⁷⁸³ Bill Tally and Laren B. Goldenberg, "Fostering Historical Thinking with Digitized Primary Sources," *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 38, no. 1 (2005): 1. For a more general discussion of the use of photographs in an elementary school classroom, see Keith Barton, "A Picture's Worth: Analyzing Historical Photographs in the Elementary Grades," *Social Education* 65 (2001): 278-83.

intelligent guesses —about what has happened.”⁷⁸⁴ Students are supported in their step-by-step investigation by scaffolding that takes the form of a series of pop-up boxes which pose questions or provide relevant background information along the way. (As a part of this guidance, students might find a photo of Randy Bass, a professor at Georgetown University, with an associated comic-book-like “word bubble,” modeling the expected activities. For example, at the question formation portion of the exercise, students will find his image asking, “I’m wondering what these people are doing? It looks like they are a family gathered around the dining table, but they don’t look like they are eating. What are they doing?”⁷⁸⁵) Using this methodology, students “read” a photograph.⁷⁸⁶ Of course, they are told that there may be no simple, right answers to the questions that they pose. “The notes you take and the conclusions you draw are for YOU. They let you compare your own thinking to what others have said—not in order to see if you got the answer right, but in order for you to learn from others how to improve your detection skills.”⁷⁸⁷ In the second main section of the site, called “Investigations,” students analyze small sets of images relating to women’s roles, prairie settlement, child labor, or Indians. These exercises emphasize pattern and contrast; for instance, one activity explores the different methods used by photographers Lewis Hine and Edward Curtis, and then students are shown other photos and are asked to determine which ones were made by which

⁷⁸⁴ “About the Activity Image Detective,” Picturing Modern America, viewed on May 21, 2009 at http://cct2.edc.org/PMA/image_detective/students.html

⁷⁸⁵ “A Scholar’s Reading,” Picturing Modern America, viewed on May 21, 2009 at http://cct2.edc.org/PMA/image_detective/model_reading1.html These photographs have been made available previously by the Library of Congress’ American Memory project.

⁷⁸⁶ The Picturing Modern America Web site may be found at <http://cct2.edc.org/PMA/>

⁷⁸⁷ “About the Activity Image Detective,” Picturing Modern America, viewed on May 21, 2009 at http://cct2.edc.org/PMA/image_detective/students.html

photographer—and why they think this might be. Finally, the last section is the “Exhibit Builder.” Here, students further build their skills with interpretation while also developing their narrative abilities. In “Exhibit Builder,” students create and save their own online exhibits, using images from “American Memory” and text that they write themselves. The site offers students the opportunity to go back and forth between the images on the “Picturing Modern America” and the much richer collection found at “American Memory” and, using the tools provided by “Picturing Modern America,” they can select, annotate, and arrange the images into a slide show.⁷⁸⁸

In an evaluation of the Picturing Modern America site, researchers asked students to closely examine an image (a photograph, panoramic map, or cartoon) taken from the American Memory Web site. They then took notes on what they examined and drew conclusions based upon their prior knowledge. Students were then asked to read a primary source document that they had never seen. Next, they were told to assume the role of a “history detective.” They then selected a question to answer about the image, or they could come up with their own question. To answer those questions, they gathered “clues” by looking at the details of the image, and they were then asked to draw conclusions based upon the evidence, “the clues,” that they had gathered. Finally, the

⁷⁸⁸ This is much like the tool offered by the Michigan State University’s Virtual History Museum, which is a web-based “history-learning environment designed to promote the historical understanding of all students and offer cognitive supports that will enable full participation and success for students with mild disabilities.” The Virtual History Museum (VHM) enables a teacher or student to act as a curator to develop an exhibit about an historical topic. Users can then investigate the various exhibits and then communicate to others the results of their investigation. For more on the Virtual History Museum, see Cynthia M. Okolo, Carol Sue Englert, Emily Bouck, and Anne M. Heutsche, “Web-Based History Learning: Helping All Students Learn and Like History,” *Intervention in School and Clinic*, 43 (September 2007): 3-11. The Web site of the Virtual History Museum may be found at <http://vhm.msu.edu/site/default.php>.

students filled out a questionnaire that asked them about their experiences in this class in relationship to other classes.⁷⁸⁹ By analyzing the student work products and answers to the questionnaires, the researchers determined that students can “apply historical thinking behaviors to primary sources even without prior direct teaching about the historical era or context” and that when students are provided with resource-rich classrooms and the opportunities for hands-on learning, their motivation rises dramatically. In other words, activities such as these inspire them to want to continue to explore.⁷⁹⁰ Picturing Modern America has become a popular teaching tool, especially among those teachers who have been a part of one of the many Teaching American History Grant projects.⁷⁹¹

⁷⁸⁹ Bill Tally and Laren B. Goldenberg, “Fostering Historical Thinking with Digitized Primary Sources,” *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 38, no. 1 (2005): 1. A similar project using photos from the American Memory site is discussed in Frances Jacobson Harris, “*There was a Great Collision in the Stock Market: Middle School Students, Online Primary Sources, and Historical Sense Making*,” Paper presented at the Treasure Mountain Research Retreat IX, November 2001, viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://www.ala.org/ala/mgrps/divs/aasl/aaslpubsandjournals/slmrb/slmrcontents/volume52002/harris.cfm>

⁷⁹⁰ Bill Tally and Laren B. Goldenberg, “Fostering Historical Thinking with Digitized Primary Sources,” *Journal of Research on Technology in Education* 38, no. 1 (2005): 1.

⁷⁹¹ “The Teaching American History Grant program is a discretionary grant program funded under Title II-C, Subpart 4 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The goal of the program is to support programs that raise student achievement by improving teachers' knowledge, understanding, and appreciation of American history. The program supports competitive grants to local educational agencies. The purpose of these grants is to promote the teaching of traditional American history in elementary and secondary schools as a separate academic subject. Grants are used to improve the quality of history instruction by supporting professional development for teachers of American history. In order to receive a grant, a local educational agency must agree to carry out the proposed activities in partnership with one or more of the following: institutions of higher education, nonprofit history or humanities organizations, libraries, or museums.” Teaching American History Grant Guidelines, viewed on June 30, 2009 at <http://www.ed.gov/programs/teachinghistory/index.html>

Historical Scene Investigation

With forensic investigators on almost every television channel and bestseller list, it should come as no surprise that other educators have adopted the “historian-as-detective” model to teach the evidentiary/epistemological set of skills involved in historical thinking. The latest is HSI (not CSI), “Historical Scene Investigation.”⁷⁹² A partnership between professors at the University of Kentucky and the College of William and Mary, The Historical Scene Investigation (HSI) Project, originally created in 2001 and updated almost continually since, structures primary sources in a way that helps teachers meet some of the standards for teaching history promulgated by the National Center for History in the Schools (NCHS). These include encouraging students to raise questions, use evidence to support their assertions to go beyond the facts presented by textbooks, explore the evidence for a narrative, and learn how to imaginatively use that

⁷⁹² CSI (Crime Scene Investigation) is a CBS television juggernaut, with various spinoffs populating the airwaves. One of the most popular exhibits to open in recent years at the Smithsonian Natural History Museum has also played off the CSI popularity, “Written in Bone,” which uses a mixture of historical analysis and forensic analysis to reveal the history of early Chesapeake settlement, including the Jamestown Colony. For more on “Written in Bone,” including classroom resources, see “Written in Bone Forensic Files of the Seventeenth Century Chesapeake,” viewed on July 4, 2009 at <http://www.mnh.si.edu/education/exhibitions/writteninbone> Tricia Samford, director of the state of Maryland’s Archeological Conservation Laboratory, which loaned some of the artifacts displayed in the exhibition, stated that its run will be extended due to extraordinary popularity. Conversation with the author, June 30, 2009. For another example of historians being presented as detectives to help students understand the nature of history, see David Hicks, Jeff Carrool, Peter Doolittle, John Lee, and Brian Oliver, “Teaching the Mystery of History,” *Social Studies and the Young Learner* 16 (2004): 14-16. For book-length treatments that tie the historian’s craft to that of a detective, see James W. Davidson and Mark H. Lytle, *After the Fact: The Art of Historical Detection* (New York: McGraw Hill, 2005); William B. Wheeler and Susan Becker, *Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002); Robert C. Williams, *The Historian’s Toolbox: A Student’s Guide to the Theory and Craft of History* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003).

evidence while comparing multiple points of view.⁷⁹³ Each “case,” or exercise, engages students in a historical investigation using varied historical primary sources scaffolded by document-study prompts and activities requiring specific analytical skills and processes. Like MysteryQuests, HSI presents conundrums from the past, told through “packages” of primary source evidence. The Web site has gone through a number of revisions to extend topics coverage while aligning the content with state standards for the teaching of history. HSI goes beyond MysteryQuests to chronologically sequence the cases to complement the cognitive development of historical thinking skills.

In a study of the effectiveness of the project, its creators, Swan, Hofer, and Lacascio examined the evidentiary reasoning of fifth graders following an HSI instruction. They were especially interested in determining if “discrete, short-term exposure to HSI materials and activities strengthened the development of historical thinking such as historical causality and perspective [empathy].”⁷⁹⁴ The investigation asked students to explore portions of the Web site devoted to the “Starving Time” at the Jamestown settlement (gathering relevant information to construct a narrative), the Battle of Lexington Green (comparison of conflicting accounts), and “Finding Aaron,” the story of a runaway slave (describe Aaron and what happened to him based upon runaway slave advertisements and little else). While this simplifies the results of the study drastically,

⁷⁹³ Kathleen Owings Swan, Mark Hofer, and David Lacascio, “The Historical Scene Investigation (HSI) Project Examining the Use of Case Based Historical Instruction in the Fifth Grade Social Studies Classroom,” *International Journal of Social Education* (Fall 2007/09): 70-100.

⁷⁹⁴ Kathleen Owings Swan, Mark Hofer, and David Lacascio, “The Historical Scene Investigation (HSI) Project Examining the Use of Case Based Historical Instruction in the Fifth Grade Social Studies Classroom,” *International Journal of Social Education* (Fall 2007/09): 70. VanSledright has already shown that it is possible to teach fifth graders evidence/epistemological thinking skills through intense long-term teaching of the skills. Bruce VanSledright, *In Search of America’s Past* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002).

over half of the students were able to use historical evidence to create a form of narrative (based upon the Jamestown project) and about half showed evidence of expanding their thought with regard to causality; less than half of the students could successfully maneuver the conflicting accounts of what happened at Lexington Green, and less than half could build a narrative based upon the few sources relating to the runaway slave Aaron. (The latter activity asked, essentially, for students to account for the paucity of records pertaining to the slave, to “carry the narrative beyond the sources,” acknowledging what is going on in the surrounding area at the time, and how these activities might have an impact on the specific story that they were asked to investigate.) A number of students did develop a better understanding of the nature of history (tentative, interpretive) and the historical process (evidence-based, biased, etc). As the researchers stated, “[t]he HSI design is built upon the premise that facets of historical thinking can be efficiently introduced into typical text-based, chronological elementary history teaching, but also that the critical thinking skills embedded in the structure of the materials and prompts can be authentically transferred to other units of study in history class.” While the study seems to indicate that this possibility exists, greater impact might result from another round of instruction that might include greater modeling of the kind of skills and mode of thought that the researchers hoped to impart.⁷⁹⁵ The modeling of expert practice is one of the strengths of another historical inquiry site, historicalthinkingmatters.com.

⁷⁹⁵ Kathleen Owings Swan, Mark Hofer, and David Lacascio, “The Historical Scene Investigation (HSI) Project Examining the Use of Case Based Historical Instruction in the Fifth Grade Social Studies Classroom,” *International Journal of Social Education* (Fall 2007/09): 89-90.

HistoricalThinkingMatters

Noting that, “[w]e have democratized access to historical materials but not to the kind of instruction that would give meaning to these materials; [o]ur classrooms now have an abundance of Internet connections and online historical documents; [t]he question is, how can we use these resources to bring about significant educational improvement,” the creators of *HistoricalThinkingMatters* sought to provide some of this improvement.⁷⁹⁶ *HistoricalThinkingMatters* is a Web site designed and sponsored by education faculty at Stanford University and individuals at George Mason University’s Center for History and New Media (CHNM). The site is designed to be used to teach both high school and beginning college history students, as well as those studying to become high school history teachers. Primary designers of the site were Sam Wineburg, then at Stanford University, and the late Roy Rosenzweig who was director of CHNM.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁶ Sharon Leon, Martin Daisy, Roy Rosenzweig, and Sam Wineburg, “Historicalthinkingmatters.org: Using the Web to Teach Historical Thinking,” *Social Education* (April 2008): 140. A site similar to HistoricalThinkingMatters is Digital History created by a collaborative featuring the University of Houston, the Chicago Historical Society, National Park Service, the Gilder Lehman Institute of American History, the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, and American Voices. “Digital History,” viewed on July 29, 2009 at <http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/> Another online resource along these lines is the “Reading Like a Historian” site, created by the Stanford Education Group, provides lessons that revolve around a central historical question and features sets of primary documents modified for groups of students with diverse reading skills and abilities. “This curriculum teaches students how to investigate historical questions employing reading strategies such as sourcing, contextualizing, corroborating, and close reading. Instead of memorizing historical facts, students evaluate the trustworthiness of multiple perspectives . . .” There is a video on this site which gives an overview of historical thinking. The aspects of historical thinking covered by this video are all portions of just one of Seixas’ six elements, “epistemology and evidence.” See “Reading Like a Historian,” viewed on April 12, 2010 at <http://sheg.stanford.edu/?q=node/45>

⁷⁹⁷ Others involved in the project included Brad Fogo, Daisy Martin, Chauncey Monte-Sano, Julie Park, and Avishag Reisman at Stanford and Jeremy Boggs, Josh Greenberg, Stephanie Hunter, Sharon Leon, and Mike O’Malley at George Mason University. The project was supported, in part, by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

HistoricalThinkingMatters is a project aligned with the larger and older *History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web*, which was first developed in 1998 by the American Social History Project/Center for Media & Learning at the City University of New York (CUNY) in partnership with CHNM.⁷⁹⁸ *History Matters*, too, is directed at the education of high school students, although college history and history education students often use it, as well. The *History Matters* site is a gateway to pre-screened, quality Web-based primary sources (created by the project partners or linked to those developed by other institutions) and teaching guides (such as lesson plans, interviews with master teachers, etc.). *History Matters* especially focuses upon the development of historical thinking skills.⁷⁹⁹ Its component titled, “Making Sense of Evidence” has been highly influential in the further incorporation of primary sources into the classroom. But it is the “aligned site,” *HistoricalThinkingMatters*, that has incorporated a unique method of modeling expert practice in reading sources.

The heart of the *HistoricalThinkingMatters* site is the section devoted to student investigations into primary source evidence about such topics as the Spanish American War, the Scopes Trial, and Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Each “topic” is

⁷⁹⁸ Initial funding for the project was provided by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation and was expanded through support from the National Endowment for the Humanities. In January 2005, the American Historical Association awarded *History Matters* the James Harvey Robinson Prize for the site’s “outstanding contribution to the teaching and learning of history.” In April 2005, the New York Public Library selected the site for its “Best of Reference 2005.”

⁷⁹⁹ Kelly Schrum, “Making History on the Web Matter in Your Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 34 (May 2001): 327-337; Kelly Schrum and Roy Rosenzweig, “History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web,” *Social Education* 65 (April 2001): 134-139. David Kobrin, “Using ‘History Matters’ with a Ninth Grade Class,” *History Teacher* 34 (May 2001): 339-344. The site was supplemented by a print resource: Alatu Gevinsoti, Kelly Schrum and Roy Rosenzweig, *History Matters: a Student Guide to U.S. History Online* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin’s, 2005). The work list useful Web sites, provides essays on the nature of historical research, plagiarism, and the use of citations.

“focused” through the use of a central question. For example, the Spanish American War section’s question is “why did the U.S. invade Cuba in 1898?” Students work through pre-selected sources to see if they can answer these central questions. After they have reported their conclusions, these structured experiences can then be reinforced by a teacher-led conversation that helps the students revisit the “big ideas” presented by the activity. *HistoricalThinkingMatters* scaffolds the inquiry-based learning through careful selection of documents, which are edited for length and relevance to the inquiry; provision of vocabulary aids (by means of Web page “roll overs”) and—especially helpful for the current generation of students—by harnessing of the multimedia potential of the Internet. It is through streaming video that the expert demonstration is made.

“One of the best ways to learn something is to see it demonstrated.”⁸⁰⁰

HistoricalThinkingMatters provides demonstrations—not by presenting the lectures of experts—but by using brief videos to show professional historians reading primary source evidence and by capturing them in the act of historical cognition. By doing so, students are able to “[s]ee thinking at its most raw: switchbacks, false starts, breakthroughs.”⁸⁰¹ Using the “think aloud” methodology more often employed by psychological researchers, the site’s creators asked historians to read primary source documents while verbalizing their thoughts.⁸⁰² (They ask these historians to read and

⁸⁰⁰ Daisy Martin and Sam Wineburg, “Seeing Thinking on the Web,” *History Teacher* 41 (May 2008): 305-319.

⁸⁰¹ Daisy Martin and Sam Wineburg, “Seeing Thinking on the Web,” *History Teacher* 41 (May 2008): 305-319.

⁸⁰² Clips are kept short to maintain the attention of the students. No are more than 90 seconds long.

think aloud about materials outside of their expertise to avoid bringing too much information to a document and intimidating students.) The site provides brief explanatory essays about the strategies employed by the historians in the video clips so that the students can better understand what it was that they just saw. For example, one essay might explain the standard historian's practice of "reading the silences" (identifying whose voice is not heard in the document; noting who or what is not mentioned, and why that might be) or another might explain the historian use of background knowledge ("this was written by so-and-so, a known advocate for . . . ") or another might explain how the historian "sourced" the document (asking who wrote the document and for what purpose?). In addition to providing models of expert historical reading, the site also provides examples of novices thinking aloud about historical evidence. Explanatory essays then explain these examples of common mistakes and "mis-cognition" about sources as revealed by these inexperienced examples. (The novice material is found in the teacher materials.) In short, while accomplishing much of the same sort of training in evidentiary/epistemological historical thinking skills of other sites,

HistoricalThinkingMatters also shows the nature of historical reading and thinking.⁸⁰³

⁸⁰³ A few Web resources exist to help teach college student students in introductory classes. Virginia Tech University's *Digital History Reader*, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, provides primary sources in both European and American history, which often are conflicting in what they reveal. Digital History Reader, viewed on July 4, 2009 at <http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/about/index.html>. See, Robert Stephens and Josh Thumma, "Faculty-Undergraduate collaboration in Digital History at a Public Research University," *History Teacher* 38 (August 2005) 525-542; Robert P. Stephens, Jane L. Lehr, Daniel B. Thorp, E. Thomas Ewing, and David Hicks, "Using Technology to Teach Historical Understanding *The Digital History Reader* Brings the Possibilities of New Technology to the History Classroom," *Social Education* 69 (April 2005) 151-155 E. Thomas Ewing and Robert P. Stephens, "The Digital History Reader Teaching Resources for United States and European History," *Perspectives*, 45 (May 2007) viewed on July 4, 2009 at <http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/about/publications/Perspectives.pdf> Other resources about The Digital History Reader may be found at 'About DHR,' viewed on July 4, 2009 at

There have been a few evaluations of resources like HistoricalThinkingMatters, Picturing Modern America, and the Persistent Issues in History Network. Daniel W. Stuckart's 2004 dissertation at the University of South Florida attempted to assess just how well a Web environment can build the evidence/epistemological skills involved in historical thinking.⁸⁰⁴ Using paper reproductions, "Web-like" resources in a simulated Internet environment, and the think-aloud protocol, he measured the "qualities and frequencies" of the analysis of the sources being presented, the "historian heuristics." He found that most of time, students engaged in simple read and react patterns with only a small percentage recognizing a "greater level of subtext." This is hardly surprising. As has been shown, since the early 1980s research has found that this form of "expert

<http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu/about/publications/index.html> Some of the tools offered by the site include a cost of labor calculator that allows students to compare slavery and indentured servitude in colonial America; an animated graph that charts European unemployment during the Great Depression; and a dynamic analysis of photographs of a student protest in 1968. The Historians Toolbox, found at http://guides.library.fullerton.edu/historians_toolbox/index.html, was developed by the California State University as part of the Information Competence Work Group. The project began in April 1995 and was one of several that explored the information competence skills specific to particular disciplines. The site contains thirteen Web-based tutorials designed to teach information skills required by the historical research involved in writing the standard college history research paper. This set of tools is more of a traditional "bibliographic instruction" device than a tool to teach the nature of the discipline, although it does deal with evaluating historical evidence. The Visible Knowledge Project is a project developed by the Center for New Designs in Learning and Scholarship at Georgetown University, with the American Studies Association, the American Studies Crossroads Project, the American Social History Project (City University of New York Graduate Center), George Mason University's Center for History and New Media, the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and the TLT Group with the American Association of Higher Education. A five-year, four million dollar project aimed at "improving the quality of college and university teaching through a focus on both student learning and faculty development in technology-enhanced environments," it involved more than 50 faculty members on 25 campuses. The project explored the use of technology in a broad context, but much of its work is consistent with other projects mentioned here. For more information on the project see Michael Coventry, Peter Felten, David Jaffee, Cecilia O'Leary, and Tracey Weis, with Susannah McGowan, "Ways of Seeing: Evidence and Learning in the History Classroom," *Journal of American History* 92 (March 2006): 1371-1402. The Visible Knowledge Project Web site may be found at <https://digitalcommons.georgetown.edu/blogs/vkp/>

⁸⁰⁴ Daniel W. Stuckart, *Secondary Students Using Expert Heuristics in the Analysis of Digitalized Historical Documents*. Dissertation. (University of South Florida, 2004).

reading” of sources is a learned behavior, rarely taught. Stuckart’s findings seem to support this, leading him to join others in concluding that this lack of heuristics (evidentiary/epistemological thinking) on part of students shows a lack of prior knowledge and inexperience with historical documents, probably the result of the way history is taught in schools. In addition to finding that research on understanding of computer technology on historical understanding is nearly non-existent, Stuckart also determined that computer technologies promote learner control and “promote authenticity,” by which he means a form of contextualization leading to historical empathy.⁸⁰⁵ In their “Computer-Mediated Critical Doing History Project,” Shu Ching Yang and Li-Jung Huang also found that “the thoughtful and creative use of computer technology,” combined with critical thinking and historical inquiry “contributes to learners’ historical knowledge, critical thinking skills, and interest in learning history.”⁸⁰⁶ By educating students as to the nature of historical inquiry while investigating their use of historical analysis, the researchers found that they went through “epistemological shifts” in their view of history. They grew to realize, in varying degrees, that learning history is a constructed, analytic, and investigative activity.

⁸⁰⁵ Daniel W. Stuckart, *Secondary Students Using Expert Heuristics in the Analysis of Digitalized Historical Documents*. Dissertation. (University of South Florida, 2004): 12.

⁸⁰⁶ Shu Ching Yang, “E-Critical/Thematic Doing History Project: Integrating the Critical Thinking Approach with Computer Mediated History Learning,” *Computers in Human Behavior* (September 2007): 2095-2112 and Shu Ching Yang and Li-Jung Huang, “Computer-Mediated Critical Doing History Project,” *Computers in Human Behavior* (September 2007): 2144-2162. The researchers used 33 junior high students in an extracurricular activity, which suggests that students already had an interest in history; the results, then, cannot be extrapolated to a wide school population. For more information on the project, see the earlier article, Shu Ching Yang and Lijung Huang, “Integrating the Critical Thinking Approach with Web Resources: An Application to History Teaching in a Junior High School,” *Computers in Education: Proceedings of the International Conference* (December 2002): 1390-1391.

Building Empathy

As has been shown, almost all of the online tools being created have sought to teach the epistemological/evidence-related subset of historical thinking skills. Very few of the other skills as identified by Seixas, progress and decline, causation, etc., have been approached by developers of online history educational sites. The one exception seems to be historical empathy. Of course, one of the most successful ways of teaching historical empathy has always been to teach local history and then connect the elements of the local to a broader, national or international story. By employing this method, teachers can help students more easily make a connection, build empathy, with historical actors who may have walked the same streets they walk or who may have lived in the old house on the corner or who may have even gone to or taught in their own school. (Building historical empathy is one of the reasons that a number of schools often include a “family history” component in their instruction.) Along these lines, a number of schools, working alone or in partnership, have actually sought to build their own digital collections of local history materials. For example, the Cherokee County, Georgia Historical Society found a manuscript collection of a local man, William Asaph Perry, in one of its storage closets. Pre-service teachers and high school students were allowed to work with these materials, and using the SCIM-C methodology, they managed to create a non-linear, digital narrative of sorts based upon Perry’s items. Theirs was a “transparent story” showing the relationship between the evidence and the narrative. The pre-service teachers added yet another layer to the story by focusing on the pedagogical: what teachers and students can learn from Perry’s story. This process allowed those involved in the project to identify

the local story in a larger historical context, one that, according to the organizers of the project “emphasized a shared humanity across the generations.”⁸⁰⁷

Arguing that adolescents develop, in part, by forging links between separate environments, and come to understand themselves through relationships that form something like a set of concentric circles (with themselves in the middle and radiating out from family to the rest of the world), Cheryl Mason Bolick and Scott Waring explored the idea of students literally cutting and pasting themselves into history.⁸⁰⁸ While not “online,” their project still used digital media and primary sources to teach historical empathy. In their methodology, students analyze a photograph along the lines of “Picturing Modern America.” Using digital media tools, they then cut and paste themselves into the photograph while the teacher prompts them to think about and respond to questions such as “What is happening in this photograph?” “What are you doing in this photograph?” “What would you like to do next?” “From where you are in the photograph, describe what you hear.” “What are people talking about around you?” “What are you saying to the people around you?” “How do you feel at this time?” “What makes you feel this way?” Having been “placed” back in time in this manner, students can engage in a form of inquiry that allows them to “personalize and recreate an event or

⁸⁰⁷ John K. Lee and W. Guy Clarke, “Studying Local History in the Digital Age: The Story of Asaph Perry,” (April 2004): 203-207. Another example: T. Z. Laver, “Off the Shelf and Into the Classroom: Working with K-12 Teachers to Integrate Digitized Collections into Classroom Instruction,” *The Southeastern Librarian* 50 (Winter 2003): 32-7. The case is made by any of a number of local, state and regional libraries, archives and museums that their digitization efforts are aimed, at least in part, to provide access to materials that will allow users to tie local activities, events, and personalities with national and international events. Though they do not state it outright, this effort seems driven, in part at least, to build the historical empathy of users through a “bridging” device. Cherokee County Digital History Project, “The Story of Asaph Perry” viewed on July 29, 2009 at <http://www.dhpp.org/Cherokee/narrative/index.html>

⁸⁰⁸ Cheryl Mason Bolick and Scott Waring, “Virtual History: Transposing Students to Another Time and Place,” *Meridian: A Middle School Computer Technologies Journal* (Winter 2004), viewed on May 20, 2009 at <http://www.ncsu.edu/meridian/win2004/virtual/virtual.pdf>

era.” For most adolescents, historical events reside in those concentric circles at a far remove from themselves. “By virtually placing students into historical events, through virtual history projects, teachers are able to help students bridge the gap from the students’ immediate world to distant times and places.” The authors describe one exemplary project in which students learn about World War II Japanese Internment Camps. During the lesson, students listened to oral history clips and read related poetry and a brief narrative. They then used digital media tools to place an image of themselves in an image from the time, writing an essay to describe their thoughts about this aspect of American history.

In another attempt to teach historical empathy using computer technologies, Joseph Polman reached back to the highly popular simulation Oregon Trail for inspiration. In a hyperconstructivist move, he actually challenged his seven-member after-school history club of ten to thirteen year-olds to construct their own version of the “game,” using the Underground Railroad as the foundational subject matter. The students created a series of Web pages containing branching choices (around river crossings, acquiring food, choosing a mode of transportation, use of the North Star, and interpretation of symbols along the way). In the “game,” the students/players would be taking the part of the escaped slave, but the “learning” took place in the creation of the game, not necessarily in the “playing” of that game.⁸⁰⁹ To create such a game/simulation, even in a rudimentary form, students would have to participate in “contextualized historical thinking;” they would have to take into account the perspectives of those

⁸⁰⁹ Joseph L. Polman, “Recreating the Past: Building Historical Simulations with Hypermedia to Learn History,” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, 2002. ERIC 478 730

characters that might differ from their own “personal history, beliefs, knowledge and information, purpose and motives, possible and made choices, cultural tools and norms of the times, etc.”⁸¹⁰ As Polman points out, if *participating* in a simulation requires thinking about perspective and building historical empathy, then *creating* an environment for that simulation certainly does.

And finally, revisiting a project discussed earlier, the “Persistent Issues in History Network” seeks to build empathy skills by often asking students to take on the role of historical actors, and by contextualizing primary sources in such a way that it leads the student to “decision points.” They learn how to “take on the character” of a historical actor by investigating the sources. Once “in character” they are asked to come to a form of moral judgment about the activities that these individuals from the past were engaged in.⁸¹¹ And some of the MysteryQuests attempt to build empathy, as well, such as the case of Jerome of Baie Sainte-Marie who was discovered in the 1860s on a beach with no identifying papers, no legs, and unable to speak. The schoolchildren are asked to adopt an historical perspective and attempt to see the disabled man through the lens of the time. They are asked to avoid imposing a present-day perspective and to suspend their moral judgment to see if they can determine why Jerome was treated the way he was.⁸¹²

⁸¹⁰ Joseph L. Polman, “Recreating the Past: Building Historical Simulations with Hypermedia to Learn History,” Paper Presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, 2002. ERIC 478 730

⁸¹¹ The Persistent Issues in History Network homepage may be found at <http://dp.crlt.indiana.edu/>

⁸¹² MysteryQuests, “Was Jerome Mistreated?” viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://www.mysteryquests.ca/quests/27/indexen.html>. A man with both legs amputated above the knees was found on the beach of Sandy Cove on the Coast of the Bay of Fundy on September 8, 1863. He was taken in by the locals and spent the rest of his life in near silence. He was called Jerome because in some of his grunting, he was said to have mumbled this name. Some believed he was an Italian nobleman, others an Irish immigrant who had run away from his family. Still

While there have been a number of demonstration projects like Mason, Polman, and the Cherokee County Historical Society's, there have been few assessments of structured, online history education sites' abilities in building historical empathy/perspective taking skills. In one study of the use of computer technology to teach historical empathy (or perspective taking), Fran Doppen examined the actual use of computers by four beginning social studies teachers while they taught history during their first year in the classroom.⁸¹³ (All had received the same training, which had emphasized the successful integration of technology into the classroom.) Based upon Doppen's extensive observations, she determined that 1) the beliefs brought to the classroom by the teachers profoundly impacted their students' appreciation of history, and 2) these teachers often had difficulty using computers to engage their students in historical inquiry, especially when they attempted to introduce the concepts of historical thinking and empathy. Teaching historical empathy, she found, is not a task easily managed.

others surmised he was a lumberjack who had been involved in a brutal accident. Jerome became an object of interest and people came from all around to look at him. By the time he had died in 1912, numerous legends had grown up around the silent man.

⁸¹³ Fran H. Doppen, "Beginning Social Studies Teachers' Integration of Technology in the History Classroom," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 32 (Spring 2004): 248-279.

Part II: Summation

As broadband becomes wide-band, laptops become handhelds and graphical user interfaces become virtual worlds, one wonders where educational technology will go in its attempt to teach students the ability to see history through the eyes of those in the past, to understand the role that different values and world views might have played in that “distant world,” to build historical empathy. How would those classroom players of the Oregon Trail respond to their online trek across the American prairie, if it took place in a convincing, immersive learning environment? Would they develop a better “feel” for the past, get a better understanding of the perspectives of those who went before, and—by building that understanding—would these environments help students more creatively structure a narrative based upon the evidence left behind?⁸¹⁴ What effect will massive digital libraries of primary source material have on the teaching of historical thinking skills in the evidence and epistemological realm? How will current Web 2.0 tools with their interactive, “group-sourcing” features change a student’s interaction with historical evidence—especially as this interactivity becomes geo-referenced? What is the best way to structure an online learning experience to teach historical significance, continuity and change, progress and decline, and historical agency? Is there a way to build a student’s abilities in evidence-based narrative construction using various scaffolding techniques without stifling individual creative impulses? How much metadiscourse (discussions about what was selected and why, acknowledgements of on-going scholarly discussions, etc.) should be included in online history sites dedicated to teaching and is this a place for such Web 2.0-based conventions such as comments boxes, folksonomies, and value

⁸¹⁴ Work on these immersive environments to teach history is underway. See the September 2003 issue of *the Journal of the Association for History and Computing*, viewed online on July 5, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/JAHC/2003/issue2/>

tagging? How does one structure a history teaching Website to address Barton and Levstik's four stances? *Should* one design a teaching Website that consciously addresses these stances? How much subject/content knowledge is required to develop different historical thinking skills? How does one successfully integrate the contextualizing, "sweeping" historical narrative with its names and dates with the more targeted inquiry-based activities that build historical thinking skills? How much post-holing is required? And, how will new, more multi-media approaches to conveying narrative change all of these questions? Time, research, a few more demonstration projects, and close evaluations of those projects/ research might tell. Those individuals who develop and manage collections of online primary sources are just now at the beginning of the processes that seek to provide a successful, educational framework for the raw materials of history. For that matter, they are just now learning what "successful" might mean in this arena.

Professors of Education, instructional designers, and bright-eyed optimists of other sorts, have long expected the computer to transform education. Digital technology's many attributes seem perfectly designed to support a flexible, constructive, resource-rich classroom, the kind of classroom long championed by those seeking to change the teaching of history. With each new breakthrough in computer technology—LOGO to desktop, to CD, to Web—new sets of educators and researchers have promised an imminent transformation of the history classroom. Present-day researchers do not seem so optimistic.⁸¹⁵ Unfortunately, but not surprisingly, Larry Cuban has found that the

⁸¹⁵Some examples: W. Pflaum, *The Technology Fix: The Promise and Reality of Computers in Our Schools* (Alexandria, VA: The Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2004); H. Waxman, L. Megn-Fen, and G. Michko, *A Meta-Analysis of the Effectiveness of*

ubiquitous presence of computers in schools has had little impact on the way that most instructors, “even the most adventurous early adopters of technology, actually teach.” Cuban’s study indicates that “teachers on all levels of the educational spectrum tend to use the computer to enhance methods that they already successfully employ.”⁸¹⁶ While a slightly later study than Cuban’s seems to show that computer use of online historical materials is slightly higher than he had discovered previously, and while that more recent study showed that a high percentage of history and social studies teachers had a good understanding of the possibilities and wide range of materials the Web has to offer, it also revealed that their use of those materials in teaching still varied greatly in degree and methodology.⁸¹⁷ As one chronicler of educational technology in the teaching of history in the United Kingdom, Terry Hayden, has noted, “Computers haven’t changed teaching

Teaching and Learning with Technology on Student Outcomes, (Learning Point Associates/ North Central Educational Laboratory (NCREL), 2003), viewed online on January 12, 2010 at <http://www.ncrel.org/tech/effects2/>

⁸¹⁶ Larry Cuban, *Oversold and Underused* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2001). For more along these lines, see Lendol Calder, William W Cutler III, and T. Mills Kelley, “History Lessons: Historians and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning,” in *Disciplinary Styles in the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning: Exploring Common Ground*, Mary Taylor Huber and Sherwyn Morreale, eds., (Washington. D.C.: American Association for Higher Education and the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 2002): 45-67; David Pace, “The Amateur in the Operating Room: History and the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning,” *The American Historical Review* 109 (October 2004); viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ahr/109.4/pace.html>]; These sources were cited by Deborah Vess, “The Toys are Really Cool, But Will the Kids Play With Them?” 9 (April 2006) viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2006/issue1/articles/vess.php>

⁸¹⁷ David Hicks, Peter E. Doolittle, and John Lee, “History and Social Studies Teachers’ Use of Classroom and Web-based Historical Primary Sources,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 32 (Spring 2004): 213-247. See also, John K. Lee and David Hicks, *Are We Using the Web to Support Teaching the doing of History?: The Result of the National Survey*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Chicago, IL, 2003.

much.”⁸¹⁸ Going on to state that the biggest supporters of computer-based instructional strategies seem to be politicians and those who sell computers, Hayden has reported that “[n]ot surprisingly, in terms of quality and utility, the development of the educational network for history has been uneven. There are still many sites which provide little more than unmediated access to less filtered content—links to more links. For pupils and teachers, learning which sites are genuinely helpful rather than ‘more baggage’ is part of becoming a mature Internet user.”⁸¹⁹ (Videos, he maintains, have had a greater impact on the history classroom than have computers because they can more easily be “clipped” to fit into larger lessons; now that videos come via the Web, things might change.⁸²⁰) As just about any teacher can report, technology, by itself, is not a silver bullet, a “magic ingredient.”⁸²¹

The vision of the future of education has changed over the years, from talking in a booth to a typewriter in the 1960s, to fully integrated educational television in the 1970s, to computer drill and practice in the 1980s, to the use of the Internet to access information and communicate with others in the 1990s, to visions of virtual worlds and

⁸¹⁸ Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Hayden and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003).

⁸¹⁹ Although written in 2003, this statement seems to still hold true. Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Hayden and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003): 21.

⁸²⁰ Terry Hayden, “Computers and History: Rhetoric Reality, and the Lessons of the Past,” in Terry Hayden and Christine Counsell, eds., *History ICT and Learning in the Secondary School*, (London: RoutledgeFalmer, 2003): 2.

⁸²¹ Stephen S. Kerr, “Visions of Sugarplums: The Future of Technology, Education, and the Schools,” in S. T. Kerr, ed., *Technology and the Future of Schooling. Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education*, Part II (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996): 1-27.

geo-aware hand-held devices in the 2000s.⁸²² But one thing has remained constant: the importance of thoughtful curriculum development and careful instructional design, no matter the technology being employed.⁸²³ It is the method and the content—not the vehicle for delivery—that influences learning. Different tools, different media, can accomplish the same learning objectives.⁸²⁴ “It cannot be argued that any given medium or attribute must be present for learning to occur, only that certain media and attributes are more efficient for certain learners, learning goals, and tasks.”⁸²⁵ In short, there is no “technology effect” in education, but some tools are more efficacious than others when it comes to designing specific kinds of instruction. And it is the teachers who design and carry out that instruction. Even when given the same tools and learning objectives, no two teachers will approach the task in the same manner nor will they get the exact same results.⁸²⁶ As Antonio Cantu has observed in his discussion of history standards and

⁸²² Cheryl Mason and Anthony Dralle, “Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow: The History and Social Science Classroom,” *Journal of Education* 181 (1999): 1-11.

⁸²³ J. P. Shaver, “Electronic technology and the Future of Social Studies in Elementary and Secondary Schools,” in *Reform and Change in Social Studies—1998 SSEC Annual Conference Proceedings* (1999): 24-37 and James P. Shaver, “Electronic Technology and the Future of Social Studies in Elementary and Secondary Schools,” *Journal of Education* 181 (1999): 13-40.

⁸²⁴ Richard E. Clark, “Media Will Never Influence Learning,” *Educational Technology Research and Development* 42 (1994): 21-29.

⁸²⁵ Richard E. Clark, “Media Will Never Influence Learning,” *Educational Technology Research and Development* 42 (1994): 21-29.

⁸²⁶ This is nicely illustrated by one bit of research that, apparently, did not go as expected. Maarit Arvaja, Helena Rasku-Puttonen, Paivi Hakkinen, Anneli Etelapelto, designed a task to explore how two different schools construct knowledge about imperialism by taking on online historical character roles. “[D]ifferent instructional activities of the two teachers resulted in different learning activities in the two schools and, thus, different level of interaction in the Web-based environment,” leaving the researchers with not much that could be analyzed. Maarit Arvaja, Helena Rasku-Puttonen, Paivi Hakkinen, Anneli Etelapelto, “Constructing Knowledge through a Role Play in a Web-based Learning Environment,” *Journal of Educational Computing Research* 28, 4 (2003): 319-341.

online resources, “It must be made clear, however, that any value obtained from this curricular framework or these Internet-based resources rests solely, as it should, on the shoulders of classroom teachers.”⁸²⁷ Despite fairly intense promotion of the use of primary sources in history teaching, traditional, teacher-centered instructional strategies have not changed all that much, and as a result, social studies and history teachers have not made effective use of computer technologies.⁸²⁸ Delivering technology—hardware and software to the classroom—is the easy part. Getting teachers to adopt any new teaching methodology or technology is difficult and requires a great deal of ongoing support.⁸²⁹ As the New Social Studies movement, perhaps, best demonstrated, the day-to-day requirements of the classroom provide little opportunity for teachers’ professional exploration and change, and getting teachers to use new tools to teach history in a new way, the “doing of history,” is something else all together.⁸³⁰ That is why so much has

⁸²⁷ D. Antonio Cantu, “Teaching the American Revolution and Founding of the American Republic on the Web,” *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* (November 2001) viewed on August 21, 2008 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2001/issue3/k-12/cantu/>

⁸²⁸ Richard A. Diem, “Can it make a difference? Technology and the Social Studies,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 28(2000):493-501.

⁸²⁹ Joseph Bowman Jr., Dianna L. Newman, and JoAnn Masterson, “Adopting Educational Technology: Implications for Designing Interventions,” *Journal of Educational Computing Research* 25 (2001): 81-94; David Hicks, J. Tlou, J. Lee, and Peter Doolittle, “Global Connections: Using the Internet to Support Citizenship Education,” *The International Journal of Social Education* 17 (2002): 93-102.

⁸³⁰ One example: Adam Friedman found that teaching teachers how to use digital primary sources did not really increase their use in the classroom, but it did affect how teachers incorporated those materials into the classroom when they did decide to use them. The more experience teachers had with computers, the more likely they were to use online primary sources. Still, it seems that the six teachers whose instruction he observed intensively, use the Web as a source for lecture illustrations. He noted that having access to computer projectors seemed to be the key to the use of online materials. Adam M. Friedman, “World History Teachers’ Use of Digital Primary Sources: The Effect of Training,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 34 (2006): 124-141.

been written about educating new history and social studies teachers in the “historical sense” scholarship and training them in teaching methods that build historical thinking skills.⁸³¹ By “bending the twig” before it is transplanted in the classroom, teacher educators hope to increase the chance that “the tree will incline” toward those methodologies that emphasize the interpretative and inquiry-based nature of history.

While great advances have been made in what are essentially research and demonstration projects, much more work is needed in disseminating the findings from these projects, not only among those who might use these resources (educators) for teaching, but also among those who might reasonably be expected to make use of these findings to further develop Web resources (or provide special portals to the resources they might have already created) for use of the schools. Currently, few teachers make extensive use of the kind of resources described previously, and even fewer librarians and archivists who, at most institutions, are charged with providing access to historical source materials, are aware of the research that has been quickly presented here, or even the need for that research. Strangely enough, although there has been a wealth of writing about teaching *teachers* to use online primary source materials in this manner, there has been very little—almost nothing—written about educating the *digitizers* about more

⁸³¹ Just a couple of examples: John K. Lee, “Pre-Service Social Studies Teachers’ ‘Reckoning’ with Historical Interpretations and Controversy Arising from Digital Historical Resources,” *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* 4 (August 2001) viewed on July 5, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2001/issue2/reports/lee/>; Cheryl Mason, Marsha Alibrandi, Michael Berson, Kara Dawson, Rich Diem, Tony Dralle, David Hicks, Tim Keiper, John Lee, “Waking the Sleeping Giant: Social Studies Teacher Educators Collaborate to Integrate Technology into Methods’ Courses,” *Society for Information Technology and Teacher Education International Conference*, 2000: 1985-1989; William T. Owens, “Preservice Teachers’ Feedback About the Internet and the Implications for Social Studies Educators,” *The Social Studies* (May/June 1999): 133-140; Allen D. Glenn and Carol A. Carrier, “Teacher Education and Computer Training: An Assessment,” *Peabody Journal of Education* 64 (Fall 1986): 67-79 and Richard A. Diem, “Preservice Teachers and Computer Utilization: A Case Study,” *Educational Technology* 29 (1989): 34-36.

effective presentation of their materials for the schools. Those digitizers who have pioneered the resources presented earlier, *History Matters*, *Persistent Issues in History*, *MysteryQuests*, *Picturing Modern America*, etc. are almost all connected with special academic research or digital humanities centers. Most primary sources, however, are digitized by librarians, archivists, historical society, and museum professionals as a part of their daily duties in collecting, preserving, and providing access to their holdings for exhibit, research, and teaching purposes. Although not a major topic of professional discussion, special collections librarians and archivists have talked and written about their role as supporters of the classroom since the modern beginning of their professions. As far back as 1915, Dawson Johnston of the St. Paul Public Library was writing about the role of the school library in the support of the teaching of history in the classroom.⁸³² Tens of millions of dollars have been spent on the digitization of library, archive, and museum materials (if not more). One of the major audiences perennially identified for these efforts are the schools. But there has been very little published in the professional archives and library literature concerning the research into cognitive development and historical thinking, not to mention the resulting strategies for structuring and contextualizing online primary source materials for the classroom. This seems an odd silence, indeed—especially as more and more material is daily placed beneath library and archive flatbed scanners.

⁸³² W. Dawson Johnston, "The Library and History Teaching, With Special Reference to Teaching of Local History," *School and Society*, II (November 1915): 14-15. He points out how the public libraries in Newark and Minneapolis had copied primary source materials to help in the teaching of history, sponsored history clubs and programming for schoolchildren on historical topics.

Part III.

Concept Analysis of Online Cultural Heritage Resources

for Schools

As Maintained by State Archives Agencies and Collaborative Digitization Programs

*We teach a subject not to produce little living libraries but to consider matters as a historian does, to take part in the process of knowledge. If we respect the ways of thought of the growing child, if one is courteous enough to translate the material into its logical forms and challenging enough to tempt him or her to advance, then it is possible to introduce him/her at an early age to ideas and styles that in later life will make him an educated man.*⁸³³

Jerome Bruner

⁸³³ Jerome Bruner, *Towards a Theory of Instruction*, (Cambridge, MA: Belkapp Press, 1966): 22, 52.

Chapter 10.

Archives and the K-12 Community

Outreach
Archivist as Educator
Teachers' Resource Packets
Pushing the Envelope
Formal Archives User Study of Classroom

It is the rare elementary or high school that makes direct use of archives. The logistics involved in visiting research facilities, the concern for the safety of fragile originals in the hands of children, and the expertise and time required to contextualize archival material to meet the needs of the classroom all tend to discourage the direct use of primary sources by schoolchildren. That does not mean that schools do not make use of archival materials and services. As has been shown previously, there has been a long history of schools using reproductions of archival materials in the classroom, archivists regularly speaking to school groups about historical and archival topics, and archives providing a range of services for teachers, from newsletters and Web sites to workshops and conference presentations. In some instances, schools and archives have worked collaboratively to construct teacher materials and other forms of classroom support. Although there has been a long history of these kinds of activities (and new technologies have fostered an even wider array of classroom and archives interactions), and although there has been a wealth of articles written about the efficacy of teaching with primary sources, formal archival user studies concerning the K-12 community are rare, to say the least.

Outreach

It was during the height of the 1970s New Social Studies movement in the schools of the United States that archivists began to recognize the need to diversify their services to better meet a wider range of users. As one article of the time put it, “If a public institution does not build constituencies larger than those of the academic researcher, the institution is doomed.”⁸³⁴ The promotion of archival user studies was a part of this push

⁸³⁴ The calls for a better understanding of the needs of archives users increased in the 1980s, and they continue to be issued. Here are a sample of the articles that repeat this message: Howard L. Applegate, Richard H. Brown, and Elsie Freivogel, “Wider Use of Historical Records,” *American Archivist* 40 (July 1977): 147-53. This movement for archives user studies led to an ongoing series of scholarly and professional publications, which continue. Some of the more prominent articles in this area include Promoters of user studies in Archives: Anna Sexton, Chris Turner, Geoffrey Yeo, and Susan Hockey, “Understanding Users: a Prerequisite for Developing New Technologies,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 25 (1): 33-49; Terry Cook, “Viewing the World Upside Down: Reflections on the Theoretical Underpinnings of Archival Public Programming,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 131-153; Frederic Miller, “Use, Appraisal, and Research: A Case Study of Social History,” *American Archivist* 49 (Fall 1986): 372-392; Diane L. Beattie, “An Archival User Study: Researchers in the Field of Women’s History,” *Archivaria* 29 (Winter 1989/90): 33-50; David B. Gracy II, “Is There a Future in the Use of Archives,” *Archivaria* (Summer 1987): 3-9; Randall Jimerson, “Redefining Archival Identity: Meeting User Needs in the Information Society,” *American Archivist* 52 (Summer 1989): 332-340; Mary Jo Pugh, “The Illusion of Omniscience: Subject Access and the Reference Archivist,” *American Archivist* 47 (Winter 1982): 33-40; Elsie Freeman Finch, “In the Eye of the Beholder: Archives Administration from the User’s Point of View,” *American Archivist* 47 (Spring 1984): 111-123; Roy Turnbaugh, “Living With a Guide,” *American Archivist* 46 (Fall 1983): 449-452; Richard H. Lytle, “A National Information System for Archives and Manuscript Collections,” *American Archivist* 43 (1980): 423-426; William L. Joyce, “Archivists and Research Use,” *American Archivist* 47 (Spring 1984): 124-33; William J. Maher and Roy C. Turnbaugh, “The Use of User Studies and Archival Mission and User Studies,” *The Midwestern Archivist* 11, 1 (1986): 15-34; Paul Conway, “Research in Presidential Libraries: A User Study,” *Midwestern Archivist* 11, no. 1 (1986): 33-56; Roy C. Turnbaugh, “Archival Mission and User Studies,” *Midwestern Archivist* 11, no. 1 (1986): 27-33; Paul Conway, “Facts and Frameworks: an Approach to Studying the Users of Archives,” *American Archivist* 49 (Fall 1986): 393-408; Lawrence Dowler, “The Role of Use in Defining Archival Practice and Principles: A Research Agenda,” *American Archivist* 51 (Winter and Spring 1988): 74-86; Barbara L. Craig, “What are the Clients? Who Are the Products?” *The Future of Archives Public Services in Perspective*, *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 135-41; Timothy L. Ericson, “Preoccupied with Our Own Gardens’: Outreach and Archivists,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 114-122; Gabrielle Blais and David Enns, “From Paper Archives to People Archives: Public Programming in the Management of Archives,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 101-113; Terry Cook, “Viewing the World Upside Down: Reflections on the Theoretical Underpinnings of Archival Public Programming,” *Archivaria* 31 (Winter 1990-91): 123-134; David Bearman, “User Presentation Language in Archives,” *Archives*

to reach out beyond academics and administrators.⁸³⁵ The schools were, perhaps, the constituency most often identified by archivists as being in need of being addressed. As a

and Museum Informatics 3 (Winter 1989/90): 3-7; Ann D. Gordon, *Using the Nation's Documentary Heritage: The Report of the Historical Documents Study* (Washington, DC: National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 1992); Paul Conway, *Partners in Research: Improving Access to the Nation's Archive* (Pittsburgh: Archives and Museum Informatics, 1994); Barbara L. Craig, "Old myths in new clothes: expectations of archives users." *Archivaria* 45 (Spring 1998): 118-126; Michael Widener, "The Status of Users in Archival Enterprise." *Provenance* 9/1-2 (1991): 1-23; Toms, Elaine G. and Wendy Duff. "I Spent 1 ½ Hours Sifting Through One Large Box . . . Diaries as Information Behavior of the Archives User: Lessons Learned," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science and Technology* 53 (December 2002): 1232-1238; Judi Moline and Steve Otto. *User Study: Informational Needs of Remote National Archives and Records Administration Customers* (Gaithersburg, MD: Department of Commerce, Systems and Software Technology Division, Computer Systems Laboratory, National Institute of Standards and Technology, 1994); Yakel, Elizabeth, and Deborah A. Torres, "AI: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise," *American Archivist* 66 (Spring/Summer, 2003): 51-78; Geoffrey Yeo, "Understanding Users and Use: A Market Segmentation Approach," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 26 (April 2005): 26-53; Wendy M. Duff and Catherine A. Johnson, "A Virtual Expression of Need: An Analysis of Archival Reference Questions," *American Archivist* 64 (Spring/ Summer 2001): 43-60; Kristin Martin, "Analysis of Remote Correspondence at a Large Academic Manuscripts Collection," *American Archivist* 64 (Spring/ Summer 2001): 17-42; Megan E. Phillips, *Usage Patterns for Holdings of Information Resources at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Manuscripts Department*, Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1997; Shayera D. Tangri, *Evaluating Changes in the Methods by Which Users of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill Manuscript Department Learn of the Holdings of the Department*, Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2000; Carolyn Harris, "Archives Users in the Digital Era: A Review of Current Research Trends," *Dalhousie Journal of Information & Management* viewed on October 3, 2008 at http://dijm.management.dal.ca/issues/issue1_1/harris/index.htm

⁸³⁵ User studies in archives has focused primarily upon historians, although a number of articles have been written about genealogist users. Some of the literature on historians as users: Walter Rundell, Jr., "Relations Between Historical Researchers and Custodians of Source Material," *College and Research Libraries* 29 (November 1968): 466-76; Walter Rundell, Jr., *In Pursuit of American History*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1970); Historians: Michael E. Stevens, "The Historian and Archival Finding Aids," *Georgia Archive* 5 (Winter 1977): 64-75; Margaret Stieg, "The Information of [sic] Needs of Historians," *College and Research Libraries* 42 (November 1981): 549-60; Clark Elliott, "Citation Patterns and Documentation for the History of Science: Some Methodological Considerations," *American Archivist* 44 (Spring 1981): 131-142; Jacqueline Goggin, "The Indirect Approach: A Study of Scholarly Users of Black and Women's Organizational Records in the Library of Congress Manuscript Division," *Midwestern Archivist* 11, no. 1 (1986): 57-67; Frederick M. Miller, "Social History and Archival Practice," *American Archivist* 44 (Spring 1981): 113-124; Frederic Miller, "Use, Appraisal, and Research: A Case Study of Social History," *American Archivist* 49 (Fall 1986): 371-392; Diane L. Beattie, "An Archival User Study: Researchers in the Field of Women's History," *Archivaria* 29 (Winter 1989/90): 33-50; Peter A. Uva, *Information Gathering Habits of Academic Historians: Report of*

result, this led some to call on archivists to take on a new role, that of educator. As Elsie Freeman Frievoegel, who was in charge of the National Archives of the United States' outreach to the schools effort, explained, "To the museum educator, the term museum education means the education of the public. To the archivist, archival education means the education of other archivists. In fact . . . the archivist does not ordinarily perceive the education of the public to be his job. As a corollary, those few philistines who do view it as part of their jobs are not, by the average arranging, describing, and referencing

the Pilot Study (Syracuse: State University of New York, Upstate Medical Center, 1977); Donald Case, "The Collection and Use of Information by Some American Historians: A Study of Motives and Method," *Library Quarterly* 61 (January 1991): 61-82; Barbara C. Orbach, "The View from the Researcher's Desk: Historians Perceptions of Research and Repositories," *American Archivist* 54 (Winter 1991):28-43; Helen R. Tibbo, *Abstracting, Information Retrieval and the Humanities: Providing Access to Historical Literature* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1993); Wendy Duff and Catherine A. Johnson, "Accidentally Found On Purpose: Information-Seeking Behavior of Historians in Archives," *Library Quarterly*, 72 (October 2002): 472; Ian Anderson, "Are You Being Served? Historians and the Search for Primary Sources," *Archivaria* 58 (Fall 2004): 81-129; Margaret Stieg Dalton and Laurie Charnigo, "Historians and Their Information Sources," *College and Research Libraries* 65 (September 2004): 400-25; Catherine A. Johnson and Wendy M. Duff, "Chatting Up the Archivist: Social Capital and the Archival Researcher," *American Archivist* 68 (Spring/Summer 2005): 113-129; Roberto Delgadillo and Beverly P. Lynch, "Future Historians: Their Quest for Information," *College and Research Libraries* 60 (May 1999): 245-59; Charles Cole, "Name Collection by PhD History Students: Inducing Expertise," *Journal of the American Society for Information Science* 51, no. 5 (2000): 444-55; Barbara Craig, The Use of Archival Resources. A Cross-Canada Survey of Historians Studying Canadian History," *Archivaria* 58 (Winter/Spring 2004/5): 51-81; Wendy Duff, Barbara Craig, Joan Cherry, "Historians' Use of Archival Sources: Promises and Pitfalls of the Digital Age," *Public Historian* (Spring 2004): 7-22. Genealogists: Mary N. Speakman, "The User Talks Back," *American Archivist* 47 (Spring 1984): 164-71. (See also letters from archivists and Speakman's reply, "The Forum," *American Archivist* 47 (Fall 1984): 352-353; Milton Rubincam, "What the Genealogist Expects of an Archival Agency or Historical Society," *The American Archivist* 12, 4(October 1949): 333-338; Wendy M. Duff and Catherine A. Johnson, "Where is the List with ALL the Names? Information-Seeking Behavior of Genealogists," *American Archivist* 66 (Spring/Summer 2003): 79-95; Elizabeth Yakel, "Seeking Information, Seeking Connections, Seeking Meaning: Genealogists and family Historians," *Information Research* 10, no. 1 (October 2004), viewed on December 8, 2008 at <http://informationr.net/ir/10-1/paper205.html>; Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah A. Torres, "Genealogists as a Community of Records," *American Archivist* 70 (Spring/Summer 2007): 93-113. Jeanette Bastian, *Owning Memory: How a Caribbean Community Lost it Archives and Found its History* (Westport, Conn: Libraries Unlimited, 2003).

archivist, viewed as archivists.”⁸³⁶ This, she felt, needed to be changed. She was not alone. In 1972, at the height of the New Social Studies movement in the United States, Canadian archivist (and a founding instructor in the Archival Studies Program at the University of British Columbia) Hugh Taylor, did his part to describe the potential of archives in this arena by tracing the use of English records repositories in teaching from 1906 through the 1960s. He described the influence of “local studies” on the schools, travelling exhibits of original materials, prizes given for original research, and similar

⁸³⁶ Elsie Freeman Finch, “In the Eye of the Beholder: Archives Administration from the User’s Point of View,” *American Archivist* 47 (Spring 1984): 117 quoted in Howard L. Applegate, Richard H. Brown, and Elsie Freivogel, “Wider Use of Historical Records,” *American Archivist* 40 (July 1977): 147-53. More recent research into the users of archives has been focused on descriptive practices and the use of specific tools such as online finding aids, Web sites, etc. A sampling of those articles: Robert Spindler and Richard Pearce-Moses, “Does AMC Mean Archives Made Confusing? Patron Understanding of USMARC AMC Records,” *American Archivist* 56 (Spring 1993): 330-41; Susan Malbin, “Does AMC Really Mean ‘Archives Made Confusing’?: Retesting Patron Understanding,” *Technical Services Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (1998): 28; Wendy Duff and Penka Stoyanova, “Transforming the Crazy Quilt: Archival Displays from a Users’ Point of View,” *Archivaria* 45 (Spring 1998): 44-79; Karen Collins, “Providing Subject Access to Images: Study of User Queries,” *American Archivist* 61 (Spring 1998): 36-55; Margaret Hedstrom, “How do Archivists Make Electronic Archives Usable and Accessible?” *Archives and Manuscripts* 26 (1998): 6-22; Jill Tatum, “EAD: Obstacles to Implementation, Opportunities for Understanding,” *Archival Issues* 23, no. 2 (1998): 155-169; Burt Altman and John R. Nemmers, “The Usability of On-line Archival Resources: the Polaris Project Finding Aid,” *American Archivist* 64 (Spring/Summer, 2001): 121-131; Andrea Rosenbach, “Are Our Users Being Served? A Report on Online Archival Databases,” *Archives and Manuscripts* 29 (May 2001): 44-61; Elizabeth Yakel, “Impact of Internet Discover Tools on Use and Users of Archives,” *Comma* 2/3 (2003): 191-200; Lisa R. Coats, “Users of EAD Finding Aids: Who are They and Are they Satisfied?” *Journal of Archival Organization* 2 (2004): 25-40; Susan Hamburger, “How Researchers Search for Manuscript and Archival Collections,” *Journal of Archival Organization* 2, ½ (2004): 79-102; Elizabeth Yakel, “Encoded Archival Description: Are Finding Aids Boundary Spanners or Barriers for Users?” *Journal of Archival Organization* 1:1/2 (2004): 63-77; Christopher Prom, “User Interactions with Electronic Finding Aids in a Controlled Setting,” *American Archivist* 67 (Fall/Winter, 2004): 234-268; Anna Sexton, Chris Turner, Geoffrey Yeo, and Susan Hockey, “Understanding Users: a Prerequisite for Developing New Technologies,” *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 25 (April, 2004): 34-49; Wendy Scheir, “First Entry: Report on a Qualitative Exploratory Study of Novice User Experience with Online Finding Aids,” *Journal of Archival Organization* 3, 4 (2005): 49-80; Merrilee Proffitt, “How and Why of User Studies: RLG’s RedLightGreen as a Case Study,” *Journal of Archival Organization* 4, ½ (2006): 87-110; Rosalie Lack, “The Importance of User-Centered Design: Exploring Finding Aid Methods,” *Journal of Archival Organization* 4, ½ (2006): 69-86.

work of the UK records offices.⁸³⁷ Taylor, who once told one of his classes who watched in horror as pieces of an old deed he was holding fell to crumbs before them, “Don’t worry. There are hundreds of thousands of these in England,” stressed the importance of the original, the “sensual,” the artifactual value of records: “No printed text can give us this total involvement, and when the document is placed with a thousand of its fellows of the same series, but all in some way different, or is examined within the context of a bound letterbook, the effect can be overwhelming.”⁸³⁸ Because of this power of the original to inspire, he argued for a deeper use of archival material in teaching than the mere illustrative, and called upon teachers to promote the classroom investigation into primary sources and to demonstrate their use as evidence. Still pushing the work of UK archives as a model, a few years later, Ron Chepesiuk reported on the then current educational programs in Great Britain and Ireland, bringing Taylor’s historical overview up to date, and pointing out some of the reasons archivists elsewhere had not flocked to take Taylor’s sterling advice.⁸³⁹ Chepesiuk outlined practical problems teachers experience in use of archival materials in the classroom: their lack of knowledge about how to best incorporate these materials into the lesson; time constraints resulting from administrative duties; unwillingness to try new approaches in the classroom; and distance

⁸³⁷ Hugh Taylor, “Clio in the Raw: Archival Materials in the Teaching of History,” *American Archivist* 35 (1972): 317-30. Quote is on page 319.

⁸³⁸ Hugh Taylor, “Clio in the Raw: Archival Materials in the Teaching of History,” *American Archivist* 35 (1972): 319. The anecdote about the crumbling document was told in an obituary of Taylor. See, Terry Eastwood, “Remembering Hugh Taylor,” *AABC Newsletter* 15 (Fall 2005), viewed on December 11, 2008 at http://aabc.bc.ca/aabc/newsletter/15_4/remembering_hugh_taylor.htm

⁸³⁹ Ron Chepesiuk, “Archives and the Child: Educational Services in Great Britain and Ireland,” *Provenance* 1 (Fall 1983): 45-58.

from archival repositories. To counteract these barriers to access, he suggested that archives have a staff member dedicated to working with teachers and students. This person, preferably an archivist with a background in teaching, could nurture the teachers and help them incorporate the archives' materials into the classroom. The goal would be to eventually train a cadre of teachers who could begin to influence school boards and educational standards groups to understand the importance of bringing more primary sources into the schools to enhance instruction.

Archivist as Educator

The Canadian historian of Social Studies, Ken Osborne, agreed with the sentiments of Chepesiuk and others.⁸⁴⁰ In an article published in the professional journal of Canadian archivists, he noted that there has been a debate in the profession as to the role of archivist along the lines of "archivist as more of a records manager versus archivist as more of an historian." Osborne argued that there is a third role that is being ignored: archivist as educator. He reminded his readers that when making the need for increased government support for the national archives in Canada in 1906, those who did so discussed the "best way to connect the archives to the educational life of the country." At that time, this connection meant collecting, arranging, describing and making materials available to scholars and researchers, although as early as 1949, one Canadian archivist reported that "many inquiries . . . have come from teachers in elementary schools, or from high school pupils, whereas Archives publications have always been prepared with

⁸⁴⁰ Ken Osborne, "Archives in the Classroom," *Archivaria* 23 (Winter 1986-87): 16-40.

research and universities primarily in mind.”⁸⁴¹ (As a result, this 1940s archivist suggested two series of publications, one aimed at researchers and the other “designed to be primarily teaching aids for elementary and high school use.” Nothing came of his suggestion.) Osborne went on to describe how Dominion Archivist, Wilfred I. Smith, in 1972, bemoaned the fact that “from the point of view of the community as a whole the education value of the Archives are (sic) important,” but for well known reasons of staff time and other resources—but primarily arising from a failure to connect with teachers and schools—this educational value remained unrealized. Osborne argued that despite these and a myriad of other failed attempts to build a bridge between repositories and the schools, the time had finally come for archives to connect to the educational life of the country by reaching out to the general public through exhibitions and to the schools through slide shows and visits. In his solid argument, the education professor described how history and social studies teachers were looking to get beyond textbooks to bring more interest to the classroom and how archives possessed the materials to make courses, widely regarded as stultifying, more stimulating. He reported how new methods of teaching, supported by better understanding of how children learn history (described at length previously in this piece), placed an increased emphasis on students “doing” history, and he maintained that to do history, students must have access to the raw materials of the past. Osborne also reported on efforts to overhaul textbooks, leading these works to be salted with heavy doses of primary sources, and then the attempt to supplement or even replace these new texts with primary source packets—only to have these primary source-rich materials overlooked by teachers who had never been taught how to teach with these kinds of resources. Here was another role for archivists: “If teachers who are

⁸⁴¹ W. Kaye Lamb, Public Archives of Canada, *Report for the Year 1949* (Ottawa, 1950): xxxiii.

unconvinced of the value of documentary approaches are to use archival materials, then it is obviously important that archivists work closely with those involved in the training and the professional development of teachers.”⁸⁴² Both students and teachers have to be prepared if they are to benefit from their exposure to archival materials. One has to know what it means to do history before documents cases filled with letters, diaries, and old photographs are able to help do it. Not doing so would be like handing a stickshift to the average airline passenger and telling him to “Go ahead. Fly!” Someone had to do the teaching, and Osborne argued that it is more efficient for the archivist to go to the classroom rather than the classroom come to the archives for that training. (And at the time, this meant an actual, physical visit by an archivist—not the creation of a Web site.) He suggested an eight-fold approach to bring schools and archives together:

- 1) Teacher education projects and activities
- 2) Classroom units of instruction on the work and role of archives
- 3) Exhibition and visits
- 4) Projects involving students in archival research
- 5) The production of archives-based teaching kits
- 6) The use of students to identify and collect material of interest to archives
- 7) The formation of school-based archives
- 8) The establishment of organizational linkages between teachers and archivists

Nothing lasting came of Osborne’s compelling argument.

Ken Osborne wasn’t the last thinker on the subject to take up the call, however. Again noting that schoolchildren are a huge clientele not often or effectively served by archives, in 1997, Sharon Anne Cook, a self-described “teacher-archivist,” continued the discussion concerning the professional role of archivists as educators, contrasting the

⁸⁴² Ken Osborne, “Archives in the Classroom,” *Archivaria* 23 (Winter 1986-87): 25.

approaches taken by archives and museums toward public programming.⁸⁴³ Like Chepesiuk, Freivogel, and Osborne before her, she promoted the idea of bridging archivist and teacher professional domains through formal partnerships and called upon archives to include student teachers in programming activities and the production of specialized educational kits, materials that were increasingly needed as more and more schools attempted to incorporate source evidence into their classrooms. According to Cook, such activities not only would enhance the education of schoolchildren, but it would help create a more positive image of archives in the general population. This would help stimulate interest in archival holdings and activities, and help create greater support for what archives do (including enhancing acquisitions), while leading to better educated adult users, whether academicians or hobbyists.

Teachers' Resource Packets

The message of Cook and others did bear some fruit. Some archives and special collections began to increase their outreach efforts to the schools, with the National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) leading the way. For a number of years, the National Archives sponsored "Document of the Month," a regular feature in *Social Education*, the professional publication of social studies teachers, and some of these materials were reproduced in that agency's *Teaching with Documents: Using Primary*

⁸⁴³ Sharon Anne Cook, "Connecting Archives and the Classroom," *Archivaria* no. 44 (Fall 1997): 102-117.

*Sources from the National Archives.*⁸⁴⁴ NARA's Education Branch also created a series of classroom teaching materials to supplement secondary-level social studies curricula. Each of these units included from 35 to 50 reproductions of documents from the National Archives and a teacher's guide containing suggested teaching activities. Titles in this series included *The Civil War: Soldiers and Civilians*; *The Progressive Years, 1889-1917*; *World War I: The Home Front*; *The 1920s*; *The Great Depression and New Deal*; *World War II: The Home Front*; *The Constitution*; *Evolution of a Government*; *The Truman Years: 1945-1953*; *Peace and Prosperity: 1953-1961*; and *The Bill of Rights: Evolution of Personal Liberties*, among many others. The National Archives also began to offer a summer workshop series for teachers, "Primary Teaching: Original Documents and Classroom Strategies."⁸⁴⁵ These kinds of activities have culminated in the creation of many online resources, as well as the Boeing Learning Center, an interactive, physical teaching space, recently established within the National Archives building in Washington, DC.⁸⁴⁶ Here, twice a day, classes of middle school students use archival materials in problem solving exercises designed to connect the nation's youngsters to the nation's past.

⁸⁴⁴ *Teaching with Primary Sources: Using Documents from the National Archives* (Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Association, 1989).

⁸⁴⁵ This information is based upon Excerpts from the National Archives publication, *Teaching with Documents*, which were found at http://www.alaskool.org/resources/teaching/national_archives/introduction.htm on December 31, 2008. NARA's Web space created for students and teachers may be found at <http://www.archives.gov/education>

⁸⁴⁶ The Boeing Learning Center, <http://www.archives.gov/nae/visit/learning-center/>

Among the most noteworthy of these types of activities outside of those resources created by the National Archives was Kathleen Roe's 1981 *Teaching with Historical Records*, a sixty page booklet geared toward social studies teachers, published by the New York State Archives. This work gave general information on meeting educational objectives with fifteen facsimile documents, each with a lesson plan, discussion questions, and project activities. The packet included personal papers, business and local government records, maps, photographs, broadsides, and census records. It spanned New York State history from 1817 to 1925.⁸⁴⁷ The Oregon State Archives created a similar packet, which included 24 facsimile documents from the early years of the territory, an instructor's manual with contextual and background information, along with discussion questions and a glossary.⁸⁴⁸ In at least one case, the primary source packets for the schools included real, live human beings, eyewitnesses to history, senior citizens.⁸⁴⁹ The Missouri Committee for the Humanities in partnership with that state's archives organized "Past and Future Coming Together," which combined the use of primary source packets with senior citizen volunteer visitors to classrooms. This project was tied to the fifth through eighth grade state curricula and reflected major social history topics such as education, transportation, recreation, health, religion and rituals, family, and working. The seniors acted as primary sources and discussed local aspects of national

⁸⁴⁷ Kathleen Roe, *Teaching with Historical Records* (Albany, NY: New York State Archives, State Education Department, 1981). The Maryland State Archives has mounted its teaching packets online. Although well-selected, these materials do not benefit from a great deal of contextualization for the classroom. Maryland State Archives, "Education and Outreach," viewed on April 10, 2010 at <http://www.msa.md.gov/msa/educ/html/sc2221.html#berry>

⁸⁴⁸ Oregon State Archives, *Echoes of Oregon, 1837-1859: A Selection of Records from the Oregon State Archives* (Salem, OR: Oregon State Archives, 1987).

⁸⁴⁹ Patricia L. Adams, "Primary Sources and Senior Citizens in the Classroom," *American Archivist* 50 (Spring 1987): 239-42.

trends. Their form of live oral history was quite successful. Unfortunately, the teachers, who did not have a background in analyzing primary sources, had a difficult time incorporating the manuscript packets into the classroom, and an archivist was needed to act as a “translator” for the project. As a project coordinator reported, “The supplemental written materials—questions, teacher’s instructions, etc.—did not reflect what actually happened in the Classrooms.” And the archivist participants found that reproductions did not tend to elicit the same kind of excitement as did originals: “Further, facsimiles do not provide the same tactile and historical experiences as originals and may seem just like dull, lifeless textbooks to students.”

Whether dull and lifeless or not, primary source packets quickly moved to the digital realm and were distributed via compact discs. In one of the more student-centered projects along these lines, students from the Dalton School, supervised by teachers from the New Laboratory for Teaching and Learning and aided by Columbia University faculty and graduate students, drew on collections from several libraries and museums to create a CD of material concerning the American Civil War. These sources were selected, arranged and presented in a multimedia format to teach students about multiple interpretations of events, use of wide-ranging sources, and the challenge of preserving historical materials and translating them into digital formats.⁸⁵⁰ The students learned history by creating their own “high-tech” primary source “packet.” In an attempt to teach teachers how to best incorporate primary source materials in the classroom while also

⁸⁵⁰ Werner Liepolt, “A Civil War CD at the Dalton School,” *CD ROM World*, 8, no. 9 (October 1993): 60-64. This is a process that goes back to the early ideas of teaching with primary sources where students created their own textbooks as a way of learning about the past. State Archives also created CD-rom based primary source packets when that was the latest digital medium of choice. For example, see *Echoes of Oregon, 1837-1859: A Selection of Records from the Oregon State Archives* [teaching packet] (Salem: Oregon State Archives, 1987).

preparing needed curricular materials on women's history, the Harvard Graduate School of Education invited 24 high school teachers to participate in a demonstration project, "American History: The Female Experience."⁸⁵¹ Teachers read secondary literature on women's history for contextualization and then performed archival research to create one curriculum unit using archival material. These teachers were "enthralled" by the collections and excited by the archival work, and the organizers hoped that this enthusiasm would pass on to the teachers' students, despite the fact that these students would not experience the excitement of handling originals and performing the search themselves, but would instead be looking at pre-selected reproductions. The teacher participants were able to create a "combination of the national perspective found in texts and the local focus dealing with places and people the students may be familiar with."⁸⁵² In other words, the teachers were able to build bridges between what happened in the past and the lives of their students. While an important experiment and one that probably transformed the teaching of the participants, this project was not sustainable and its reach appears to have been fairly limited.

Even though it dealt exclusively with UK archives, similar forays of archivists into formal education was nicely summarized by British archivist Ian Coulson's 1995 *Archives in Education*. This work brought together examples of various archives and

⁸⁵¹ Frances Arick Kolb, "The Transition from Archives to High School Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 16, no. ½ (Spring/Summer 1988): 46-50. A number of archives have run similar teacher training programs over the years. Among the best known is the ongoing "Primarily Teaching" workshops offered by the National Archives. For more on "Primarily Teaching," see <http://www.archives.gov/education/primarily-teaching/> For the results of one person's experience with the Primarily Teaching project, see John M. Lawlor, Jr., "My Reward: Outstanding Student Projects Based on Primary Sources," *Social Education* 67 (2003): 405-410.

⁸⁵² Frances Arick Kolb, "The Transition from Archives to High School Classroom," *Women's Studies Quarterly*, 16, no. ½ (Spring/Summer 1988): 46-50.

archivists' support of the classroom, and, in grand tradition, emphasized the use of primary sources to make history "come alive" for schoolchildren.⁸⁵³

Pushing the Envelope

All of these examples show archives attempting to reach out to the schools in a heartfelt (and efficient) manner, but none of these activities seemed to be able to fully capture the potential so many educators and archivists understood primary sources held for bettering the educational process. It appeared to some that archives neither had the resources nor expertise to fully realize that potential. Reviewing Coulson's work concerning UK archives' outreach to the schools, Marcus Robyns applauded the efforts of archivists for creating more educational programs, but was dismayed at the fact that "these programs stress familiarizing students with reading room procedures, archival finding aids, and collections. As if confronted by an invisible barrier, archivists seem unwilling to take a further step and provide instruction and guidance in historical research methods and critical thinking in the analysis of primary sources. . . Archivists continue to publish resource books that admirably introduce teachers and students to archives but offer little, if any, pedagogical advice on how to create critical thinkers and independent learners."⁸⁵⁴

⁸⁵³ Ian Coulson, *Archives in Education* (London: PRO Publications, 1995).

⁸⁵⁴ Marcus Robyns, "Reviews—*Archives in Education*," *American Archivist* 63, no. 1 (2000): 189.

Robyns, like Freeman, Osborne, and Cook before him, called for archivists to go beyond the simple, “familiarizing tour” and finding aid discussion. He called for them to even go beyond creating exhibits and teaching packets.

Understandably, archivists cannot and should not compete with professional educators in developing pedagogical skills related to historical research and critical thinking. However, archivists can and must begin drawing upon the experiences and examples of authors such as David Kobrin and others to implement instructional outreach programs that assist teachers in developing independent learners or ‘student historians.’ The time has come for our profession to cross the invisible line that prevents us from publishing resource books that do little more than inform users on the how and where of archives.⁸⁵⁵

A few months later, Robyns would expand upon this call, explaining to archivists the current thinking in education circles with regard to the teaching of critical thinking skills and the role of primary sources in that form of pedagogy.⁸⁵⁶ Acknowledging that archivists are not educators and noting that some believe that teaching critical thinking skills might “jeopardize the archivist’s role as a neutral arbiter in the research process,” he soldiered on to explain how this approach to archives and education were incorporated into the research methods course taught at Northern Michigan University where he

⁸⁵⁵ Marcus Robyns, “Reviews—*Archives in Education*,” *American Archivist* 63, no. 1 (2000): 193. David Kobrin, a clinical professor at Brown University since 1986, is perhaps best known for *Beyond the Textbook: Teaching History Using Documents and Primary Sources* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1996).

⁸⁵⁶ Marcus G. Robyns, “The Archivist as Educator: Integrating Critical thinking Skills into Historical Research Methods Instruction,” *American Archivist* 64 (Fall/Winter 2001): 363-84.

worked. This was an approach seconded by archivists at the United States Air Force Academy.⁸⁵⁷

While providing a brief overview of a variety of digital and non-digital projects to promote teaching with primary sources, Matthew Lyons made some of the same arguments as Robyns, but this time in a K-12 context.⁸⁵⁸ He emphasized pedagogical methods that promoted critical thinking, and he called for archivists to actively collaborate with teachers. While covering this well-trod ground, Lyons stressed his belief that online reproductions should not totally supplant access to originals in teaching, but should be used to supplement the more fulfilling, tactile interaction, leading students and their teachers to want to experience the original in the physical context of an archives.

As late as 2007, Julia Hendry was still drawing the attention of archivists to innovations in teaching such as inquiry-based learning, authentic assessment, and documents-based questions on advanced placement exams in history. She pointed out that these approaches to teaching emphasize the process of discovery on the part of the student, and through this process of discovery students extract meaning, and meaning leads to personal relevance, and personal relevance leads to motivation to continue learning. Learning how to learn while discovering the joy of learning, this philosophy holds, is the point of education. Like others before her, Hendry noted that this renewed

⁸⁵⁷ James W. Hopkins and Duane Reed, "Teaching Historical Methods Through Archives: United States Air Force Academy," *Colorado Libraries* 19 (Summer 1993): 35-37. For a related article, see Laurie Lousberry McFadden, "Making History Live: How to Get Students Interested in University Archives," *College and Research Libraries News* 59, no. 6 (1998): 423-425.

⁸⁵⁸ Matthew Lyons, "K-12 Instruction and Digital Access to Archival Materials," *Journal of Archival Organization* 1, 1 (2002): 19-34.

interest by educators in learning through discovery represents an opportunity for archives to broaden their base of users and tap a rising generation of donors and supporters.⁸⁵⁹

She argued that archives, when they venture into formal education, still tend to present activities that require relatively unsophisticated use of documents. Their presentation of primary sources to schoolchildren still largely functions in the range of illustration.

Usually these archives “presentations” include one or two preselected, decontextualized documents rather than a series or groups of evidence. Learning activities that use these preselected, decontextualized documents, she maintained, were not too dissimilar from the educational practice of teaching to the test: “Here is the answer. Memorize it. Be ready to spout it back when the time comes.” Critical thinking pedagogy goes beyond asking students to look for biases in the source to consider for whom the document was intended, why the information was recorded, why it was kept, and what its provenance was—core concerns of an archivist. “These findings—that many teachers continue to rely on published primary sources for use in the classroom, combined with the fact that few are asking “archival questions” about the documents that they do find—suggest two opportunities for archivists. The first is to work with teachers to find appropriate resources to be used in the K-12 classroom. The second is to incorporate archival expertise into the teaching of primary sources at the elementary and secondary school levels.”⁸⁶⁰ Of course, preparing materials for classroom use will require that archives approach their materials in different ways and that they build tools that meet different

⁸⁵⁹ Julia Hendry, “Primary Sources in K-12 Education: Opportunities for Archives,” *American Archivist* 70 (Spring/Summer 2007): 114-29.

⁸⁶⁰ Julia Hendry, “Primary Sources in K-12 Education: Opportunities for Archives,” *American Archivist* 70 (Spring/Summer 2007): 125.

needs. After all, “When was the last time an academic historian, for example, inquired at the reference desk for a document that was legible, colorful, not too long, easy to read, and brought to mind a provision of the U.S. Constitution?”⁸⁶¹

Formal Archives User Study of Classroom

As has been shown, schoolchildren have long been a part of the archival professional dialogue. Calls for greater outreach to the schools; the creation of archivist-teachers to enhance the educational role of archives while providing long-term and effective support for teachers; the creation of primary source packets, exhibits, and other programming; and the provision of professional development opportunities for teachers have all been regularly discussed and debated at conference podiums and in the pages of professional journals. But formal user studies of the elementary and high school communities are almost non-existent.⁸⁶² One rare exception is the work of Anne Gilliland-Swetland who performed a series of studies in the late 1990s exploring how schools make use of primary sources in teaching and exploring their needs for digital primary sources. Noting an opportunity to expand the relevance of archives within society, grow a records literate public, promote the role of archivists as participants in the communication of cultural heritage, take advantage of technological and financial resources that are allocated for educational reform, and promote archival education while arguing that what is required to take advantage of this opportunity is a conscious

⁸⁶¹ Julia Hendry, “Primary Sources in K-12 Education: Opportunities for Archives,” *American Archivist* 70 (Spring/Summer 2007): 126.

⁸⁶² There has been a recent study of the use of archives by undergraduate students. See Magia Krause, *Enhancing Undergraduate Education Through the Archives Experience*. Dissertation at the University of Michigan, 2010.

approach to selection, representation, and presentation of digitized and digital archival materials informed by sound empirical knowledge of the needs of targeted user groups, in 1998, Gilliland-Swetland published an article that examined the trends in K-12 pedagogical and curricular innovation. Her article called for the increased integration of primary sources in the classroom through the use of new technologies.⁸⁶³ She identified teacher content needs against materials prioritized for selection by archivists and mapped identified teachers' instructional and presentational needs against archival systems designs. She determined that useful materials were those that were in the public domain, had high exemplary value, strong visual impact, great local interest (to help bridge the past to the students' own lives), as well as those which illustrate seminal events in history and for which corollary materials (everything from textbooks to historical fiction, film and bulletin board art) exist. She argued that, as important to the success of the learning enterprise as the materials, themselves, was the need for a form of descriptive system that could be employed to make access of archival materials along educational lines possible. Gilliland-Swetland speculated on the potential of Encoded Archival Description (EAD) to provide the descriptive infrastructure for a multimedia archival information system that would address some of the needs identified for K-12 users. The following year, she carried her study a bit farther.

Responding to the increasing calls for archives to be involved in K-12 classrooms, Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin Kafai, and William E. Landis performed a qualitative study to

⁸⁶³ Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, "An Exploration of K-12 User Needs for Digital Primary Source Materials," *American Archivist* 61 (Winter/Spring 1998): 136-157. This is not all that easy as one study has shown. See, Anne McClusky, *Barriers to Educational Use of Digitized Primary Source Documents: a Survey*, Master's thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003.

discover effective ways to incorporate primary sources in the classroom.⁸⁶⁴ Their research examined teacher attitudes about the use of those sources and, like previous forays into this particular realm, it acknowledged the practical barriers to the integration of primary sources, while noting the potential worthwhile enhancement of the educational enterprise once those barriers might be breached. Observing that “most archival efforts with children and young adults have focused on informal education through exhibits, educational packets or tours, or the provision of formal primary and secondary education by bringing classes of students to archives and conducting more formal studies there,” the researchers noted that “[w]hat these activities lack, however, are methodologies for employing primary sources as a central focus in formal classroom activities effectively.” Gilliland-Swetland, et. al, maintained that a rarely studied but “critical issue facing archivists is how to effect such classroom implementation.”⁸⁶⁵

Using a case study approach, the researchers attempted to answer a series of questions. How do archivists encourage such educational uses? How do they identify likely teachers? How should they “work with teachers to help them articulate their needs, select appropriate content, facilitate the integration process, capture and document the lesson so that it can be used again at a future date, and evaluate the pedagogical and learning outcomes in order to refine processes further?” To answer some of these questions, the researchers looked at the attempt of one elementary school classroom to

⁸⁶⁴ Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin B. Kafai, and William E. Landis, “Integrating Primary Sources into the Elementary School Classroom: A Case Study of Teacher Perspectives,” *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999): 89-115.

⁸⁶⁵ Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin B. Kafai, and William E. Landis, “Integrating Primary Sources into the Elementary School Classroom: A Case Study of Teacher Perspectives,” *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999): 90.

integrate primary sources related to the sciences into its formal learning process. While doing this, they also sought to gain a better understanding of what might be involved in the design of a digital archives system crafted to support classroom teaching.⁸⁶⁶

The researchers found teachers (one in science and one in social science) who had a solid understanding of primary sources. They worked with them and local archivists to preselect and re-describe primary source materials of strong, local significance for use by the teachers and their students. The researchers, teachers, and their students then conducted fieldtrips to sites where those materials were originally created and to the repository which housed the originals. The researchers digitized originals and incorporated them and their enhanced descriptions into a Web site designed for classroom use. Using these resources, the archivists, teachers, and researchers designed and taught a lesson based upon the state's standard course of study to two fourth and fifth grade classrooms in a laboratory school associated with UCLA (a total of 29 students). The teachers and researchers chose natural history research materials (photos and field notes) because they were highly visual, had local appeal, and could be readily supplemented with text and specimens. The students studied the field notes of a bygone naturalist and then travelled to the same spot where he had made his observations in order to emulate his activities and record what they could find standing in his footsteps. Through this lesson, the students were introduced not only to natural history subjects but also to the history of the development of southern California and the resulting impact that real estate

⁸⁶⁶ For a detailed description of the project, see *Digital Portfolio Archives in Learning: Modeling Primary Content Transformation for Elementary Science Education: Final Report to the National Science Foundation Collaborative Research on Learning Technologies Program* (Los Angeles: Digital Portfolio Archives in Learning: Modeling Primary Content Transformation for Elementary Science Education: Final Report to the National Science Foundation Collaborative Research on Learning Technologies Program (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1998). Outcomes of this project later led to some research into educational metadata.

development had had upon the natural environment. But, perhaps most significantly for this paper, by visiting an archive and working with archival materials, the students also were taught about the nature of records, record keeping, and archival research. They built what Beth Yakel and Deborah Torres has called their archival intelligence, a form of information literacy.⁸⁶⁷

Even though the UCLA lad school teachers had a limited view of primary sources (“old things” as opposed to any records, including those that they or their students might be creating), they strongly believed that students required direct experiences for authentic learning to take place. Primary sources facilitated that direct experience. And, even though the social studies teacher’s frame of reference was historical and the science teacher’s was the scientific process, they both wanted their students to observe for themselves and to think critically. They valued the use of the primary sources because these materials helped build critical thinking skills in their students while maintaining their interest in the subject by connecting the children to the past in a particularly compelling way. The teachers also liked the fact that a huge amount of science-related primary sources exist (even if they, themselves, did not have the time or other resources to prepare them for the classroom); that, when emulating the historical scientist, their students were involved in highly detailed work; that the lesson demonstrated change over time; that their students were doing both a form of science and history simultaneously; and that the lesson, itself, illustrated the interdependence of different phenomena and activities, showing how the artificially divided classroom subjects actually intertwine outside of the school walls. But the lesson was not without its negatives.

⁸⁶⁷ Elizabeth Yakel and Deborah Torres, “AI: Archival Intelligence and User Expertise,” *American Archivist* 66, (2003): 51-78.

Students had difficulty understanding the language used in the archival materials. They found many words unfamiliar because they were technical or of an older vintage of language or both. The students wanted more biographical material about the scientist whose materials they were using. This frustration at the lack of biography in the contextualizing materials may be a reflection upon certain educational practices, which tend to be heavy on biography in the elementary years, or it may be a telling artifact of the power of narrative to provide understanding, especially to the young (children, especially, often make sense out of the past by using the life stories of individuals). No matter the reason, the students wanted more information about the scientist, himself, to help them better appreciate his work. Students also needed to be more thoroughly instructed in what an archives is, why it exists, and the basics of what it does. Most adults have some inkling about the role of archives and, with a bit of an explanation, they can recreate the context of materials using finding aids and a helpful archivist, but children need more help in understanding the institutional environment in which primary sources exist. And while some archivists want to be able to reach out to the schools in a robust way to aid education and broaden their user base, very few have the resources to devote to projects on the level of intensity described here. The researchers also faced the conundrum surrounding the “classroom packaging” of source materials: to pre-select or not to pre-select, that was the question. Whether ‘twas nobler to require the students to suffer through the files and boxes of an outrageous amount of materials to find those items that speak to their own understanding, or present them with a small number of directly associated materials chosen by someone else and by using them be able to move

on to something else before the school year ends. Preselecting materials saves the teachers a great deal of time and makes the materials more accessible to the students. But it also deprives the students of the true nature of archival materials. It denies them the dialogue with records that has been shown to inform the creative process. What one preselects, another might disregard. What another disregards might be the one piece that, if selected, ties together an entirely different story being envisioned by a second individual. “Selecting” what materials to use is at the very core of the historical enterprise, the “doing” of history.⁸⁶⁸

The great hope at the foundation of Gilliland-Swetland and her colleagues’ research, of course, is the promise of the Web. Resources could be constructed to address vocabulary issues and even the need for more biographical information. The institutional context of archives could be provided through online documentaries, essays and related activities, which could supplement field trips, role playing, or emulation activities such as student-created, classroom-based repositories. A few archivists could work intensely with teams of teachers and researchers and then share their work via the Web with many classrooms. After all, only a small amount of archival material—if appropriately selected, described, and contextualized—can provide more than enough material for an elementary classroom lesson. And the amount of pre-selection involved could be gradually diminished as students advance in the curriculum, building their understanding of the subject content, as well as their research skills. But as Gilliland-Swetland and her colleagues noted, “An outstanding issue, however, is that archivists and others engaged in building digital environments for information discovery and retrieval (focused as these

⁸⁶⁸ This issue is discussed by Daisy Martin and Sam Wineburg. See, Samuel Wineburg and Daisy Martin, “Tampering with History: Adapting Primary Sources for Struggling Readers,” *Social Education* 73 (September 2009): 212-216.

are on ease of use) are unlikely to be building environments that are concomitantly optimized for the reflective processes of learning.”⁸⁶⁹ In other words, the researchers could not see how the same system used for discovery and retrieval could also be used for teaching.

Based upon the findings from this case study, Gilliland-Swetland and her research associates made a few suggestions to help create successful primary-source-based online teaching environments to support an active and reflective learning process. They noted that the primary sources involved need to be directly integrated into a range of activities. The most successful activities that they observed during their research were those that fostered composite and comparative experiences such as the field trip to the archives and the wetlands, or those that allowed the students to access and experience the sources in a variety of ways. The teaching also benefited, they found, from having a variety of media providing context for the subject being explored, such as historical film clips of flora and fauna from the geographic area under study. And the actual notebooks and specimen sparked the students’ interest much more than did even the best reproductions. In short, students appreciated the copies after they had experienced first-hand the originals, and they were able to more fully absorb the importance of the primary source materials and the information that they carried when these items were richly contextualized with a range of materials, especially those that spoke strongly to the senses. “In other words, it seems that for young students to come to terms with the contexts in which archival materials are created and the role of archival repositories in retaining them, they not only need to have descriptions about the provenance and context of the materials: they also

⁸⁶⁹ Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin B. Kafai, and William E. Landis, “Integrating Primary Sources into the Elementary School Classroom: A Case Study of Teacher Perspectives,” *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999): 95.

need to experience both those environments in which the materials were originally created as well as those in which they are now housed.”⁸⁷⁰ In addition, the researchers discovered that the students became more fully engaged in the “doing” that led to learning when they had broken the barrier of the classroom—whether that meant going on fieldtrips or performing their own form of exploration and discovery, as opposed to being a proxy, watching someone else (the teacher) discover for them. Thus, the most powerful use of digital reproductions seems to come from having some experience with an original, then working with copies to fully appreciate their context and the information that they carry, and finally using those copies in some form of activity or authentic learning experience. Such an experience would be one in which there is no final right or wrong answer but would, instead, be an activity that leads to some product which demonstrates skills and knowledge learned in its creation. As the authors noted, “Integrating primary sources into the classroom can be a fruitful but challenging exercise.”⁸⁷¹

⁸⁷⁰ Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin B. Kafai, and William E. Landis, “Integrating Primary Sources into the Elementary School Classroom: A Case Study of Teacher Perspectives,” *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999): 111.

⁸⁷¹ Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin B. Kafai, and William E. Landis, “Integrating Primary Sources into the Elementary School Classroom: A Case Study of Teacher Perspectives,” *Archivaria* 48 (Fall 1999): 108. For another discussion of the project, see Yasmin Kafai and Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, “Integrating Historical Source Materials into Elementary Science Classroom Activities,” *Science Education* 85 (2001): 349-367. Based upon this study, Gilliland-Swetland, Kafai, and Landis went on to explore possible metadata applications to provide greater access to primary sources for the classroom, and worked with these fourth and fifth grade students to determine if they were able to use the Dublin Core metadata standard to describe their own digital creations. They found that they had almost no problem supplying simple elements like title and subject, but they definitely had trouble moving between general and more refined data elements. They concluded that young children would have a hard time using a descriptive standard such as EAD. See, Anne J. Gilliland-Swetland, Yasmin Kafai, and William E. Landis, “Application of Dublin Core Metadata in the Description of Digital Primary Sources in Elementary School Classrooms,” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science*, 51 (2000): 193-201.

As this brief summary shows, there have been numerous calls for archives to become more thoroughly involved in formal education, but there have been almost no formal studies of the schools as users to help inform that involvement. It is assumed that most archivists have stepped forward in some manner to package their materials and services for the K-12 community based upon their own experiences as students and teachers. In most instances, this personal experience does not fully benefit from current thinking with regard to the way students build historical thinking skills. To be able to build the tools that will more thoroughly scaffold the learning experiences of students, allowing them to build the important creative and critical thinking skills such as those described and delineated by Peter Seixas, means that archivists need to know more about 1) current cognitive psychology's view regarding the development of historical thinking and 2) the ways in which classrooms translate these theories into practical learning experiences.

Almost every article written about archives' service to schoolchildren notes the great divide between repositories and the schools. Few teachers have any in-depth experience working with primary sources. Even history and social studies teachers have limited experience when it comes to "doing" history, as opposed to "knowing" history. Only the largest archival institutions have anyone on staff specifically designated to reach out to the schools. Whether they consider themselves "teacher-archivists" or not, few archivists know what it means to teach—at least on the elementary and high school levels, and almost none have any knowledge of current research in historical thinking.

Bridging this divide successfully has required more resources than any local school system or single repository can claim—although NARA has certainly done an exemplary job. But even the National Archives can't satisfactorily meet the needs of all schools—especially when a great deal of anecdotal evidence shows that primary sources in education are most successful when they are highly local to the students. Since few single institutions possess the required resources, collaboratively built online resources carry the promise of bridging this divide more successfully than have previous tools. But as more than one author of archives user studies have warned, the most effective tools grow out of a thorough understanding of the user—whether they are single institution or collaborative undertakings. While there have been many promotional pieces designed to draw the attention of teachers to specific online resources, there have been almost no published user studies of online archival materials designed for the schools.⁸⁷² More than one researcher has faulted tool/resource developers for not taking a user approach to their work.⁸⁷³ To lay a foundation for these all-important user studies, a solid understanding of

⁸⁷² There have been more general user studies of digital libraries. For a good overview, see Gary Marchionini, C. Plaisant, and A. Komlodi, "The People in Digital Libraries: Multifaceted Approaches to Assessing Needs and Impact" and Nancy Van House, Ann Peterson Bishop, and Barabara Battenfield, "Digital Library Use: Social Practice in Design and Evaluation," in Anne Peterson Bishop, Nancy Van House, and Barabara Battenfield, eds., *Digital Library Use: Social Practice in Design and Evaluation* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003).

⁸⁷³ M. Brown and D. Edelson, *Teaching as Design: Can We Better Understand the Ways in Which Teachers Use Materials So We Can Better Design Materials to Support Their Change in Practice?* (Evanston, IL: Center for Learning Technologies in Urban Schools, 2003) and Anna Sexton, Chris Turner, Geoffrey Yeo, and Susan Hockey, "Understanding Users: a Prerequisite for Developing New Technologies," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 25 (1): 36; R. Wallace, "A Framework for Understanding Teaching and the Internet," *American Educational Research Journal* 41 (2004): 447-488; P. Mishra and M. Koehler, "Technological Pedagogical Content Knowledge: A Framework for Teacher Knowledge," *Teacher's College Record*, 108 (2006): 213-231; V. O'Day and B. Nardi, "An Ecological Perspective on Digital Libraries," in Anne Peterson Bishop, Nancy Van House, and Barabara Battenfield, eds., *Digital Library Use: Social Practice in Design and Evaluation* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2003). Recker, et. al studies teachers use of the National Science Digital Library (NSDL.org), delineating the different types

the current state of the resources/tools/services must be made. This study will attempt to take a first step along these lines by analyzing a sample of current, online, archival resources designed for the schools, specifically noting how they attempt to build historical thinking skills as they are delineated by Peter Seixas.

of uses and users, concluding that granularity of the resources plays an important role in how teachers use the materials, that the relationship between teacher “design time” and classroom implementation time is critical and needs to be examined further, and that on-going, longterm studies are required for a better understanding of how teachers use online resources and the impact of these choices on student learning. Mimi Recker, Andrew Walker, Sarah Giersch, Xin Mao, Sam Haloris, Bart Palmer, D. Johnson, H. Leary, and M. B. Robertshaw, “A Study of Teacher’s Use of Online Learning Resources to Design Classroom Activities,” *New Review of Hypermedia and Multimedia* 13 (December 2007): 117-134.

Chapter 11.

Concept Analysis

Brief Concept Analysis Literature Review

 Concept Analysis in Social Studies Education

 Concept Analysis in LIS Research

 Concept Analysis in Archival Research

Conceptual Framework

Contextualizing Practices

Analysis of Primary Sources Used by Exercises

Intra-coder and Inter-Coder Reliability and Development of Instrument

 Intra-coder Test

 Inter-Coder Testing

 Non-quantitative Analysis of Metadiscourse, Contextualization, etc.

Population Studied/Units of Analysis

As has been shown in the historical analysis portion of this study, the use of primary sources has long played a significant role in the development of thought concerning the teaching and learning of history. As has also been described previously, cognitive and educational psychologists have provided a compelling framework to help understand the nature of the subject-specific cognition known as “historical thinking.” Previous portions of this study have also shown that recent developments in Web-based history teaching draw upon the findings of this educational and cognitive psychology research to help structure teacher and student interaction with online reproductions of primary sources. The major goal of this structured interaction is the development of historical thinking skills. The creators of these online history teaching sites are largely special, academic research centers, not libraries or archives, the usual collectors, preservers, and providers of access to primary source materials. The review of archival literature presented previously shows a long, but peripheral, connection between archives

and the K-12 community. The one area where this connection perhaps carries the greatest promise for growth is in the development of online resources. As these archives and library special collections continue to digitize their materials, often professing to do so to “aid the classroom,” they could greatly benefit from a more thorough understanding of the implications related to the history, research, and online projects discussed in previous portions of this study.

One of the first steps in strengthening the relationship between archives and the K-12 community, while aiding the future development of online archival content designed to aid the schools, is to determine 1) how, if at all, archives are structuring and contextualizing their Web-based resources for the K-12 classroom, and 2) how the current state of archives digitization is informed, if at all, by current research in the teaching and learning of history, specifically the development of historical thinking skills. One of the ways to do this is to analyze the current online materials made available by archivists for use in the nation’s classrooms and to determine how well these materials and associated activities and resources build historical thinking skills. One methodology that can be used in this kind of study is a concept analysis, a form of content analysis.

Brief Concept Analysis Literature Review

Bernard Berelson defined content analysis as “a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of manifest content of communications,” while Michael H. Walzer and Paul L. Wiener defined this methodology as “any systematic procedures devised to examine the content of recorded

information.”⁸⁷⁴ Recent publications concerning this methodology often quote Klaus Krippendorff who stated that content analysis is “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from texts (or other meaningful matter) to the contexts of their use.”⁸⁷⁵ Dating to the philological studies of the 1600s but not really coming into its own until the 1950s with the rise of research in mass communication, content analysis is a research methodology which has long been used by various humanities, social sciences, psychology, and information science researchers. Because it holds the ability to describe communication content; assess the image of particular groups in society; test hypotheses of message characteristics, (comparing media content to the “real world”); and generally help understand the effects of media, it is one of the most popular forms of research in the study of mass communication.⁸⁷⁶ In content analysis, researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings, and relationships of words, then make inferences about the text, its creator(s), audience, or, even, the environment in which these items/actors exist.⁸⁷⁷

⁸⁷⁴ Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*. (New York: Free Press, 1952): 74; Michael H. Walzer and Paul L. Wiener, *Research Methods and Analysis: Searching for Relationships* (New York: Harper & Row, 1978): 343.

⁸⁷⁵ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004): 18.

⁸⁷⁶ R. D. Wimmer and J. R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2002): 142. See also, Rasha Kamhawi and David Weaver, “Mass Communication Research Trends from 1980 to 1999,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly*, 80 (Spring 2003): 7-27; Sung Tae Kim and David Weaver, “Communication Research About the Internet: A Thematic Meta Analysis,” *New Media & Society* 4 (2002): 518-538; D. Riffe and A. Freitag, “Content Analysis of Content Analysis: Twenty Five Years of Journalism Quarterly,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 74 (): 873-882; R. D. Wimmer and J. R. Dominick, *Mass Media Research: An Introduction* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 2002).

⁸⁷⁷ Colorado State University, Writing Guides: “An Introduction to Content Analysis,” viewed on June 8, 2008 at <http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/content/pop2a.cfm>; for a good overview of content analysis, see Richard W. Budd, Robert K. Thorp, and Lewis Donohew, *Content Analysis of Communications* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1967); Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage

Content analysis can be used to determine the intentions, biases, prejudices, and oversights of a creator or creators. In the broadest sense, content analysis can be used to 1) describe the characteristics of communication, 2) make inferences about antecedents of content, and 3) make inferences about the effects of communication.⁸⁷⁸ Content analysis can reveal intentions, communication trends, and attitudinal and behavioral responses in individuals and communities. Using content analysis, researchers can attempt to make conclusions concerning the communicator, the text, the situation surrounding that text's creation, and/or the effect of the message.⁸⁷⁹ A wide range of sources has been subjected to content analysis over the years, from job advertisements to speeches, to transcripts of interviews to recordings of television broadcasts. While the range of procedures in content analysis is enormous, this form of research methodology often includes comparative analysis of two or multiple types of information and/or informants.⁸⁸⁰

Breaking (or “chunking”) the recorded communication into “manageable categories on a variety of levels,” and then analyzing those categories by relationship to one another or to a concept is key to the methodology. For example, a study of email communication might divide the email messages into “sent” or “received” units or treat every message, whether sent or received, as a similar unit. A study might also look at a

Publications, 1980); Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1980).

⁸⁷⁸ Ole R. Holsti, *Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1969).

⁸⁷⁹ Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology,” *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 27.

⁸⁸⁰ Variants of content analysis include conversational analysis, discourse analysis, ethnographic analysis, functional pragmatics, rhetorical analysis, and narrative semiotics. Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology,” *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 22-45.

body of emails in relationship to their subject lines, with the body of the emails being one “unit” and the subject line another. These units of analysis might be sampled from a larger population, requiring sampling protocols. Within these units of analysis, researchers seek to identify certain entities (words, phrases, sentences, or themes) and then code these entities according to a predetermined or organic list of categories. Such a methodology can be pursued in a highly quantifiable manner, especially today with the huge corpus of digitized materials waiting to be “mined,” but it can also be used in a more qualitative, almost literary-criticism-like evaluation. The more qualitative versions of content analysis are inductive. They begin with a theoretical grounding and a set of open-ended questions that help determine the selection of materials to explore, and then they guide that exploration in those materials. As the researcher investigates, he or she looks for patterns to emerge while being open to those that may not have been foreshadowed by the theory and the related predetermined analytical “categories of analysis,” and/or guiding, open-ended questions that spring from that theory.

Krippendorff calls this iterative process of qualitative content analysis, a “hermeneutic loop, recontextualizing, reinterpreting, and redefining the research until some kind of satisfactory interpretation is reached.”⁸⁸¹ The foreshadowing questions and grounding theory drive the initial analysis in the qualitative version of the methodology, but the evidence eventually comes to play just as significant a role in forming the subsequent avenues of inquiry and analysis that develop. Whether on the quantitative or qualitative end of the spectrum, when establishing the existence or frequency of a concept or

⁸⁸¹ Klaus Krippendorff, “*Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004):” quoted in Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology,” *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 34.

concepts in a body of materials, the content analysis process can be called a “concept analysis.”⁸⁸²

In concept analysis, a study seeks to answer one or more research questions by choosing one or more concepts to analyze. This analysis involves detecting and/or quantifying the presence of that *concept* in a body of materials, and then making inferences. The idea of “inference” is central to the methodology. “The researcher uses analytical constructs, or rules of inference to move from the text to the answers to the research questions.”⁸⁸³ The analytical constructs can be derived from existing theories, the experience or knowledge of experts, or from previous research.⁸⁸⁴ The concepts to be identified and/or quantified may be explicitly or implicitly stated in the text. Explicit terms are fairly easy to identify but coding implicit terms can be much more difficult. Such a process carries with it varying levels of subjectivity. To reduce potential subjectivity, special coding dictionaries or contextual rules are used. (These rules define how one or more coders categorize the same data over time.) Indeed, in its most quantitative form, concept analysis can have a high degree of replication; this can vary in its qualitative forms. In short, in concept analysis, researchers need to decide upon the level of analysis, how many concepts to code for, whether to code for existence or

⁸⁸² K. Carley, “Content Analysis,” in R.E. Asher, ed., *The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Pergamon Press, 1990).

⁸⁸³ Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology,” *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 27.

⁸⁸⁴ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004): 173, quoted in Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology,” *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 27.

frequency of a concept, the distinguishing characteristics between concepts, rules for coding the materials, and what to do with “irrelevant information.”⁸⁸⁵

The reliability of concept analysis depends upon the ability of coders to classify membership in a category in the same way and to consistently re-code the same data in the same way over a period of time. While the subjectivity of coding can be minimized through multiple coder checks (determining inter-coder reliability) and through checks on coding of the same coders over time (intra-coder reliability) and other activities, it can never be totally eliminated. The validity of concept analysis, on the other hand, or how accurately the resulting analysis actually presents a convincing answer to the question(s) at hand, depends upon the relationship between the categories to the conclusions and the generalizability of those conclusions to a theoretical basis.⁸⁸⁶ In other words, the categories must actually be robust “measures” for the concepts being explored. For a conclusion to be generalizable, it must be supported by highly reliable content categories, and those categories must truly “measure” the concepts being identified and analyzed. Of course, the relationship between the concept and the category, even when informed by a compelling theory, is to some degree subjective, as well. Not only that, creating a representative sample for content analysis is quite difficult. Just because an analysis of one body of material holds, does not mean that this analysis can automatically apply to

⁸⁸⁵ Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communication Research* (New York: Hafner Publishing Company, 1971); Colorado State University, Writing Guides: “An Introduction to Content Analysis,” viewed on June 8, 2008 at <http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/content/pop2a.cfm>

⁸⁸⁶ Colorado State University, Writing Guides: “An Introduction to Content Analysis,” viewed on June 8, 2008 at <http://writing.colostate.edu/guides/research/content/pop2a.cfm>

other sets of materials.⁸⁸⁷ In qualitative versions of this methodology, researchers are not concerned with generalizability. Thus, items being analyzed do not have to be selected in a way that ensures an equal probability of being included in the sample. Instead, the sampling is theoretical and purposive, seeking to find all relevant patterns in the data and fully characterizing the issue or issues under study for a specific, designated population.⁸⁸⁸ Because the sampling is purposive, the findings can't be extrapolated from the sample to a broader population. Despite all of these potential limitations, concept analysis does have its strengths. For example, one writer has argued that concept analysis is unobtrusive, can handle unstructured data, is context sensitive and can therefore process symbolic data, and—especially in its automated variety—can handle large amounts of data.⁸⁸⁹

Concept Analysis in Social Studies Education

Concept analysis has long been used in education to evaluate textbooks, primarily to seek evidence of racism, bias, anti-feminism, and ethnocentrism.⁸⁹⁰ For example,

⁸⁸⁷ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004): 84.

⁸⁸⁸ Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, "Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology," *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 36.

⁸⁸⁹ Klaus Krippendorff, *Content Analysis: An Introduction to its Methodology* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 2004).

⁸⁹⁰ Even though many of these texts call what they do "content analysis" most are performing "concept analysis," as it is defined in this study. Carl R. Siler, "Content Analysis: A Process for Textbook Analysis and Evaluation," *International Journal of Social Education* (Winter 1986-87): 78-99. Siler focuses special attention on studies which sought to determine the treatment of specific groups or themes in secondary history textbooks by applying content analysis techniques. For more along these lines, see Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda, *Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks* (Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1983) and David Pratt, *How to Find and Measure Bias in Textbooks* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Educational Technology

Roger Clark, Kieran Ayton, Nicole Frechette, and Pamela Keller performed an analysis of the textbook treatment of women across the decades of 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s, showing a quantitative increase in the number of mentions of women through the years.⁸⁹¹ Along the same lines, Laurie Gordy, Jennifer Hogan, and Alice Pritchard investigated not just the quantity but the quality of the treatment of women in history textbooks by looking more specifically at how authors dealt with their role in World War II. (They found that while women were discussed frequently by the texts, they were not treated as active historical agents.)⁸⁹² Gordy, Hogan, and Pritchard's work was based upon that of the much-cited James A. Banks who had investigated the treatment of African Americans in American history textbooks during the late 1960s.⁸⁹³ In similar research, which was also based upon Banks' methodology, Tony Sanchez explored the

Publication, 1972). Roger Clark, Kieran Ayton, Nicole Frechette, Pamela Keller, "Women of the World, Re-Write! Women in American World History High School Textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s," *Social Education* 69 (January–February, 2005): 41-49. This study was based upon an earlier piece of work: Roger Clark, Jeffrey Allard, and Timothy Mahoney, "How Much of the Sky? Women in American History Textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s," *Social Education* (January 2004): 57-63.

⁸⁹¹ Roger Clark, Kieran Ayton, Nicole Frechette, Pamela Keller, "Women of the World, Re-Write! Women in American World History High School Textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s," *Social Education* 69 (January–February, 2005): 41-49. This study was based upon an earlier piece of work: Roger Clark, Jeffrey Allard, and Timothy Mahoney, "How Much of the Sky? Women in American History Textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s," *Social Education* (January 2004): 57-63. For more along these lines, see Janice Pottker and Andrew Fishel, *Sex Bias in the Schools: The Research Evidence* (Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1977).

⁸⁹² Laurie Gordy, Jennifer Hogan, and Alice Pritchard, "Assessing 'Herstory' of WWII: Content Analysis of High School History Textbooks, *Equity and Excellence in Education* 37 (March 2004): 80-91.

⁸⁹³ James A. Banks, "A Content Analysis of the Black American in Textbooks," *Social Education* 33 (1969): 954-957. Gordy, et. al also used content analysis to investigate the treatment of slavery in elementary school texts in Connecticut. See, Laurie L. Gordy, Alice M. Pritchard, "Redirecting Our Voyage through History: A Content Analysis of Social Studies Textbooks," *Urban Education* 30 (1995): 195-218.

treatment of Native Americans in the nation's textbooks, finding that their depiction had "improved" over the years.⁸⁹⁴ In the same vein, Ann Doyle explored the ethnocentrism present in treatments of the Irish Famine of 1845-49 in the textbooks of English secondary schools, drawing upon a sample of works from the 1920s, 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. She found that the history of the famine has consistently been marginalized in English textbook accounts, and she called for an "intercultural" approach to the design of school curricula, one that would provide alternative accounts to that provided by dominant cultures.⁸⁹⁵ From "intercultural" to "multicultural," researchers have used content and concept analysis to address even broader issues of power and marginality.⁸⁹⁶ For example, Michelle Commeyras and Donna E. Alvermann, noting that "[p]eople in this country who have been disenfranchised in the past are increasingly less tolerant of a monolithic, Eurocentric view of world history," investigated how "the content and power relations implicit in the language of the texts themselves" affect the meanings that students might construct from works on world history.⁸⁹⁷ And recent works have

⁸⁹⁴ Tony Sanchez, "The Depiction of Native Americans in Recent (1991-2004) Secondary American History Textbooks: How Far have We Come?" *Equity and Excellence in Education* 40 (October 2007): 311-320. For more on this topic by the author, see Antonio Sanchez, *The Depiction of Native Americans in Recent (1991-1998) Secondary American History Textbooks* (West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press, 1999).

⁸⁹⁵ Ann Doyle, "Ethnocentrism and History Textbooks: Representation of the Irish Famine 1845-49 in History Textbooks in English Secondary Schools," *Intercultural Education* 13 (September 2002): 315-330.

⁸⁹⁶ Cristobal S. Berry-Caban, "Stereotypes, Distortions, and Omissions in U. S. History Textbooks: A Content Analysis for Detecting Racism and Sexism. Supplemental Information on Asian American, Black, Chicano, Native American, Puerto Rican, and Women's History," *The History Teacher* 11 (February 1978): 271-272. For more along these lines, see Foster, Stuart J. "The Struggle for American Identity: Treatment of Ethnic Groups in U.S. History Textbooks," *History of Education*, 28 (1999): 251-279.

⁸⁹⁷ Michelle Commeyras, Donna E. Alvermann, "Messages That High School World History Textbooks Convey: Challenges for Multicultural Literacy," *Social Studies*, 85 (1994): 268-274.

expanded beyond ethnicity to look at the depiction of other types of minorities. For example, Julia R. Temple explored the degree to which heterosexism exists in francophone Quebec secondary-school textbooks. She discovered, not surprisingly perhaps, that there was almost no mention of same-sex relationships to be found in that body of material.⁸⁹⁸ In addition to these studies of text and hegemony, concept analysis has been used to evaluate the treatment, or lack thereof, of certain historical events or societal institutions. For example, Phernanco Bearden sought to understand how the Reconstruction period was treated by junior high school history textbooks and Masato Ogawa investigated how those works dealt with the Japanese internment during World War II, while Carleton Young and Michael Romanowski analyzed treatments of religion in textbooks (finding it to be shallow at best), and Robert Lerner, Althea Nagau, and Stanley Rothman sought to demonstrate that history textbooks have “maintained a negative view of corporate capitalism and the ‘robber barons,’ while bowing to feminism and left-wing black politics by overstating the importance of [some] historical figures.”⁸⁹⁹

See also Nathan Glazer and Reed Ueda, *Ethnic Groups in History Textbooks* (Washington D.C.: Ethics and Public Policy Center, 1983). See also, Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant, “Race, Class, Gender, and Disability in Current Textbooks” in *The Politics of the Textbook* (New York: Routledge, 1991): 78-110.

⁸⁹⁸ Julia R. Temple, “People Who are Different from You”: Heterosexism in Quebec High School textbooks,” *Canadian Journal of Education* 28 (2005): 271-294. For a similar piece of research, see Marilyn Myerson, Sara L. Crawley, Erica Hesch Anstey, “Who’s Zoomin’ Who? A Feminist, Queer Content Analysis of “Interdisciplinary” Human Sexuality Textbooks,” *Hypatia: A Journal of Feminist Philosophy*, 22 (Winter 2007): 92-113, viewed online at <http://inscribe.iupress.org/doi/abs/10.2979/HYP.2007.22.1.92>

⁸⁹⁹ Phernando T. Bearden, “A Content Analysis of the Reconstruction Period as Presented in Selected Junior High American History Textbooks,” Thesis, Delta State University, 1986, available full-text in ERIC; Masato Ogawa, “Treatment of Japanese-Americans Internment During World War II in U.S. History Textbooks,” *International Journal of Social Education* 19 (Spring/Summer, 2004): 35-43; Carleton W. Young, “Religion in United States History Textbooks,” *History Teacher* 28 (February 1995): 265-271; Michael H. Romanowski, “What U.S. History Textbooks Fail to Tell Students About Religion and Faith,” paper presented at the Annual

As has been shown, while “content and coverage” in history textbooks have been regularly addressed by researchers employing content and concept analysis, the pedagogical exercises found in those texts have not been so thoroughly explored.

In what appears to be one of the few examples of concept analysis in these types of studies, David Bruce LaVere explored those teaching activities or exercises related to Native Americans in thirteen United States history textbooks used in grades three, four, five, eight, and eleven in the schools of South Carolina, to determine the extent to which “they offer, or fail to offer, opportunities for students to engage in and develop higher-order thinking skills.”⁹⁰⁰ Specifically, LaVere asked whether the questions were the memory-work-based, “recall-type” questions or questions which require “original, creative thought;” whether significant differences in questions exist among elementary, middle, and high school texts, reflecting an understanding of cognitive development; and whether the questions “reflect sound, historical processes (historical inquiry).”⁹⁰¹ He discovered that a disproportionate number of these exercises emphasized low-level recall

Meeting of the Mid-Western Educational Research Association (Chicago, IL, October 14-17, 1998); and Robert Lerner, Althea K. Nagai, and Stanley Rothman, *Molding the Good Citizen: The Politics of High School History Texts*, (Greenwich, CT: Praeger, 1995)

⁹⁰⁰ David Bruce Lavere, “The Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U.S. History Textbooks,” *The Social Studies* (January/February, 2008): 3-7. He narrows his scope by looking only at the exercises dealing with Native Americans. He found 691 exercises in the 13 texts that dealt with Native Americans. He used Bloom’s Taxonomy to determine cognitive levels for these activities. He checked inter-rate reliability by randomly selecting 200 of the tasks to be rated by a specialist in Bloom’s taxonomy, finding a degree of agreement of 95%. Benjamin Bloom, *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives; the Classification of Educational Goals, by a Committee of College and University Examiners* (New York, NY: McKay, 1956). Lavere also deals with this same topic in “Teachers as Scholars; recognizing the Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U.S. History Textbooks,” *Teacher Education Journal of South Carolina* (2006-2007): 61-66. See also, M. E. Haas, “An Analysis of the Social Science and History Concepts in Elementary Social Studies Textbooks Grades 1-4,” *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 19 (1991): 211-220.

⁹⁰¹ David Bruce LaVere, “The Quality of Pedagogical Exercises in U.S. History Textbooks,” *The Social Studies* (January/February, 2008): 3-4.

type questions (99%), many were similar no matter the grade-level of the text (often including almost identical questions), and some were simply “ahistorical,” (leading LaVere to state that the exercises apparently meant to resonate at higher level thinking were more closely related to historical fiction than historical inquiry).

Concept Analysis in LIS Research

Concept analysis has long been used as a research methodology in library and information science (LIS), as well. A simple unscientific sample of recent LIS publications provides a good idea of the range of that use in the field.⁹⁰² Louise Guillaume and Pete Bath analyzed the content of mass media articles concerning the MMR (measles, mumps, and rubella) vaccine during a two-month period. Doing so they demonstrated the wide variability in both content and information sources cited by the popular media. This led them to question the mass media as a source of consumer health information concerning this important childhood public health issue.⁹⁰³ Sylvia Hall-Ellis used concept analysis to analyze position descriptions for professional librarians to determine employers’ expectations for catalogers and technical services librarians.⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰² For a selective list of research in LIS using content analysis published between 1991 and 2005, see “Table 1” in Marilyn Domas White and Emily E. Marsh, “Content Analysis: A Flexible Methodology,” *Library Trends* 55 (Summer 2006): 22-45.

⁹⁰³ Again, content and concept analysis are “co-mingled.” Louise Guillaume, and Pete A. Bath, “A Content Analysis of Mass Media Sources in Relation to the MMR Vaccine Scare,” *Health Informatics Journal* 14 (December 2008): 323-334.

⁹⁰⁴ Sylvia Hall-Ellis, “Cataloger Competencies . . . What Do Employers Require?” *Cataloging and Classification Quarterly* 46 (2008): 305-330. There is a whole genre of citation analysis of job descriptions, job advertisements, etc. in the LIS literature. Two more examples: Jung-ran Park, Caimei Lu, Linda Marion, “Cataloging Professionals in the Digital Environment: A Content Analysis of Job Descriptions,” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science & Technology* 60 (April 2009): 844-857 and Linda Frederiksen, “Access Services Librarians: a

Stephen McGinty and Anne C. Moore employed it to analyze the role of gender in political science book reviews.⁹⁰⁵ And, Philip Hider and Bob Pymm even used it to determine the research methods being employed by “high profile” library and information science journal literature.⁹⁰⁶ (Surveying is the most popular methodology while historical research has declined in frequency over the years.) Hsinchun Chen, Wingyan Chung, Jialun Qin, Edna Reid, Marc Sageman, and Gabriel Weimann used content analysis and an array of novel information visualization tools to analyze 39 Jihadi Web sites in an attempt to help researchers overcome information overload as they seek to analyze these sites in a way that would better inform policymaking and intelligence activities.⁹⁰⁷ As in the last example, much of the current content analysis is routinely used by library and information science researchers to explore questions related to the World Wide Web. In 2005, Jian Zhang performed a meta-analysis of 39 studies employing content analysis of Web sites between 2000 and 2004.⁹⁰⁸ Zhang found that the number of studies of the Web using content analysis rose over the time period, with the most coming in business research, followed by political science, and finally library and information science. This study also showed that initial content analyses of the Web was descriptive

Content Analysis of Job Advertisements, 1977-2004,” *Journal of Access Services* 3 (2005): 15-27.

⁹⁰⁵ Stephen McGinty and Anne C. Moore, “Role of Gender in Reviewers’ Appraisals of Quality in Political Science Books: A Content Analysis,” *Journal of Academic Librarianship* 34 (July 2008): 288-294.

⁹⁰⁶ Philip Hider and Bob Pymm, “Empirical Research Methods Reported in High-Profile LIS Journal Literature,” *Library & Information Science Research* 30 (June 2008): 108-114.

⁹⁰⁷ Hsinchun Chen, Wingyan Chung, Jialun Qin, Edna Reid, Marc Sageman, Gabriel Weimann, “Uncovering the Dark Web: A Case Study of Jihad on the Web,” *Journal of the American Society for Information Science & Technology* 59 (June 2008): 1347-1359.

⁹⁰⁸ Jian Zhang, *Content Analysis of Web Sites from 2000 to 2004: A Thematic Meta-Analysis* (Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2005).

and attempted to define the “Internet landscape,” while later studies became more interested in describing use and users. Only a few of the studies in Zhang’s meta-analysis purported to look at effects of the Web. This meta-analysis also revealed that defining populations and sampling from among them tend to be major challenges for Web content analyses. Where does one draw boundaries around hyperlinked sites and how does one determine how many sites fit into a category (bank sites, legal Web sites, etc.)? Zhang concluded that “[f]uture studies should build on an explicit study scope in the research questions or hypotheses to form the study population, facilitating the sampling process and verifying the results of their Web-based content analysis.”⁹⁰⁹ Not surprisingly, the ephemeral nature of the Web presents difficulties to researchers, as well.⁹¹⁰ However, the ability to “capture” large chunks of the Web to create “test-beds” of information for study later has mitigated this difficulty somewhat. The researcher then needs to be able to describe how the test-bed is related (or not) to the actual Web. Despite its popularity in library and information science as a whole, concept analysis has not been a methodology frequently employed in the archival research literature.

⁹⁰⁹Jian Zhang, *Content Analysis of Web Sites from 2000 to 2004: A Thematic Meta-Analysis* (Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2005): 65. Regarding difficulties in unit identification and sampling, see Christopher Weare and Wan-Ying Lin, “Content Analysis of the World Wide Web: Opportunities and Challenges,” *Social Science Computer Review* 18 (2000): 272-292. The important thing is to be consistent. Note the rules for boundary making (homepage and three levels of linking, for example) and stick to these rules.

⁹¹⁰ Steven M. Schneider and Kirsten A. Foot, “The Web as an Object of Study,” *New Media & Society* 6 (2004): 114-122. One way to deal with ephemeral nature is to maintain an off-line, stable list of resources to investigate based upon some consistent and sensible connection to the topic being explored. For more suggestions along these lines, see Sally J. McMillan, “The Microscope and the Moving Target: The Challenges of Applying Content Analysis to the World Wide Web,” *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly* 77 (Spring 2002): 80-98. Notes should always be dated when working with the changeable Web content.

Concept Analysis in Archival Research

In 1983, George Bain used content analysis to evaluate the statutory authority for state archival and records management programs, analyzing state law in 18 categories.⁹¹¹ In 1998, David Wallace used content analysis to explore record keeping and electronic mail policy of state archives agencies, exploring 38 email policies (nine from universities, 26 from government, and three from the private sector).⁹¹² He found that, at that time, “print to paper” practices predominated. Six years later, Beth Yakel used a more qualitative form of content analysis to explore the diaries of the MaryKnoll Sisters to determine the role of record-keeping in this unique community.⁹¹³ In that same year, Beth Yakel and Kim Jihyun turned to this research tool to analyze Web sites maintained by state archives in the Midwest. They looked at the design and architecture of these sites, noting that best practices for design and architecture of Web sites are based upon cognitive psychology research into learning and remembering. Based upon their analysis, they provided a template to aid archival institutions and manuscript repositories in examining the design, functionality, and visibility of their Web presences.⁹¹⁴ Two years

⁹¹¹ George W. Bain, “State Archival Law: A Content Analysis,” *American Archivist* 46 (Spring 1983): 158-174.

⁹¹² David Wallace, “Recordkeeping and Electronic Mail Policy: The State of Thought and the State of Practice,” Paper prepared for the annual meeting of the Society of American Archivists Orlando, Florida September 3, 1998, viewed on July 25, 2009 at <http://www.mybestdocs.com/dwallace.html> .

⁹¹³ Elizabeth Yakel, “Reading, Reporting, and Remembering: A Case Study of the Maryknoll Sisters’ Diaries,” *Archivaria* 57 (Spring 2004): 89-105. The sisters began keeping diaries in 1912 and ended the practice in 1967, following Vatican II. Yakel showed that the diaries served as versatile records within the community and “as a means for engaging broader audiences,” shaping the image of the sisters to those on the outside and helping maintain control for those who were part of the community.

⁹¹⁴ Elizabeth Yakel and Kim Jihyun, “Midwest State Archives on the Web: A Content and Impact Analysis,” *Archival Issues: Journal of the Midwest Archives Conference* 28 (2003/2004): 47-62.

later, Yakel went on to use a form of modified content analysis to explore the way that archival access systems were then using Web 2.0 features while seeking to determine how these features might be further incorporated into archives services in the future.⁹¹⁵ She found that few archival institutions were then using Web 2.0 technologies in their Web sites, but she provided a strong argument and good suggestions for their future use.⁹¹⁶ Yakel later used content analysis as one method, in conjunction with other research techniques, to explore users' use and reactions to an experimental finding aid that explored the incorporation of social interaction tools. Based upon this research she then offered insights into how social navigation features might enhance accessibility of archival materials.⁹¹⁷ In research in other areas, Jennifer Marshall used a form of concept analysis to look at the collecting policies of archives and special collections, and Christopher Prom and Ellen D. Swain employed a form of it to appraise student organization Web sites as historical/archival records worthy of potential preservation.⁹¹⁸

⁹¹⁵ First coined in 1999, but made popular by being used as a conference moniker in 2004, "Web 2.0" is an umbrella term used to describe the paradigm shift in the Web from its "broadcast" technology beginnings to interactive technologies and "communities of users. "Web 2.0 technologies" tend to invite real-time communication between multiple participants; has a growing "geo-aware" component; and often includes a high level of multi-media, as opposed to text-only, audio-only or video-only attributes. Inventor of the World Wide Web disparages the term, since he states he envisioned the Web supporting these attributes from the beginning.

⁹¹⁶ Elizabeth Yakel, "Inviting the User into the Virtual Archives," *OCLC Systems and Services* 22 (2006): 159-163.

⁹¹⁷ Elizabeth Yakel, "Interaction in Virtual Archives: The Polar Bear expedition Digital Collections Next Generation Finding Aid," *American Archivist* 70 (Fall/Winter 2007): 282-314.

⁹¹⁸ Jennifer Marshall, "Toward Common Content: An Analysis of Online College and University Collecting Policies," *American Archivist* 65 (Fall/Winter, 2002): 231-256; Christopher Prom and Ellen D. Swain, "From the College Democrats to the Falling Illini: Identifying, Appraising, and Capturing Student Organization Web Sites," *American Archivist* 70 (Fall/Winter, 2007). (I'd like to thank Chris and Ellen for actually citing my Master's thesis in this work; and I thought that no one would ever look at it!)

As this quick listing shows, archivists use content and concept analysis as do other researchers, primarily to more objectively describe a topic, noting a current state of a subject or certain trends regarding that subject. They rarely use it to describe the impact of identified trends. This is perhaps because in most human-related subject areas, causation is difficult to fully determine. As a result, archivists seem to use content and concept analysis most frequently to draw boundaries, identify key issues, and note surprising lacunae. Generally speaking, they seem to employ this methodology to paint an “analytical landscape” concerning a particular subject.

As has been shown, concept analysis is a flexible tool that can be used to explore a wide range of topics in a wide range of sources. Building upon the long history of content and concept analysis to explore textbooks, specifically David Bruce LaVere’s investigation into the pedagogical exercises of history textbooks, this study employs a qualitative form of concept analysis to delve into the online resources developed and maintained by state archive agencies and collaborative digitization programs for the use of the K-12 classroom. It attempts to determine

- 1) how, if at all, archives and collaborative digitization programs are structuring and contextualizing their Web-based resources for the K-12 classroom,
- 2) how the current state of archives digitization is informed, if at all, by current research in the teaching and learning of history, specifically the development of historical thinking skills, and
- 3) what types of primary sources are used to teach these lessons.

More specifically, the study attempts to code the resources made available by state archives and statewide collaborative digitization program Web sites according to which

historical thinking skills they seek to develop while also analyzing the various historical actors revealed in the primary sources and the formats of those sources. In addition, it looks briefly at the contextualization of those sources for the classroom.

Conceptual Framework

Where LaVere used Bloom's taxonomy as the conceptual framework underlying his analysis, this study uses Peter Seixas' delineation of six types of historical thinking skills (significance, epistemology and evidence, continuity and change, progress and decline, empathy and moral judgment, and historical agency).⁹¹⁹ The research leading to the development of this framework has been discussed at length previously. (It is these categories that Barton and Levstik reorganize and tie to the *purposes* for which individuals use history. Doing so, they arrive at their "four stances" —identify, analyze, respond morally, and exhibit.⁹²⁰ It would be redundant to code the Web sites by the "four stances," as well as the six historical thinking skills. Therefore, this research did not seek to describe the presentation of the "stances" in the Web sites.) To Seixas' six elements, I have added "narrative building." While Seixas' elements do an excellent job in identifying most of the analytical thought involved in "historical thinking," his list seems to ignore the set of skills (and they do seem to be a "set" and not a "single skill") required to "put the pieces together," to employ what some researchers in the field have called the adductive (as opposed to deductive) reasoning required by the subject. Thus, with the addition of narrative building, this concept analysis will seek to describe the use of seven

⁹¹⁹ Peter Seixas, "Conceptualizing the Growth of Historical Understanding," in *The Handbook of Education and Human Development* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd, 1996).

⁹²⁰ Keith C. Barton and Linda S. Levstik, *Teaching History for the Common Good*, (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 2004).

“elements:” Seixas’ six along with narrative building. A graphical representation of this conceptual framework based upon Seixas’ six elements (plus narrative building) is available in Table1. This table indicates the seven total elements, a definition of each element, and identifying characteristics for that element.

Table 1. The Conceptual Framework for Analysis of Web Sites

Type of Historical Thinking Skill	Definition	Identifying Characteristic
Significance	The ability to decide what is trivial and what is important—while recognizing that contexts change and that what is trivial to one account of the past might be significant to another.	Activities which ask students to identify and/or explain why events, individuals, ideas, etc. are crucial to an understanding of other events, individuals, ideas, etc.
Epistemology and Evidence	The ability to analyze and interpret sometimes conflicting evidence to determine the who, what, when, and where of the past while understanding that evidence is incomplete and subjective, always reflecting the personal bias of contemporary record creators and the subsequent custodians of those records.	Activities which ask students to explore primary sources to answer some question or produce some explanatory project. or Activities which ask students to explain seemingly contradictory accounts of the same activity/event from the past.
Continuity and Change	The ability to grasp the idea of change over time.	Activities that ask students to compare and contrast some activity, practice, location, belief, etc. in two separate time periods.

Type of Historical Thinking Skill	Definition	Identifying Characteristic
Progress and Decline	An understanding that goes beyond the constant advancement, constant progressing “whig view” of history to realize that “progress” is not constant and that what might be progress for some (or seen to be progress for some) might be decline (or seen to be decline) by others.	Activities that ask students to note how things have gotten better (for some individuals, locations, issues, etc.) <i>and</i> how they have gotten worse (for other individuals, locations, issues, etc.) in regards to historical topics, movements, issues, etc.
Empathy and Moral Judgment	The ability to understand why people in the past acted the way that they did and to judge those actors on their own terms by trying to understand their mentality, beliefs, values, and intentions without imposing current values on those actors.	Activities that ask students to empathize with individuals from the past and ask that they attempt to see the past through the perspectives of the time. or Activities which ask students to compare and contrast current mentality, beliefs, values and intentions with those in the past.
Historical Agency	The ability to identify the cause or causes of change, postulating <i>why</i> things change while being able to identify the what and/or who that led to this change.	Activities that ask students to speculate, using evidence, about why and how something in the past occurred.
Narrative Building	The ability to use evidence to construct a “story” that explains some occurrence while understanding that different “stories” may be constructed from the same evidence.	Activities which ask students to use evidence to craft a “story” concerning some event, individual, location, etc. from the past.

Contextualizing Practices

While these seven thinking skills listed in Table 1. provide the core of the framework for the analysis, the study also briefly explores other characteristics of the online history teaching sites. Some of these concern the contextualization of the activities and the primary sources used in those activities. More specifically, among the “contextualizing practices” analyzed, this study seeks to determine how well the online materials are identified in relationship to a standard curriculum. Previous research has shown that one of the most significant activities that archives can do to aid the schools is to purposefully indicate how certain materials can directly support specific portions of the curriculum.⁹²¹ Thus, this study notes if the individual archives’ and collaborative digitization programs tie their online resources and materials to an identified standard course of study or curriculum. Where these sites might not tie the materials and activities to specific curricula, they might note age or grade delineations for the activities. These are noted, as well.

In addition to identifying “curriculum indicators,” this research notes how the Web sites of state archives and statewide collaborative digitization programs present any information or activities that teach the *nature* of the historical process and sources. Previous research and demonstration projects have revealed (perhaps most compellingly by the Schools Council History Project) that students who have been shown the nature of the historical process are better able to perform that process, themselves, and—perhaps

⁹²¹ Library and Archives of Canada, *Strategic Plan for Educational Programmes*, (March 3, 2003), Internal Report, (Ottawa, Canada: Library and Archives Canada): 4, cited in Michael Eamon, “A Genuine Relationship with the Actual”: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, History and the Internet in the Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) viewed on July 29, 2009 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html>

just as importantly—they come to be more discriminating/critical readers of the historical narratives produced by others. Thus, any essays, demonstrations, or other scaffolding that reveal history to be a subjective form of inquiry into incomplete evidence leading to interpretive and shifting accounts of the past (as opposed to simply being a laundry list of “what happened”) is noted, as are any essays, demonstrations, or explanations about sources, the difference between primary and secondary sources, etc. Such an inquiry into how the sites teach the nature of the subject is closely related to how they also use or do not use metadiscourse.

As the literature shows, there is a long history of dissatisfaction with textbooks, and history textbooks in particular. The textbook’s authoritative (almost god-like, “from on high”) voice, its lack of metadiscourse, and the fact that there is often little relationship between its presented narrative and the evidence upon which that narrative is based, have all been roundly criticized by a wide range of scholars and educators. That being the case, it would be unfortunate to replicate these shortcomings in online teaching tools. Therefore, this research attempts to identify and describe the presence in the online sites of any metadiscourse: the creators consciously and expressly discussing what they are doing, why certain “stories” or materials were selected and presented, and/or the revelation of any ongoing discourse about some set of events. This study also takes note of the tone of the contextualizing materials, looking for those phrases that step away from the authoritative tone of the textbook in an attempt to show the interpretive nature of history. Such phrases might include “while some believe,” “may have,” “could perhaps be,” and “may never know.” In addition, the research seeks to see if and how the online sites in question cite the primary sources that they present or teach the “whys” and

“hows” of citations. Citations are the ultimate historian’s tool. They reveal both the relationship of evidence to narrative and, often, how the historian arrived at his or her interpretation. As one test for a level of metadiscourse, the research specifically looks at the way the sites use reference citations.

Research presented earlier in the literature review has also shown the importance of weaving contextualization or scaffolding into and around the primary sources to help students build their skills. This scaffolding can range from glossaries to brief biographies of individuals being discussed in the sources, to transcriptions of manuscripts, to the actual talk-aloud modeling of experts seeking to mine meaning from secondary and primary sources. For this reason, this study also notes the types and extent of scaffolding provided by the state archives and collaborative digitization program history teaching Web sites. This “explanatory material” can target both students and teachers. The materials created for teachers is closely examined to determine guidance the sites might provide in Socratic dialogue concerning the lesson and assessment of the history thinking developed by the individual lessons.

As the extended literature review has shown, there has long been a tension between teaching history as “coverage” and teaching it to explore in depth a series of events while developing historical thinking skills.⁹²² In other words, time devoted to

⁹²² This conflict continues. The North Carolina Department of Public Instruction floated a new history curriculum early in 2010, which proposed cutting back on coverage of historical scope to focus on issues related more closely with civics and global understanding. This new curriculum was partially in response to the shift in the overall curriculum toward what is currently being called “21st Century Skills.” The response was swift and condemning and quickly went national, with critics from across the political and social spectrum charging educational administrators with everything from dumbing down the curriculum to being un-patriotic. For a bit of the criticism, see “North Carolina Schools May Cut Chunk Out of U.S. History,” FoxNews viewed on February 20, 2010 at <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,584758,00.html> See also, Lynn Bonner “History Course Shift Sets off Uproar,” [Raleigh] *News and Observer*, February 5, 2010. This was not the

sharing an extended narrative (“the national story,” “westward expansion,” “the Civil War,” etc) tends to present a shallow view of history, covering a little bit of information about a broad set of issues, events, and people. This surface-skimming, “names-and-dates” treatment often ignores the development of history thinking skills. In contrast, a study of history that is a series of in-depth historical inquiries into a necessarily narrow set of issues, events, and people too often presents a disjointed view of the past that lacks the organization of an overriding narrative. Such a presentation makes it difficult for students to evaluate the significance of individual events or to see connections in the much alluded to “sweep of history.” Most educators agree that to truly teach history (both the content and the process) requires a balancing of these two poles. One way to provide this balance is through the practice of “post-holing.” Post-holing is a pedagogical technique where one event or issue is explored intensely and deeply within a study of a more general, historical narrative. Instructors often attempt to build history thinking skills as a part of these in-depth, highly-focused lessons. Some have argued that as students mature and become more familiar with the broad outlines of history, the balance between the sweeping narrative and the in-depth, individual post-holes should shift, with the more in-depth and inquiry-driven lessons coming to predominate over time. That being the case, this study notes the methods through which the individual pedagogical exercises (the “post-holes”) presented by the state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites are tied to the more general, broader narratives of which they are a part.

first controversy concerning a North Carolina history textbook. In 1941, newspaper columnist Nell Battle Lewis fulminated against the choice made by the state Board of Education, which had failed to select a work by University of North Carolina professors Hugh Lefler and A.R. Newsome. The Board of education refused to purchase the latter largely because of its treatment of the state’s conservative Democrat politicians of a few decades earlier. Lefler and Newsome’s own works would, a few decades later, be considered too reactionary and conservative by a new generation of educators and historians. “Education: A Political Stink,” *Time* (April 28, 1941): 57.

Standard ways in which this has been accomplished in other teaching tools include time lines, introductory essays, and citations or direct linking between the postholes to more general treatments of history, such as textbook accounts.

In addition to the thinking skills, this study also codes the online activities associated with the history teaching sites for “historical eras” to determine which time periods in the past are most often covered by these sorts of exercises, and which time periods might not receive as frequent a treatment.

Analysis of the Primary Sources Used by the Exercises

In addition to analyzing the thinking skills being taught in the history teaching activities and the contextualization of those activities, this research also investigates the primary sources used in those activities. First, it seeks to analyze the time periods reflected by the primary sources, and then it determines the distribution of sources across “media formats.” Finally, it seeks to describe the historical actors being presented in those primary sources. As research presented in the “History Comes to the Computer” portion of this study has shown, current students respond to some forms of primary sources better than they do others. Those sites that employ various forms of multi-media tend to capture and hold the attention of contemporary students better than those sites which consist almost solely of print documents. While photographs, video, and audio forms of primary sources exist for a relatively small portion of recorded history, videos of artifacts in use (such as the Colonial militia style of step-by-step loading of an 18th century musket or an actor’s interpretation of the contents of a letter), contemporary artwork, and present-day images of historic sites, etc., can be employed to extend the use

of multimedia to provide primary source reproductions of a multi-media type. Such practices allow the “multimedia coverage” of periods before the twentieth century (for audio and video) and the 1840s-50s (for photographs). For these reasons, this research seeks to determine the range of materials (from artifact to types of manuscripts) being selected to support the pedagogical exercises presented by the state archives and statewide collaborative digitization programs’ Web sites.

Because research shows that students can more easily make a connection to the past when they can “see” themselves in that past, there has been a long tradition of research that attempts to analyze the treatment of ethnic minorities and women in history textbooks. While not going into any depth in this form of analysis (seeking gradations of historical agency, etc.), this study notes the presence or lack thereof of children, women, and ethnic minorities in the primary sources being presented in the Web-based activities designed for the classroom. It pays special attention to the extent to which African Americans are mentioned in relationship *only* to slavery or the civil rights movement and Native Americans are mentioned in relationship *only* to conflict with European “settlers” or “pioneers.”

It was initially thought that, in addition to issues of time period, media format, and minority representation, the analysis would also note those lessons which are not related to traditional history’s coverage of military and political subjects. Originally the research was planned to determine how many lessons might touch upon “every day” life or folkways. This was not possible. It was too difficult for the researcher to determine where a significant portion of the “traditional military or political” history topics shaded off into a social history topic or a study of everyday life. At the extremes, such as those

lessons concerning battles and elections or cookery and holidays, this was quite easy to determine. But where does one assign “homefront” activities, etc. ? It would seem that creators of most of the sites have become fairly proficient at merging to some extent social history topics into almost every type of lesson. The same difficulty of definition was discovered when it came time to “tag” activities to determine how the sites handled “hero” lessons. At first, based upon research described earlier that attempted to understand how elementary students learn history through the stories about individuals, there was an attempt to identify “biography-centered” lessons. But almost all of the lessons explored concerned individuals--and few of these people could be considered “heroes.” Instead, many of them tended to be good examples of people living through some issue or event, and they happened to have left behind some primary source that was appropriate for a lesson on that topic. This being the case, the “yardstick” was not measuring the desired issue: the number of “hero” lessons. And the researcher could not define the required attributes to be able to measure these lessons more objectively. This line of research was eventually dropped, as well.

Thus, this concept analysis seeks to determine the presence and nature of the state archives and statewide collaborative digitization program Web sites’ use of historical thinking skills in history teaching activities in the following areas:

- Seixas six historical thinking skills, plus narrative building;
- The time periods represented in the activities
- contextualization of those history teaching activities
- materials that note purpose(s) of history;
- the relationship to standard courses of study (or age and/or grade delineations);
- the nature of the historical process, difference between primary and secondary sources;
- the bridging devices between broader narrative and pedagogical activities (relationship to textbooks)

- metadiscourse (presence of reference citations)
- formats/ types of primary sources (manuscript, image, audiovisual);
- time periods reflected in primary sources
- ethnic minorities, women, and children represented in the primary sources

These analytical elements are all present in the concept analysis instrument found in Appendix D. (This instrument is still designed to measure “biography-centered lessons” and “social history/folkways lessons;” lines of research which were later dropped.) The concept analysis instrument was designed to reflect major concerns and issues presented in the extended literature review. Indeed, sections of that review can be “mapped” to sections of the concept analysis instrument. To ensure that this instrument would be effective in analyzing the sites in question, the researcher used an iterative testing process. First, he constructed an instrument based on the literature review, then he began to code each of the sites in question, slightly changing or adding categories as issues began to repeat themselves on a regular basis (such as the need for more specificity in dates for the subject eras, or questions regarding how to handle assignments that included activities that attempt to build multiple historical thinking skills). Thus, it was expected that in the first coding of the sites that the instrument would be constantly changing. However, it had become “stable” by about the eleventh or twelfth state archives Web site analyzed. Still, the researcher continued to code each of the remaining sites. At the end of this initial analysis, the instrument was deemed ready for a second and final pass through the sites. Only the results from the second analysis are presented here, except for the discussion of the intra- and inter-coder testing of the instrument, which occurred only once.

Intra- and Intra-Coder Reliability; Development of Instrument

Only one coder was used to analyze the 24 Web sites under study. In an attempt to determine the reliability of the coding, two of the earliest sites visited (once the concept analysis instrument was determined to be “stable”) were revisited.⁹²³

Approximately five months separated the two analyses of these two sites. The sites were the Alabama Department of Archives and History’s “Using Primary Sources in the Classroom” site and the Florida Memory’s “Online Classroom.” In addition to the intra-coder test, an inter-coder test was made using the Alabama Department of Archives and History’s aforementioned teaching site and that of Connecticut History Online site.

Another PhD candidate in Library and Information Science at Florida State University who specializes in studies of institutional repositories was the test coder for this activity.

Intra-coder Test

The initial analysis of the Alabama site revealed 49 different, total “lessons” or activities, whether they included work with primary sources or not. The second analysis of this site found 54 different lessons or activities. This is a discrepancy of five activities. The initial analysis of the Florida Memory site found 23 “activities” total, whether they used primary sources or not, while the second analysis, located nineteen activities. This is a relatively high fluctuation. It would seem that it would be fairly simple to determine the number of lessons listed on an individual Web site. A simple “count” should be straightforward enough, but the difficulty in determining the granularity at which to

⁹²³ For a strong literature review on coder reliability testing, see Matthew Lombard, Jennifer Snyder-Duch, and Cheryl Campanella Bracken, “Content Analysis in Mass Communication: Assessment and Reporting of Intercoder Reliability,” *Human Communication Research* 28 (2002): 587-604.

analyze the activities and lessons makes this straightforward “count” extremely difficult. The Alabama site, for example, had lessons with lists of “activities.” These activities were, in some cases, truly separate activities, and in others were “steps” in an overall activity. The relationship between “lessons” and “activities” were easy to determine, but the number of “activities” within the lesson were not so easily determined. To simply count “lessons,” which are delineated by subject matter and not by the building of particular skills, would not provide a clear picture of the number or type of activities presented by the sites designed to build history thinking skills. A clearer understanding of the difference between “steps in an activity” and a single activity was determined to be necessary. It was decided that only one activity per lesson would be analyzed, and that this activity would be the one which sought to teach one of the history thinking skills *and* was deemed to be *the core activity* of the lesson. A core activity would be one which could stand alone as an activity without the need for supplemental or related activities. (If the core activity did not seek to build any of the history thinking skills, then the lesson was designated as being “unaligned.” Usually, those lessons that were designated as being “unaligned” used primary sources as illustrations. Following the traditional practice of many history teachers, the lessons on these sites often suggested that teachers incorporate primary source materials into the classroom to help generate interest in a topic or help a child develop a “feel” for an era, rather than use these skills in some inquiry- or project-based activity to develop a specific history thinking skill.) No activities within sections using designations such as “stretches” or “enhancements” or “further activities” were analyzed. Even though this methodology was followed, it must

be admitted that, because of the necessary determination of the “core activity,” the process remained fairly subjective throughout the investigation of the sites.

The analysis of the history thinking skills being taught in the individual lessons varied in a similar fashion. The Intra-coder testing using the Alabama and Florida sites found discrepancies in the reporting of the number of different history thinking skills activities that used primary sources. Again, the difficulty of determining the granularity at which to analyze each activity and not the definitions concerning what constitutes a teaching activity designed to build a particular history thinking skill seemed to be at the root of the difference in the numbers. It is interesting to note that these discrepancies occurred within the skills categories that seem to be the most “popular” on the history teaching sites: “epistemology and evidence,” “empathy and moral judgment” and “narrative building.” This could be, of course, due to the fact that the coder is particularly “in tune” with these historical thinking skills and seeks them out more closely and reports them more often, or it could simply reflect the fact that where there are more entities in a population, there are more opportunities for conflicting interpretations and slight variations. To address these discrepancies, an attempt was made to define levels of granularity (lesson, activity, steps in activities) but the diversity in the lessons even within the same site, made this too difficult to pursue. Instead, the coders had to supply a much more subjective measure, asking themselves, as they analyzed the lesson overall (activities and steps within activities included), “What is the major thrust of the lesson? What is the history thinking skill being most emphasized?” After all, almost every lesson could be construed to support the development of more than one history thinking skill. Surprisingly, this determination was not that difficult, but the

“lessons” analyzed included those “lessons” identified by the sites, including some “lessons” that were activities, and yet other “lessons” that were steps within activities. A lesson on one site might be similar to an activity on another, and a step in an activity on another site might be more similar to an overall activity on another site.

Table 2. Intra-Coder Testing: History Thinking Skills

Historical Thinking Skill	First Analysis		Second Analysis	
	Number of activities		Number of activities	
	Alabama	Florida	Alabama	Florida
Significance	0	1	0	1
Epistemology and Evidence	19	8	22	7
Continuity and Change	5	1	5	1
Progress and Decline	0	0	0	0
Empathy/Moral Judgment	9	1	10	1
Historical Agency	0	0	0	0
Narrative Building	2	5	3	4

The number of lessons by era and those numbers that describe the primary sources themselves varied very little between the two analyses. The “eras” were delineated based upon the coder’s own personal experience with history courses and the way in which the schools have traditionally divided the years into “themed” or time-related subject units for study. It would have perhaps been less subjective to create a simple decade-by-decade or year-by-year set of delineations for the primary sources, but many of the lessons were not strictly described by specific years, and the primary sources associated with the lessons often were not specifically dated either. Perhaps the most “murky” of delineations by era occurred in the Reconstruction, Post-Civil War Industrial, and Women’s suffrage designations, as these time periods can and do overlap. The emphasis of the lesson and primary sources used to illustrate or provide the raw material for teaching activities was the determining characteristic for the final designations for the appropriate “era.” There were also more “sweeping” lessons that ran across the time period delineations. They were not listed with any specific time period but were designated by the “not aligned by era” designator.

The only discrepancy found in the number of lessons by era between the two analyses during the intra-coder testing was found in the number of lessons not aligned by era on the Florida site. This was due to the coder, during the initial analysis, miscounting two links to resources that were located in a “space” where the site frequently made links to lessons. See table 3.

Table 3. Intra-Coder Testing: Lessons by Subject Era

Historical Era lessons	First Analysis		Second Analysis	
	Number of Lessons		Number of Lessons	
	Alabama	Florida	Alabama	Florida
Pre-Colonial	0	0	0	0
Colonial	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary War	0	0	0	0
Antebellum	8	1	8	1
Civil War	2	3	2	3
Reconstruction	8	0	8	0
Post-Civil War Industrial	0	1	0	1
WWI	5	0	5	0
Roaring 20s	0	0	0	0
Great Depression	6	2	6	2
WWII	8	1	8	1

Historical Era lessons	First Analysis		Second Analysis	
	Number of Lessons		Number of Lessons	
Cold War	0	0	0	0
Civil Rights	5	1	5	1
Women's Rights				
Suffrage	1		1	
ERA		1		1
Not Aligned by Era	0	9	0	7
Total	43	19	45	17

It should be noted that not all primary sources found on a site were counted and recorded. Only those primary sources associated with learning activities that build history thinking skills were counted and given a designation by era and format. Thus, the presence of ethnic minorities, women, and children, were only noted in those primary sources associated with learning activities. Almost all of the sites investigated included a large number of illustrative materials not specifically aligned with an activity. (This seemed to be especially the case with African Americans and Native Americans.) Many of these materials were presented in “exhibit” formats, and while it is highly probable that these materials are regularly used by teachers as “illustrations” or examples in their

teaching or as parts of other learning activities, they were not directly associated with teaching activities that could build history thinking skills.

Table 4. Intra-Coder Testing: Subject Era of Primary Sources

Historical Era of Primary Source	First Analysis Number of sources		Second Analysis Number of sources	
	Alabama	Florida	Alabama	Florida
Pre-Colonial	0	0	0	0
Colonial	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary War	0	0	0	0
Antebellum	54	8	57	8
Civil War	14	30	14	30
Reconstruction	12	7	12	5
Post-Civil War Industrial	3	0	0	2
WWI	53	5	51	5
Roaring 20s	0	0	0	0

Historical Era of Primary Source	First Analysis		Second Analysis	
	Number of sources		Number of sources	
Great Depression	26	6	26	6
WWII	47	7	48	6
Cold War	0	0	0	0
Civil Rights	26	4	26	4
Women's Rights				
Suffrage	2	1	2	1
ERA				
Not Aligned by Era	0	9	0	9
	237	77	236	76

A list of media formats/types of the primary sources presented on the history teaching sites was initially created based upon the researcher's personal experience. Appendix U provides the definitions used in determining formats.

During the initial investigation of these sites, the descriptors for the various formats/types of primary sources were changed slightly to better reflect the materials actually being presented. These changes largely involved giving greater specificity to types of manuscript materials. There was almost no change in the numbers associated

with the various formats/types of primary sources recorded during the intra-coder testing once the instrument was stable.

Table 5. Intra-Coder Testing: Formats of Primary Sources

Format/Type of Primary Source	First Analysis Number of sources		Second Analysis Number of sources	
	Alabama	Florida	Alabama	Florida
Manuscript letters	63	12	62	12
Manuscript diaries	0	0	0	0
Manuscript Memorandum Book	3	0	3	0
Manuscript 1 st person reminiscence	1	0	1	0
Business Record	5	0	5	0
Church/religious body record	1	0	1	0
Official government reports, forms, etc.	56	4	57	4
Census record	0	0	0	0
Photographs	26	83	26	85
Non-photographic images/posters	10	0	10	0

Format/Type of Primary Source	First Analysis		Second Analysis	
	Number of sources		Number of sources	
Maps	10	0	10	0
Images of 3D museum objects	0	1	0	1
Manuscript speech	0	0	0	0
Oral history transcript	5	7	5	7
Oral history audio	0	6	0	6
Audio-other	0	0	0	0
Video	0	0	0	0
Contemporary Newspaper/magazine account	40	1	41	1
Political Cartoon	9	0	8	0
Other	5	1	5	1
Total	234	115	233	117

The concept analysis instrument originally included African American, Native American, Latino, and Asian ethnic divisions, followed by an “other” designation.

Coding was based upon the ethnicity identified by the online resource and from visual evidence in the case of African Americans and Asians. Since it is difficult to determine whether a historical actor included in a primary source is of German or Irish extraction, for example, the “other” designation was only noted and a specific “other ethnic group” listed in the concept analysis instrument, if the associated lesson made note of the ethnicity of the individuals involved. Neither the Alabama or Florida sites had individuals in the primary sources from the “other” designation (German, Italian, Irish, etc.; in other words, these sites contained no ethnically designated non-Latino, African American, and Asian individuals.) This means that no individuals from the “other” designations do not appear in the intra-coder testing, but these “others” (Germans, Irish, Italian, etc.) did appear in a few subsequent sites. That having been noted, discrepancies in the numbers of ethnic individuals present in the primary sources between the first and second analysis is slight and the greatest anomaly, found in the number of African Americans present in the primary sources found on the Florida site, the result of a disagreement between the two coders regarding whether the primary sources associated with a lesson were illustrative only, or if they were associated with a lesson designed to build history thinking skills. (Remember that the analysis noted the overall number of primary sources directly associated with lessons, but then went on to analyze more closely those sources associated with lessons designed to build history thinking skills.) The analysis also made note of the presence of women and children in the primary sources. The coders counted the presence of women and children in the primary sources, if the site noted that the individuals were women and children as well as those instances when the individuals revealed by the primary sources were obviously women and children but were not so

designated by the site. The latter designation occurred almost always with visual evidence.

Table 6. Intra-Coder Testing: Minorities Represented in Primary Sources

Minorities present in primary sources	First Analysis Number of sources		Second Analysis Number of sources	
	Alabama	Florida	Alabama	Florida
African American	62	49	62	51
Native American	11	43	11	43
Latino	0	0	0	0
Asian	0	0	0	0
Women	19	90	19	87
Children	4	4	4	3
Total	96	186	96	184

Inter-Coder Testing

A Library and Information Science PhD Candidate who specializes in institutional repositories was recruited as the test coder for the inter-coder testing of the concept

analysis instrument.⁹²⁴ Since this test coder was instructed in his analysis using the Florida Memory site, he performed his actual test on the teaching sites mounted by the Alabama Department of Archives and History and the Connecticut History Online sites. The initial analysis of the researcher was used in this test, and not the second analysis. It should be noted that a substantial amount of time and guidance was required for the test coder to navigate the various educational sites in search of the primary source-based lessons. For greater reliability, more straightforward designators such as the researcher's decision that was made to analyze only those sites that had a "schools" designator located on the homepage could have provided a more reliable data; however, such a decision more than likely would have decreased substantially the number of Web sites in the study population. The identification of the "core history thinking skill," was not as difficult to determine as was initially assumed, although the identification of the appropriate level of granularity of the lessons to analyze was a challenge for the test coder as it was for the researcher. Once the level of granularity was determined, the identification of the history thinking skill being taught was fairly easily determined. (See Table 7) Most of the disparity between coders seems to have arisen not from any disagreements about definitions. Instead, they seem to have arisen primarily as a result of fairly simple counting errors. (The design of some of the Web sites sometimes makes it difficult to determine numbers of lessons.) This is demonstrated by the largest discrepancy in Table 7 concerning the lessons devoted to narrative building. The test coder counted some lessons that the original coder did not because the latter determined that they were not

⁹²⁴ This test coder is a PhD candidate in the College of Information at Florida State University, has been an academic librarian and archivist, and before becoming a grants administrator was a technology manager and trainer for a statewide, academic library collaborative.

associated directly with a primary source. The test coder did find primary sources related to these lessons while the researcher had not. The test coder, as it turns out, was correct.

Table 7. Inter-Coder Testing: History Thinking Skills

Historical Thinking Skill	Coder Analysis Number of activities		Test Coder Analysis Number of activities	
	Alabama	Connecticut	Alabama	Connecticut
Significance	0	0	0	0
Epistemology and Evidence	19	2	18	2
Continuity and Change	5	2	6	2
Progress and Decline	0	0	0	0
Empathy/Moral Judgment	9	0	9	0
Historical Agency	0	0	0	0
Narrative Building	2	0	6	0

There was great consistency between the coder and test coder in assigning subject eras to the lessons in question. It appears that simple discrepancies in locating and recording lessons account for the differences in the recorded results. The test coder found one more lesson pertaining to the Great Depression than did the coder. After another

examination of the site, it was determined that the test coder was the one who had again arrived at the correct figure. (See Table 8)

Table 8. Inter-Coder Testing: Lessons by Subject Era

Historical Era lessons	Coder Number of Lessons		Test Coder Number of Lessons	
	Alabama	Connecticut	Alabama	Connecticut
Pre-Colonial	0	0	0	0
Colonial	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary War	0	0	0	0
Antebellum	8	0	8	1
Civil War	2	0	2	0
Reconstruction	8	0	8	0
Post-Civil War Industrial	0	0	0	0
WWI	5	0	5	0
Roaring 20s	0	0	0	0
Great Depression	6	0	7	0

Historical Era lessons	Coder Number of Lessons		Test Coder Number of Lessons	
WWII	8	0	8	0
Cold War	0	0	0	0
Civil Rights	5	0	5	0
Women's Rights Suffrage ERA	1	0	1	0
Not Aligned by Era	0	4	4	3
Total	43	4	44	4

The greatest discrepancy between the two coders in determining the subject era of the primary sources occurred because the test coder missed a link to a page of images that were associated with a lesson about World War I. A similar situation was faced with a Great Depression, Civil Rights, and World War II lessons. As it turns out, there are many “nooks and crannies” on these Web sites where primary sources might “hide.” What might appear to be a link to a single primary source, may—instead—lead to a small “exhibit” of resources concerning a particular subject era or topic. It is very difficult for a coder to know if he or she has found all of the resources on a site. Once these items are discovered, however, coders must then determine, if they are actually associated with the

learning activity or if they are, like so many resources on these sites, simply illustrative. In some instances, it is difficult to come to a clear decision. Finally, it was decided that only those sources that were used directly in a student investigation or manipulation would be counted. This decision did not change the discrepancy between the tests, but the discrepancies did change the methodology slightly, although there did not seem to be a remedy for finding those “hidden” materials. Otherwise the two coders were in close agreement. (See Table 9.) Because of this particular part of the inter-coder test and its discrepancies, more specifics had to be decided about what and how many primary sources are associated with a single lesson. In some instances, it does appear that there is an “exhibit” of primary sources that accompany a lesson, as well as those primary sources that are provided, which are more directly involved in the inquiry- or project-based activities. It was decided that all primary sources associated with a history thinking skill exercise would be counted and analyzed.

Table 9. Inter-Coder Testing: Subject Era of Primary Sources

Historical Era of Primary Source	Coder Number of sources		Test Coder Number of sources	
	Alabama	Connecticut	Alabama	Connecticut
Pre-Colonial	0	0	0	0
Colonial	0	0	0	0
Revolutionary War	0	0	0	0

Historical Era of Primary Source	Coder		Test Coder	
	Number of sources		Number of sources	
Antebellum	54	0	53	0
Civil War	14	0	13	0
Reconstruction	12	0	13	0
Post-Civil War Industrial	3	0	0	0
WWI	53	0	5	0
Roaring 20s	0	0	0	0
Great Depression	26	0	7	0
WWII	47	0	9	0
Cold War	0	0	0	0
Civil Rights	26	0	5	0
Women's Rights	0	0	0	0
Suffrage	2		1	
ERA				
Not Aligned by Era	0	39	3	39

Historical Era of Primary Source	Coder Number of sources		Test Coder Number of sources	
	237	39	109	39

The only major discrepancy found between the two coders in their analysis of primary source formats was in the definition of a business record as opposed to a government record. The decision was made that if any level of government is the creator of the record, it is a government record. If a person or institution creates a record that later might be used by the government, then it is not a government record. Definitions for the different types/formats of primary sources are detailed in appendix U. Table 10 describes the results from the inter-coder test regarding primary source types/formats. The other differences in the numbers presented can be attributed to simple miscounting, recording, and similar errors. Again, it should be noted that the design of many of the Web sites sometimes makes it rather difficult to locate all of the primary sources that might be involved with a single lesson. The major primary sources are usually easily found, whereas other “illustrative” sources found with history thinking exercises are sometimes a bit more difficult to locate. In addition, it is often quite difficult to determine whether a source is illustrative matter and whether it is directly associated with a lesson designed to support the development of a history thinking skill.

Table 10. Inter-Coder Testing: Formats of Primary Sources

Format/Type of Primary Source	Coder Number of sources		Test Coder Number of sources	
	Alabama	Connecticut	Alabama	Connecticut
Manuscript letters	63	0	72	0
Manuscript diaries	0	0	0	0
Manuscript Memorandum Book	3	0	0	0
Manuscript 1 st person reminiscence	1	0	4	0
Business Record	5	0	22	0
Church/religious body record	1	0	1	0
Official government reports, forms, etc.	56	0	35	0
Census record	0	0	0	0
Photographs	26	39	32	39
Non-photographic images/posters	10	0	11	0
Maps	10	0	10	0

Format/Type of Primary Source	Coder Number of sources		Test Coder Number of sources	
Images of 3D museum objects	0	0	0	0
Manuscript speech	0	0	0	0
Oral history transcript	5	0	5	0
Oral history audio	0	0	0	0
Audio-other	0	0	0	0
Video	0	0	0	0
Contemporary Newspaper/magazine account	40	39	40	39
Political Cartoon	9	0	8	0
Other	5	0	4	0
Total	234	39	234	39

All of the discrepancies found between the two coders in the identification of ethnic minorities, children, and women on the sites can be attributed to mistakes in counting, recording, etc. The single greatest discrepancy was found in the number of

females appearing on the Connecticut site. This appeared as a result of a disagreement between the coders concerning whether materials were directly related to history thinking lessons or whether they were illustrative materials. In this particular instance it was quite difficult to determine. Because of this, in later analysis of sites, it was decided that the “benefit of the doubt” would be given to the history thinking exercise. They would be counted. There were no major definitional difficulties, etc., associated with the identification of minorities, women, and children. (See Table 11.) The test coder did suggest that the concept analysis instrument be modified to place the non-specific designators such as “not aligned by era,” “other/more specific” at the beginning instead of at the end of each of the sections. This was considered, but the coder felt that once any other coder had become accustomed to the instrument, this modification would not be necessary.

Table 11. Inter-Coder Testing: Minorities Represented in Primary Sources

Minorities present in primary sources	Coder Number of sources		Test Coder Number of sources	
	Alabama	Connecticut	Alabama	Connecticut
African American	62	6	61	6
Native American	11	0	9	0
Latino	0	0	0	0
Asian	0	0	0	0

Minorities present in primary sources	Coder		Test Coder	
	Number of sources		Number of sources	
Women	19	28	19	18
Children	4	25	4	23
Total	96	59	93	47

Non-quantitative Analysis of Metadiscourse, Contextualization, etc.

The analysis described earlier of the contextualization and metadiscourse used (or not) by the sites is, necessarily, highly subjective and does not lend itself well to a quantitative analysis. For this reason, the research sought to determine simply the presence or lack of certain contextualizing tools such as curricular designations and links to more sweeping narratives, or—in the case of scaffolding—brief biographies, explanatory notes, etc. The description of the metadiscourse of the sites was approached in a fashion much like that of the work of literary critics who regularly describe tone and voice of works without relying upon techniques such as quantifying phrases. For these reasons, the portions of the concept analysis instrument related to metadiscourse, the nature of the historical process/historical evidence, the techniques used to bridge activities to a broader narrative, and the manner of citations employed by the sites was not investigated as part of the intra-coder and inter-coder testing.

The intra-coder and inter-coder testing revealed that while there is subjectivity in the methodology, a significant portion of the research is quantifiable and reproduce-able.

If there were a more objective way to standardize the designations between lessons, activities within lessons, and steps within activities, then the concept analysis presented here would be substantially more reliable. While there are processes that could be used to provide this standardization (such as simply accepting what any individual site calls a lesson, an activity, or a step), this would begin to call into question the validity of the research. Yes, such a methodology would be more reliable over time and between researchers, but would it actually reveal what the research purported to define and describe? Perhaps given a large enough population of sites to investigate, this would, indeed, be the case. But, given the relatively small number of sites available for investigation and the practical limitations inherent in this form of research, the large number of sites required for a more objective analysis was not available. For example, to use more objective criteria (taking only those sites that use a specific vocabulary) would necessarily remove a large number of resources from the analysis because the researcher could not use his judgment about what would be allowable, what would fit certain criteria, etc. Such a methodology would be fine when there are a large number of sites that can be explored. When the numbers are smaller, such activities would leave the researcher with few resources to evaluate further. Because it was difficult to determine a clear unit of analysis, leading the two test coders to identify lessons or activities or steps in activities in and among large Web presences, it was impossible to run statistical tests such as Cohen's Kappa on the inter- and intra-coder testing. This being the case, the research took on a slightly more qualitative turn than was originally expected. Nevertheless, despite the inevitable small variation in the results that grew out of the subjectivity inherent in the process (further exacerbated by the difficulty in determining

the granularity of the resources), the results of the research were so consistent that any “shifts” were ultimately negligible to the overall findings.

Population Studied/Units of Analysis

It would be impossible to analyze the online presence of every archives and special collections library. While the primary audience for most college and university special collections and archives are post-secondary school students and researchers, state archives agencies attempt to serve a much broader range of users and are constituents of state governments, which tend to emphasize public education below the undergraduate level. There is also a well-defined and limited set of institutions belonging to this “archival” category. For these reasons, state archives’ Web sites seem to provide a better “population” to begin research into online, cultural heritage sites designed to benefit the schools. Membership in this population can be determined by membership in the Council of State Archives (COSA), which maintains a Web directory. There are a total of 54 state archives agencies that are members of COSA. (Washington, DC and United States affiliate territories are included with the 50 states.)⁹²⁵ For a listing, see Appendix A. In the instance where the “records” branch or office is separate from the archives, the archives’ site alone was explored. When archives are a part of a larger organizational unit, such as a “state library and archives” or “state historical society,” the Web site of the larger administrative unit, in addition to the individual archives’ Web site, was explored.

⁹²⁵ “Directory of State and Territorial Archives and Records Programs,” Council of State Archivists (CoSA), viewed on August 27, 2009 at <http://www.statearchivists.org/states.htm>

In a number of cases, the “education link” on the state archives’ Web page carried one to the site of a collaborative digitization program, of which the archives is a partner.

In addition to state archives Web sites, there have been a number of statewide, collaborative digitization programs that have developed since the mid-1990s. These collaboratives represent a wide range of cultural heritage institutions, from small-town history museums to academic special collections. There is also a definite, bounded community of these organizations, as recognized by a directory maintained by Middle Tennessee State University. There are 55 statewide collaborative digitization programs identified by the Middle Tennessee State University directory.⁹²⁶ For a listing see Appendix B.

Whether a statewide collaborative or a state archives agency, almost all of these entities maintain online archival materials that have not been specifically contextualized for a specific audience. For example, a site might include “historic post cards,” “digitized death records,” “digital maps” or historic images—but not specifically state that these online resources have been designed for any one group of users. That having been noted, research was limited to only those 20 state archives Web sites and 18 statewide collaborative digitization programs that specifically maintain online materials for the schools or children. These 38 sites were determined by choosing only those that have identifiers on their homepages such as “Students,” “Schools,” “Teachers,” “For Kids,” etc. In an attempt to be consistent, no search was made for these kinds of sites by

⁹²⁶ BCR, a library service organization, took over management of the collaboratives’ directory after the initial analysis of the sites but before this analysis could be written. As a result of the shift in “sponsors” and an updating of the directory, the number of organizations changed. The research was not repeated using BCR’s updated site. The current directory of statewide collaboratives, which is maintained by BCR, may be found at <http://www.bcr.org/dps/cdp/programs.html>

exploring “beneath” the initial homepage for these organizations. As a result, it is very likely that more than 38 of these sites hold materials specifically contextualized for the K-12 community. The following state archives had homepage links to online sites designed for the schools: Alabama, Arizona, California, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, Nevada, New York, North Dakota, South Dakota, Tennessee, Ohio, and Wisconsin. The following statewide collaborative digitization programs had homepage-linked sites specifically designated for the schools: Arizona Memory, Collaborative Digitization Program (Multiple western states), Connecticut History Online, Digital Library of Georgia, Digital Past (Illinois), Kansas Memory, Maine Memory Network, Windows on Maine, Minnesota Digital Library, Missouri Digital Heritage Initiative, Nebraska Memories, Nebraska Western Trails, New Jersey Digital Highway, Oklahoma Heritage Online, Historic Pittsburgh, South Carolina Digital Library, Volunteer Voices (Tennessee), and Texas Tides.

Not all of the state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites which contained links on their homepages to materials for the classroom made available teaching and learning activities. Instead of such activities, a great many of these sites actually presented online exhibits, information concerning field trips to various historical sites in the state, or other information of interest to teachers and the schools. Of the 38 sites investigated with homepage designators such as “Educators,” “For the Schools,” “For Teachers,” “Online Classroom,” or “Teaching with Primary Sources,” only eleven state archives’ Web sites and thirteen Web sites of collaborative digitization programs had teaching and learning activities associated with online reproductions of primary sources. Only these 24 sites were analyzed. They included the following collaborative

digitization project Web sites: New Jersey Digital Highway, Volunteer Voices (Tennessee), Texas Tides, South Carolina Digital Library, Nebraska Western Trails, Nebraska Memories, Minnesota Digital Library, Maine Memory Network, Digital Library of Georgia, Digital Past (Illinois), Connecticut History Online, Collaborative Digitization Program (originally Colorado, but it came to include multiple western states), and Missouri Digital Initiatives (which was linked to by the Missouri State Archives Web site). The eleven state archives sites included the Library of Virginia (which includes that state's archives), South Dakota State Historical Society, Ohio Historical Society, North Dakota Historical Society, Montana Historical Society, Iowa, California (which linked to <www.LearnCalifornia.org>), Florida (which linked to Florida Memory), Alabama Department of Archives and History, Idaho, and the Wisconsin Historical Society.⁹²⁷ It should be noted that some states turn a portion of their government records over to private, non-profit state historical societies for permanent retention while other states maintain a fully state-financed state archives agency. In addition, other state archives reside within a state library agency (such as the Library of Virginia), while others exist as merged state library and state archives, often designated as "the state library and archives of" . . . This is the case in approximately 10 states such as Texas and Tennessee. There is no one standard place for a state archives to exist within state government structures. These 24 sites, however, do represent digitization efforts in 23 of the 50 states, with every geographic area of the country represented: northeast, southeast, midwest, pacific, etc. (Nebraska is represented in this study by two collaborative digitization programs.) For a listing of the URLs of sites that were analyzed, see Appendix E. The content of some of the educational portions of these

⁹²⁷ For specific links to each site, see Appendices A and B.

sites changed considerably between the time of the analysis and the writing of this document. For example, the Library of Virginia has developed a number of new educational resources and removed some of the sources discussed in this research. Along the same lines, Florida Memory left its primary sources on the Web but removed all of the associated lessons. While these are not the only changes to the sites investigated, they may be the most dramatic. That having been noted, the research presented here represents a snapshot of these 24 sites as they existed for a brief period of time in the fall of 2009.

In seeking to determine an appropriate population of Web sites to study, the “Digital Collections and Content Registry” —which is a collaborative project maintained by the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Library, the University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign Graduate School of Library and Information Science (Center for Informatics Research in Science and Scholarship), and the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS) —was investigated.⁹²⁸ There are two hundred and five IMLS-funded “collections” listed on this site as of October 30, 2009. (To see a list of these projects, see Appendix C.) Some of these collections have sub-collections. There is a wide range in the number of individual items in each collection or sub-collection, and individual items might be one photograph or a volume containing several thousand pages. Twenty three of the IMLS-funded collections in the registry could not be accessed due to broken links. This could mean that individual projects have ceased to exist on the Web, but more likely means that they have changed URLs, have been merged into other projects, or a bit of both. Eleven of the projects listed among the IMLS-funded activities

⁹²⁸ This list of projects was taken from the site on October 30, 2009. A direct link to this list may be found at <http://imlsdcc.grainger.uiuc.edu/collections/GEMProject.asp>, which provides a link to only IMLS National Leadership Grant Program-funded digital collections. The alphabetical listing by “t” in the word “the” in this list follows the arrangement of the Registry.

duplicate others found in the list of collaborative digitization projects in Appendix B. Eight of the registry entries actually lead to the same Web site as another item found among the IMLS-funded projects. This is because one “portal” might have received several grants to digitize different materials. That leaves 163 individual projects whose links in the registry still work and which are separate from the collaborative digitization projects and those digitization projects maintained by state archives agencies. While not being investigated further, it is of some interest that of these 163 separate projects distinct from the ones being investigated further by this research, only 24 have a link off of their homepages to some sort of educational resources or contextualization.

With this aside having been noted, the population of Web sites being investigated in this research includes 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites that specifically have a link on their homepage indicating that they have school-related resources and that among these school-related resources are history teaching activities that incorporate the use of digital reproductions of primary sources.

A recapitulation: The initial population was determined by the directories maintained by the Council of State Archivists (state archives) and Middle Tennessee State University’s library (statewide collaborative digitization programs). The homepage of each site found on these directories were scanned for a “school materials indicator,” such as a tab designated “for the schools,” “teachers,” “online classroom,” etc. The contextualizing materials surrounding the individual lessons were analyzed to determine the presence of materials that sought to explain the processes of historical research, the nature of history, and any scaffolding devices or bridges to broader historical narratives. These same contextualizing materials were read quickly to determine the level of

metadiscourse involved, largely by searching for the presence of footnotes. Again, using the concept analysis instrument, these “schools sites” were then searched for any primary source-related activities. All of these activities were counted. If these activities were designed in such a way that they would build history thinking skills, then the subject era of the lesson was recorded as was the particular history thinking skill. Quick notes about that particular lesson were taken. Then, the individual primary sources for that particular lesson was then be analyzed and recorded for the subject era they represented, the ethnic minorities, women or children they reflected, and their original formats. In addition, if the primary sources were about Native Americans or African Americans, it was noted whether these materials reflected conflict with European Americans (in the case of Native Americans) and slavery or the Civil Rights Era (in the case of African Americans).

As has been noted, this methodology turned out to be much more qualitative than originally planned. First of all, finding all of the lessons and primary sources associated with those lessons proved to be especially difficult, much more difficult than the researcher first imagined. Lessons could be hidden in “pockets” on the individual sites. This probably resulted from the fact that these materials were created as parts of different projects—and not an ongoing program. Added to this difficulty in locating the materials was the fact that there were simply too many instances in the research that called for the researcher’s own individual judgment: level of granularity at which the lesson should be analyzed, the determination of the “overriding” history thinking skill being emphasized by the “lesson” being analyzed, and the determination regarding whether a primary source or a series of sources were illustrative or directly related to the lesson being analyzed being chief among them. (The difficulty in determining level of granularity,

made it impossible to run the statistical test for inter-coder reliability known as Cohen's Kappa.) Surprisingly, the one concern of the researcher about subjectivity of the research before beginning his investigation, the determination of the history thinking skill being developed, turned out not to be that much of a difficulty. Of course, once the other subjectively-shaded decisions listed above were made, this last decision was not that difficult to arrive at.

That having been noted, and despite the research being more qualitative than first envisioned, the numbers do carry meaning. When one can point out that less than one hundred primary sources out of nearly 1700 deal with African Americans and almost none of those sources reflect African American life outside of slavery or the Civil Rights movement, the EXACT numbers may not provide any truer picture of this particular issue. And when only ninety primary sources reflect children out of the 1,691 primary sources identified, that, too, seems to signify, even if there actually might be ten or fifteen more than was found. The fact that almost no history thinking lessons identified dealt with significance, progress and decline, and agency seems to be true no matter the exact, VERY SMALL, number of lessons that did appear on the sites. There might be one or two video primary sources more than the researcher was able to locate on these sites, but that does not detract from the finding that these sites are, for the most part, populated with static reproductions of the evidence from the past. In other words, while the exact numbers of lessons, types of lessons, minorities represented, and the types of primary sources used may not be totally reflected by this research, some numbers or lack or numbers was so great that they were telling none-the-less.

Chapter 12.

Findings

“A new future requires a new past.” Eric Foner⁹²⁹

Number of Lessons Using Primary Sources
Individual Historical Thinking Skills as Represented in the Lessons
 Epistemology and Evidence
 Empathy and Moral Judgment
 Narrative Building
 The Other History Thinking Skills
Continuity and Change
Narrative Building
The Other History Thinking Skills
Lessons by Subject Era
Primary Sources
 Women, Minorities, and Children in the Primary Sources
 Primary Sources by Format
Contextualizing Practices
 Curriculum Indicators
 Explanatory Materials
Relationship to Textbooks as “Contextualizers”
Nature of History

Number of Lessons Using Primary Sources

The 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites investigated had 596 lessons that used primary sources. The number of primary-source related lessons per site ranged from one site which held only one primary source to a site that held 153. Ten sites held between one to ten lessons; six sites held between eleven and twenty; two sites held between 21 and 30; no sites held between 31 and 40 primary-sourced based lessons; two sites held between 41 and 50; three sites held between 51 and

⁹²⁹ Eric Foner, *Who Owns History? Rethinking the Past in a Changing World* (New York, NY: Hill and Wang, 2002).

60; and only one site, the Wisconsin Historical Society's, held more than 60 (153, to be exact). More than two-thirds of the sites presented contained less than 20 lessons that used primary sources. Six sites (or a quarter of those investigated) represent a little more than 69% of the primary-source-related lessons. In other words, 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites contain lessons that use primary sources, and only six of those present the lion's share of those lessons to the public. This seems to suggest that despite the long history of archives providing the schools with "resource packets" that feature reproductions of primary sources, and despite the fact that many digitization programs profess to be providing important materials for the classroom, many of these institutions and collaborative efforts have only digitized materials and made them accessible on their Web sites. Most have not yet contextualized these materials for the classroom, and most of those that have done so have only just "tested the waters" along these lines. Indeed, many of the sites investigated seem to suggest beginning initial efforts or "one-off" projects as opposed to being the results of ongoing programs of development. In support of this hypothesis, in several instances, sites noted that lesson plans and teaching materials were developed as portions of grant projects or in conjunction with special anniversaries or publications of textbooks.

Of the 596 lessons that used primary sources, 328 included activities that would help develop in students one of Seixas's six historical thinking skills, plus narrative building. This is 55% of the primary source lessons on the 24 sites under investigation. Primary sources were used in slightly less than half the lessons primarily for non-history-thinking, illustrative purposes. The outlier site, which included 153 primary-source-related lessons made up a great many of these primary-sources-as-illustration-related

lessons, as 34 lessons found on its site used primary sources in this manner (most intended for use in elementary classrooms). This seems to indicate that the developers of these online teaching resources do understand the importance of constructivist teaching practices and appreciate the fact that history is a way of knowing, in addition to being a body of knowledge to be memorized. But it is surprising that almost half of these types of activities on the sites investigated, which are largely intended as supplements to the regular classroom (and in the history classroom this usually means the more behaviorist teaching practices of lecture and memorize), still use primary sources for their illustrative power. To summarize: only 24 of the 99 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites provide 596 lessons associated with primary sources, and 328 of those lessons are designed to teach history thinking skills with just six of the 24 sites holding the lion's share of such lessons. Only a little more than half of the primary source lessons on these sites are designed to develop the analytical and critical thinking skills inherent in the "doing of history."

Individual History Thinking Skills as Represented in the Lessons

Each of the seven history thinking skills was represented among the 24 sites' 328 lessons that used primary sources. (For a distribution of lessons across the seven history thinking skills, see Table 12.) "Epistemology and Evidence" was by far the skill set that was most often being taught (in 181 total lessons) with nineteen of the 24 sites having at least one lesson designed to teach these skills. This is not surprising as this particular set of history thinking skills has been promoted most often in the professional education literature in the United States since at least the days of New Social Studies (and it could

be argued that this literature goes all the way back to Mary Sheldon Barnes).⁹³⁰ Lessons designed to teach “narrative building skills,” “continuity and change,” and “empathy and moral judgment,” were represented fairly often, as well, appearing in 59, 27, and 55 lessons respectively. “Narrative building” probably appears as often as it does because it is such a broad category (representing everything from “craft projects” to letter writing, to documentary film making), and many different types of classroom activities can fall underneath this umbrella.⁹³¹ Lessons concerning empathy and moral judgment tend to be popular because 1) they easily engage students who are often interested in questions of “fairness” and 2) they often stress the past as a world quite unlike our own, a place of witch trials and other oddities and, as such, they can more easily keep the attention of a room full of children and adolescents. Surprisingly, lessons seeking to build skills in the continuity and change area were not as common as might be expected. The professional literature—especially that aimed at teachers on the elementary level—seems to hold numerous examples of lessons associated with identifying change and continuity. The lack of primary source lessons in this area might reflect the fact that these are subjects best taught to younger students, but relatively few of the primary source-related lessons seemed to target the elementary student—at least not in a way that sought to build history thinking skills.

⁹³⁰ As was shown by the preceding literature review.

⁹³¹ A craft project can be a form of narrative building. For example, students might be asked to create a mobile that illustrates the major players in a historical event. That mobile should show different players, themes, etc. related to that event. The students would then be asked to show the relationship between these players, themes, etc. by tying them together with different colors of thread. The same thing could be done by asking students to create a scrapbook that will tell a story.

Lessons designed to help develop “significance,” “historical agency,” and “progress and decline” are rarely presented by these sites. These thinking skills attempt to address the “whys” of history. The lack of lessons in these areas might be due to the fact that to develop these skills, one often requires robust contextual/subject knowledge about some issue or era. In other words, it can be argued that these skills require more in the way of historical content than do some of the other elements of historical thinking. Making a case for why some particular aspect of the past is important (significance), why it came about (agency), and how it affected other individuals and issues to their betterment and/or detriment (progress and decline) are a set of skills that are at some remove from reading clues from the past, noting change, and attempting to see history on its own terms while also morally evaluating that past—at least on the more elementary levels of that latter set of skills. Practically speaking, teaching thinking skills in the “significance,” “historical agency,” and “progress and decline,” areas, it seems, would also be more time consuming than some of the other elements of history thinking. Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, these history thinking skills might require more of those higher-order thinking skills that may not develop fully until a bit later in life. In other words, the designers of these sites might recognize a more traditional “ages and stages,” Piagetian understanding of history thinking skills. Kids and young adults simply may not be able to think on the levels required to perform these activities. These reasons, if not others, might help to explain why exercises designed to aid in the building of these skills do not appear in the primary source lessons as often as others.

Table 12. Distribution of Lessons by History Thinking Skills

Element	Number	Percent of Total Number of Lessons	Number of Sites
Epistemology and Evidence	181	55.2%	19
Narrative Building	59	18.0%	15
Empathy and Moral Judgment	55	16.8%	14
Continuity and Change	27	8.2%	13
Significance	3	.9%	3
Historical Agency	2	.6%	2
Progress and Decline	1	.3%	1
Grand Total	328	100%	

Epistemology and Evidence

The history thinking skill of “epistemology and evidence” is the ability to analyze and interpret sometimes conflicting evidence to determine the who, what, when, and where of the past while understanding that evidence is incomplete and subjective, always reflecting the personal bias of contemporary record creators and the subsequent custodians of those records. Of the 596 lessons investigated that used primary sources,

398 sought to build history thinking skills. One hundred and eighty one of those 398 lessons were devoted to epistemology and evidence. These 181 lessons were found on nineteen of the 24 sites explored. Eleven sites included five or fewer lessons in epistemology and evidence; three had between six and ten lessons; one had between ten and fifteen lessons; another had between fifteen and twenty; two between twenty and thirty; and one site had 46 lessons of this type.

The lessons investigated that seek to build the “epistemology and evidence” thinking skills tend to teach the basic attributes of different types of historical evidence. Some of these types of evidence investigated can be fairly complex, such as census records. Most of the lessons analyzed, however, dealt with written correspondence, photographs, and maps. For example, a lesson might ask students to identify the date of a letter and note the identity of the writer and to whom he is writing. Or a lesson might ask fairly straightforward questions about content such as one activity on the New Jersey Digital Highway site, which asks what side of the Revolution the writer of a letter being presented happened to support. Or a lesson might seek to show how pieces of primary sources that look similar can carry different types of information. This was the case of one lesson on the Ohio Historical Society site, which asked students to note differences between a personal letter and a business letter, both written by the African American poet, Paul Laurence Dunbar.

The photo analysis projects (and a high percentage of the “epistemology and evidence” lessons involved the investigation of photographs) tend to ask students to spend most of their time in “seek–n–find” types of activities. For example, the Library of Virginia’s site asks students to analyze an image of King James I, and Connecticut

History Online asks students to create a Venn diagram showing the differences and similarities that they can spot between photographs of two Victorian families, both seemingly upper middleclass, ruffled and starched and properly posed. But one family is African American and the other is white. In some instances, the “set up” for these photo examination activities is quite creative. The California State Archives site links directly to the Web site, Learn California, and that site asks students to take on the role of insurance adjusters, analyzing photographs from the 1906 San Francisco earthquake in order to determine if a particular building was damaged by the shifting of the earth or by the subsequent fire. Perhaps the most in-depth collection of photo analysis activities is provided by the Minnesota Digital Library, which presents a five-unit “history mysteries” module targeting elementary children. This site “teaches students how to examine photographs to uncover the story behind the images presented.”⁹³² In these “history mysteries” activities, students have to examine online photographs to assign the correct labels to the right photo, put a piece of a photo back to where it belongs in jigsaw fashion, and decide which photos show a historic reenactment and which photo is of a “real” event. These types of lessons encourage students to look closely and to compare and contrast what they observe in the sources.

There are numerous lessons on map reading found among the sites investigated, as well, but a number of these map reading lessons stress the kind of analysis that might be associated simply with finding one’s way from one location to another. These kinds of

⁹³² “History Mysteries” was developed by Sandbox Studios in coordination with K-12 teachers with funding from the Minnesota Digital Library through a Library Services and Technology (LSTA) grant administered by the Minnesota Department of Education. For more, see <http://www.mndigital.org/educators/mysteries/>

lessons are probably presented in response to specific learning objectives required by state-level curricula. In at least one case, however, what could have been a standard map-reading exercise was transformed into something a bit more interesting, analytical. It also helped build history thinking skills. The Learn California site asked students to use topographic maps to help plan the running of a railroad as part of a lesson on the development of the railroad.

The National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) has created scaffolding for these kinds of initial interactions with and analysis of primary sources by providing work sheets to aid in the investigation of specific types of historical evidence, from film to manuscript, map to photograph. (For copies of the questions found on these NARA work sheets, see Appendices F through M.) Highly popular, a great many of the sites investigated point their users to these NARA educational support documents, and a few like the Montana Historical Society's site begin each lesson with a NARA worksheet activity on the different types of primary sources. (The Montana sources are then investigated further in another part of the lessons.)⁹³³ Volunteer Voices, a collaborative digitization program in the state of Tennessee, used another form of scaffolding to structure student inquiry into primary sources. Called the SOAP methodology, this structuring device also helps build the evidence and epistemology thinking skills of students. The acronym stands for "Subject, Occasion, Audience, Purpose." It has a number of variations, including "SOAPS," with the final "S" standing for "speaker:" the person(s) or institution(s), etc., which created the source being investigated. Another is

⁹³³ The Montana site asks students to investigate a wide range of types of evidence using the NARA worksheets.

“SOAP +,” with the “+” standing for “what else would you like to know about this issue that this particular source doesn’t answer?” The various SOAP strategies grow out of a late 1960s article on the teaching of rhetoric in high school, and they have grown in popularity among history teachers since the late 1990s primarily by being promoted by the College Board as a way to help prepare students for the documents-based questions found on that organization’s college entrance and advanced placement exams.⁹³⁴

In a few instances, the teaching activities do rise beyond the introductory to begin to teach a higher level of critical thinking in evidence and epistemology. For example one lesson found on the Wisconsin Historical Society site asks students, “What questions did the document answer for you? What questions did it raise? What generalizations can you make about the time period based upon the source?” Another lesson along these lines appears on the Library of Virginia site. It requires students to analyze the text and graphics of the pamphlet *Nova Britannia* . . . to determine the purpose of the document.⁹³⁵ Lessons on the Missouri Digital Initiatives site (which was linked to directly from the Missouri State Archives Web presence) also require students to think a bit more deeply and critically about various forms of evidence. For example, in a lesson using materials from the trial about the murder of a beloved hunting dog, “Old Drum,” students are asked open-ended questions such as, “What can these documents tell us

⁹³⁴ Richard Larson, “Teaching Rhetoric in High School: Some Proposals,” *English Journal* 55 (November 1966): 1060; *Building Success Program: Participant’s Manual* (New York, New York: College Board, 1998).

⁹³⁵ Robert Johnson, *Nova Britannia: Offering Most Excellent Fruites by Planting in Virginia, Exciting All Such as be Well Affected to Further the Same*, (London: Samuel MacHam, 1609) was one of 27 pamphlets and books created as promotional works to increase the interest and investment in the Virginia Company of London’s colony on the Chesapeake, Jamestown.

about the judicial system in Missouri?”⁹³⁶ The Missouri students are asked a similar open-ended question about documents pertaining to state slave laws and Civil War-era Colored Troops in Missouri. In a slightly more directed fashion, a lesson on the Florida Memory site asks students to investigate a series of letters written over a number of years that contain sentiments and ideas of one individual as they evolved. The lesson then asks, “What was Governor Reubin O’Donovan Askew’s stand on busing and integration?” The site also asks students to support their claim with evidence from the sources.⁹³⁷ Few people think in black and white; most change their minds; their ideas evolve, and this is a lesson that teaches just that.

Not all of these more “in-depth” lessons concern manuscript or print documents. The New Jersey Digital Highway holds one such lesson which involves photographs. In it, students examine a series of photographs to identify evidence of the assimilation of Italian immigrants into a broader American society. And the Maine Memory Network asks in a series of activities, “Do you think this photograph was posed or is it a candid shot? How can you tell? Why do you think this picture was taken?” Florida Memory has students analyze portraits of Osceola to show how one image of this Native American leader may have led to another, which informed another, which informed another--much like the famous “telephone” game where a message is whispered person to person, changing slightly along the way.⁹³⁸

⁹³⁶ First memorialized by the closing argument of the lawyer George Graham Vest, “Eulogy on the Dog,” Old Drum now is remembered by a statue and a state historical marker.

⁹³⁷ Reubin Askew served as the governor of Florida 1971-1979. In 1974, *Time* magazine listed him as one of the 200 faces of the future.

⁹³⁸ Osceola (originally named Billy Powell at birth) was a Scottish/English/Muscogee leader of the Florida Seminole in their resistance to relocation from their ancestral lands.

Sometimes, it is necessary for a historian to read what is not extant in the sources. Often called “reading the silences,” this is the practice of asking what is not said, who is not represented in the record, and the possible reasons for these absences. Only one site of those investigated contained any lesson of any depth that sought to teach this aspect of primary source evaluation (although a number of the structured inquiries into individual pieces of historical evidence did ask questions such as “Who is not shown in this photo that you think might have been present?” or “Who might not be mentioned regularly in a newspaper?”) The Wisconsin Historical Society introduced students to the concept of “reading the silences” by looking at the story of Company I of the 4th Wisconsin Infantry. During the Civil War, Halbert E. Paine, a colonel in that regiment, refused an order to return two Louisiana slaves to their owners. Instead, he ordered his men to remove the shackles from the slaves. One of the slaves was named Old Steve. Paine was stripped of his command for disobeying orders, although he was later reinstated and made a general. Much is known about General Paine, but Old Steve disappears from the historical record. The lesson asks students: “Why are some people documented and others aren’t?”⁹³⁹

Just as important as “reading the silences” is “reading between the lines” or beneath the surface of evidence that might seem to mean one thing, but just might carry a number of different, slightly hidden meanings. Many of the sites sought to teach this kind of evidentiary analysis by looking at various forms of advertizing or propaganda, especially war posters. The Missouri Digital Initiatives site included one of the more interesting lessons along these lines. It introduced students to an exchange of

⁹³⁹ Old Steve’s slave collar was sent back to Wisconsin with other war relics. It is now owned by the Wisconsin Historical Society.

correspondence that, on first glance, seemed to be an invitation to go hunting, but which was actually an invitation to a duel. The lesson had the students hypothesize about why the letter might have been written in this “hidden” manner.

There are those lessons found on these sites which teach students to evaluate the validity of a source as a piece of historical evidence. The Wisconsin Historical Society’s site includes a lesson based upon a speech by a Native American leader which was committed to paper years after it was given. The lesson asks, “How do we know what Pontiac said in Milwaukee? What’s the evidence? How trustworthy is the evidence? In your own life, what information is so important that you have memorized it and don’t need to write it down?”⁹⁴⁰ The State Historical Society of North Dakota’s site asked in another online lesson, “How did Frances Densmore know that songs she collected were accurately sung to her? What does this song contribute to our knowledge of North Dakota history?”⁹⁴¹

Sometimes the investigation of validity goes to an entire type of source. For example, the Maine Memory Network asks, “Do you think photos are accurate historical documents?” Interestingly enough, most of the lessons on these sites that do ask students to question the validity of an entire type of primary source happen to deal with oral

⁹⁴⁰ Following the British victory in the French and Indian War, Chief Pontiac of the Ottawa led a rebellion of Native Americans, first attempting to take Fort Detroit by surprise in May 1763. He continued to lead Native Americans against the British for three years, finally signing a peace treaty. He was assassinated in 1769 by a member of the Peoria nation. Pontiac’s speech was delivered in 1763 and remembered by Menominee Indians, and repeated by Menominee Chief Souigny who repeated it 30 years later when it was recorded. (Of course, for two millennia, millions of people have believed in, argued about, and even gone to war over the infallibility of portions of another man’s lessons and speeches that were written down, in some instances, hundreds of years after they were first uttered.)

⁹⁴¹ Frances Densmore (1867-1957) was a Minnesota-born ethnomusicologist who specialized in Native American music. Much of her work is preserved by the Library of Congress.

histories. This is the case with lessons on the South Dakota State Historical Society site and the Wisconsin Historical Society's site, both of which ask students to think about the strengths and weaknesses of oral histories as sources. The Wisconsin site goes a bit further, asking why the migration of rural, southern African Americans to the North might make a good topic for oral history.

Despite being discussed regularly in the history pedagogy literature, lessons concerning bias and conflicting points of view do not appear regularly in the lessons on the sites being investigated.⁹⁴² However, when they do appear, they are well-developed. For example, in one lesson, the Wisconsin Historical Society introduces students to the idea of conflicting points of view by first looking at the story of the "Three Little Pigs"—from the wolfe's point of view. With this framing example still fresh in the minds of the pupils, the lesson then turns to look at different accounts of the same event from the War of 1812. The same site later explores sources for and against Prohibition and compares two different accounts of the fur trade, as well as two reminiscences of a strike—from opposite sides of that labor action. The Ohio Historical Society site contains a lesson that asks students to examine two artists' interpretations of Morgan's raid on the same Ohio town. This is followed by an activity which asks students to analyze contemporary newspaper accounts of the events.⁹⁴³ The Nebraska Western Trails site, one of two collaborative digitization programs in that state analyzed by this research, asks students

⁹⁴² One good, recent example of this literature: Daisy Martin and Chauncey DaiMonte-Sano, "Inquiry, Controversy, and Ambiguous Texts: Learning to Teach for Historical Thinking," in Warren J. Wilson and D. Antonio Cantu, eds. *Education 101: The Past, Present, and Future of Teacher Preparation* (Charlotte, N.C.: Information Age Publishing, 2008).

⁹⁴³ Confederate Brigadier General John Hunt Morgan led a raid deep into Union territory during the summer of 1863 in an attempt to draw the attention of the federal troops to the west and strike fear in the hearts of northern civilians. Morgan's men attacked the southern and eastern Ohio.

to look at the differences in two journals both kept at the same time period. The Historical Society of North Dakota's educational site includes a lesson that requires students to investigate letters from 1964 to determine the status of women before asking "Why are there such wide-ranging discrepancies in the letters?" And the Collaborative Digitization Program, a multi-state digitization program in the west, asked students in one lesson to review different points of view about the coming of the railroad found in various nineteenth-century newspapers. And one lesson on the Florida Memory Network has students examine documents to determine Zora Neale Hurston's purpose and point of view in her WPA-sponsored writings concerning the life of African Americans during the Great Depression.⁹⁴⁴ The Wisconsin Historical Society site, using United States trade policy documents as an evidentiary base, includes one lesson that divides students into teams and asks that they examine how Indians were treated in regards to trade from viewpoint of Native Americans versus the viewpoint of the United States government. The Maine Memory Network gets to the heart of this matter when it has its students look at similarities and differences between two sources, before inquiring, "Could historians disagree about interpretation?" All are good strong lessons designed to teach students to "read" evidence on a level beyond seeking the name of correspondents, the dates, etc.

In a few instances, the lessons on the sites investigated attempted to teach the relationship between historical evidence and a written text. For example, one lesson on the Florida Memory site has students read the oral history transcript of Mary McLeod

⁹⁴⁴ Zora Neale Hurston, folklorist and author, was a central figure in the Harlem Renaissance. She was opposed to integration, arguing for the continuation of separate African American institutions.

Bethune as she remembered just how badly she had wanted to learn to read as a child.⁹⁴⁵

After reviewing this transcript, the students are then asked to compare it to an unpublished biography based upon that same interview. The biography and the transcript do not tell the exact same story. Students are asked, “What do you think is closer to what actually happened? Why do you think that? Why were changes made?” The lesson then reveals that there are several different books about Bethune that include the story about her wanting to learn to read, and not all of them are the same, either. The lesson asks students to again speculate about which resulting narrative might be true. Along the same lines, the Wisconsin Historical Society has several lessons that explore the relationship between evidence and a resulting text. Students read a portion of Father Jacques Marquette’s journal. Then, the lesson asks how the students’ textbook interprets this period of American history, asking: “Does this document challenge or support this interpretation?” Similarly, the same site provides relevant primary source documents and then has students consult any United States history textbook to examine sections about Black Hawk and the United States’ Indian policy in 1830s, before asking the students if first-hand accounts support or challenge the textbooks.⁹⁴⁶ Textbooks are not alone in coming under this kind of scrutiny. The Wisconsin Historical Society’s teaching site also has students compare descriptions found in Laura Ingalls Wilder’s own family letters to those found in her works of fiction, asking about the “physicality” of the letters and what

⁹⁴⁵ Mary McLeod Bethune (July 10, 1875 – May 18, 1955) was an American educator and civil rights leader best known for starting a school for black students in Daytona Beach, Florida that eventually became Bethune-Cookman University.

⁹⁴⁶ Black Hawk was an appointed War Chief of the Sauk Indians and lived for part of his life in present-day Iowa. He led a band of warriors and fought with the British in the War of 1812 and later fought the incursion of Europeans into what would become known as the Midwest. His surrender speech given in 1832 is a frequent subject of school history.

the handwriting, itself, might further add to an understanding about this time period.⁹⁴⁷

The Historical Society of North Dakota includes a lesson on its site, which gets at the same sort of issues without relying upon primary sources. Instead, it has students compare two accounts about the same event in different published secondary sources, asking, “Which account do you believe? Why?”

Almost no lessons on the sites investigated ask students a question about the past, provide scaffolds to help them answer that question through historical research, and then “gets out of the way.” Digital Past, the collaborative digitization program in Illinois, does include one lesson that asks students to determine how a local park got its name. It asks students to consider where they would go to find the needed information. How would they evaluate that information once it was found? And what sort of narrative would they want to construct to inform others about the source of the name? There were few other lessons like this in the 398 studied by this research.⁹⁴⁸

The NARA worksheets, the variations on “SOAP” and other forms of structured inquiry help students identify the physical nature of the primary source as artifact, as well as its informational/evidentiary value as a record. There are also portions of each of the

⁹⁴⁷ Laura Ingalls Wilder was an American author who wrote the highly popular “Little House” series that follows the adventure of a pioneer family moving and settling in the West. She was born in the “Big Woods” of Wisconsin in 1867.

⁹⁴⁸ A novel approach to digitization for the school history is provided by the State Archives of Maine. This site was not one of the 24 formally investigated because it does not contain primary-source activities, but it does hold an “exhibit” or database of materials about one Maine community, the town of Turner. This highly focused presentation of records provides the opportunity for students to explore a number of questions about the history of the town, its development, etc. In other words, the State Archives of Maine has presented a repository of materials about one small place so that students can “do history” about any number of topics related to the town. See “Turner,” viewed on March 31, 2010 at <http://www.maine.gov/sos/arc/edu/turner/intro.htm> This site is reminiscent of the more in-depth “Digital Durham,” which was developed by scholars and students at Duke University to support history education. Again, the Durham site was not investigated by this research since it did not fit the criteria. See “Digital Durham,” viewed on March 31, 2010 at <http://digitaldurham.duke.edu/>

NARA worksheets designed to help students begin “questioning” the source regarding the purpose of its creation, and in some instances (such as the worksheet for posters), help students think about potential bias. Whether these lessons use NARA guides, the SOAP method or not, those that require students to seek answers from individual primary sources can act as strong introductions to the raw materials of history, but they do not always encourage students to engage in extended, higher levels of critical thought, and—of perhaps more concern—they rarely ever show how these activities are related to the “doing” of history. Except in a few instances, the dissection of sources was never shown to be one important part of how history is written, how it is made. Instead, the lessons seem to present these activities as a form of exercise with their own intrinsic benefit—which may be true to a point, but which does seem to not take full advantage of an educational opportunity.

Despite the few examples mentioned above, these sites almost never ask students to work with multiple pieces of evidence of the same type—and even more rarely with multiple pieces of evidence of different types—to determine what occurred in the past. Instead, they almost always ask their students to analyze single, individual pieces of evidence. While the introduction to primary sources as evidence should, of course, begin with the analysis of a single letter or a single photograph, no history is ever written based solely upon only one letter or one photograph, no matter how compelling that single item might be. Few histories are written using only letters or photographs or contemporary news accounts. Most are built upon multiple pieces of evidence and multiple types of evidence. Devoid of contextualization that explains the nature of history, and the fact that we know about the past through the interpretation of multiple pieces of often conflicting

evidence, many of these activities could be seen to be only a bit more edifying than the previously mentioned “seek-n-find.” Good old-fashioned “seek-n-finds” do have their place. They are good introductions, and they can capture a child’s attention, but at some point, lessons should move beyond that level of skill building. Activities that would require this more in-depth analysis and interaction with multiple sources were few and far between on the sites investigated.

As the discussion on contextualization of these activities later will explain, the primary source lessons provided by the sites under investigation too often stand alone. There is almost no explanation of the role of evidence in the construction of history and the role of the historian in interpreting the evidence associated with these lessons. Without these explanations—which the sites rarely undertake—the worksheets from NARA and similar lessons are but another series of short-answer, open-book (or film, or map, or letter) quizzes, waiting to be filled out.

Empathy and Moral Judgment

The history thinking skill of “empathy and moral judgment” is the ability to understand why people in the past acted the way that they did, as well as the ability to judge those actors on their own terms by attempting to understand their mentality, beliefs, values, and intentions but without imposing current values on those actors. There were 596 lessons on the 24 sites investigated that used primary sources. Three hundred and twenty eight of those sites included lessons that sought to build the history thinking skills of students. Fifty five of those 328 lessons were devoted to teaching empathy and moral judgment skills. These 55 lessons were found on fourteen of the 24 sites investigated. Six of those sites included only one empathy and moral judgment lesson; another site had

two; four sites had three; one site had nine; another had ten; and only one had more than ten with sixteen such lessons.

Most of the empathy and moral judgment lessons presented on the sites studied sought to help the students make a personal connection to individuals or situations from the past. Letter writing from the perspective of a person in the past was a recurring activity used to teach this skill. For example, the Web site of the South Dakota State Historical Society asked students to read letters from a World War II soldier and then imagine themselves in his place. The assignment asks, “Who would they write letters to and what would they write about?” The teaching site linked to directly by the California State Archives, Learn California, has students choose a name on a census record, find additional information about that person and his or her town, and then write a letter to his or her family describing the identified person’s average day. The New Jersey Digital Highway asks students to pretend that they are a member of a War Production Board during World War II. The students are then charged with writing a brief, persuasive letter to factory owners emphasizing their importance in winning the war. This same site has students take on the role of a government official composing a letter to convince inventor Thomas Edison why he should relocate his research facilities to the “Garden State.” The Library of Virginia has students writing letters as the governor of that commonwealth. The Alabama Department of Archives and History has students writing in the voice of a Civil War-era hospital matron, returning correspondence to a young woman who would like to volunteer her services in the former’s institution. This same site also has an assignment which gives students various roles (such as “farmer, aged 21”), and then tasks them with writing letters to Senator John H. Bankhead concerning World War I

conscription.⁹⁴⁹ Another assignments on the Alabama site asks students to write letters as if they were a governor addressing the Great Depression-era “Unemployed Council.” The Collaborative Digitization Program (CDP holds a substantial number of lessons that require the use of a database of digitized historical newspapers) charges its students in one lesson with writing letters to the editor about the Ludlow Strike, and in another with taking on the viewpoint of a person in a picture from the “Chicano Movement.” The latter lesson asks students to describe an activist event he or she was involved in.⁹⁵⁰ A number of similar lessons found on other sites involved journaling from a person in history’s point of view. An example of this would be a lesson found on the State Historical Society of Iowa’s site, which asks students to imagine that they are a specific person moving west on the Mormon Trail. The students then are directed to keep a journal reflecting their imagined activities on the trail.⁹⁵¹

Not all empathy and moral judgment lessons have students writing letters or journals in an attempt to empathize with those in the past. The New Jersey Digital Highway provides a series of materials about the early life of Paul Robeson and includes

⁹⁴⁹ John H. Bankhead was a senator from Alabama. Like his son, he served for three terms in the United States Senate, dying while in office. He was a spokesman for small farmers, was opposed to African American Civil Rights, and authored the first federal highway funding legislation. He was actress Tallulah Bankhead’s grandfather.

⁹⁵⁰ Also called the Ludlow Massacre, this strike took place on the day after Easter, 1914 in Ludlow, CO. The Colorado National Guard attacked a tent colony of approximately 1200 striking coal miners and their families, many Greek immigrants. Twenty one people died as a result. Chicano was formerly derogatory term for Mexican Americans, which was embraced by activists and made a badge of honor. The Chicano Movement was a drive for Mexican Civil Rights which began in the 1960s and extended into the 1970s. It built upon earlier Mexican-American rights movements from the 1940s.

⁹⁵¹ The Mormon Trail is a 1,300 mile route from Nauvoo, Illinois to Salt Lake City, Utah. It was travelled by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints as they sought to build a settlement apart from others beginning in 1846. It was used for 20 years until the creation of the Transcontinental Railroad.

brief biographical episodes to show how his childhood was not all that different from present-day kids. The Texas Tides site includes a lesson that has present-day students compare their household chores to those of a pioneer boy their own age. The Maine Memory Network includes role playing assignments and lessons where students sing songs of an earlier era and plan meals for the homefront, using World War II-era rationing guides. Perhaps, more significantly, one lesson on the Maine site asks students to write their own “Declaration of Conscience,” modeled after the famous speech given by Senator Margaret Chase Smith.⁹⁵² Learn California has a lesson that seeks to build a student’s connection with the Japanese Americans who were sent to relocation camps during World War II. It has the student acknowledge what these “relocated” individuals had to leave behind when they packed to move. In this exercise, students imagine that they are moving to the camps, and they then make lists of what they want to take with them and what they will have to leave behind. These students are also asked to fit their family and all of their belongings into an architectural rendering of the space that was allotted to relocated Japanese families. These students then record what they will miss most from their previous, non-camp lives. In similar fashion, the Wisconsin Historical Society has an assignment where students take on the role of pioneers migrating west. This lesson has students plan what they will be able to take with them when they move.

⁹⁵² The first woman to be elected to both The United States House of Representatives and Senate, Maine’s Margaret Chase Smith was a liberal Republican and an early opponent of Senator Joseph McCarthy. On June 1, 1950, she gave her “Declaration of Conscience” speech on the floor of the Senate. In it, she called for the country, the United States Senate, and the Republican Party to re-examine the tactics used by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) and (without naming him) Senator Joe McCarthy. She stated the basic principles of “Americanism” were the right to criticize, the right to hold unpopular beliefs, the right to protest, and the right of independent thought. Smith was concerned that those who exercised these rights were being labeled communist or fascist.

In another Wisconsin lesson, students read a portion of the memoirs of a runaway slave before recording memories of when they, themselves, were very afraid. And in yet another activity, students are asked to respond to a prompt (in reaction to another memoir): “The memory of George Stoner about _____ makes me think of a memory I have about _____.”⁹⁵³ And Tennessee’s Volunteer Voices site attempts to teach about rationing during World War II by asking students what they would be willing to ration, if this kind of homefront support was required for the Iraqi War.

Lessons that attempt to build empathy and judgment skills often involve student investigation of issues of fairness. As more than one writer in this document’s extended literature review has pointed out, most children and teens are strongly interested in issues related to equal, “fair” treatment. While fewer in number than the “walk a mile in the moccasins” variety of empathy and moral judgment lessons previously described, the sites investigated do hold these types of “fairness-related” activities. The Alabama Department of Archives and History site presents information about voting eligibility (including property requirements and the fact that women could not vote) before asking the students, if it were fair that a man could use his wife’s property to be eligible to vote while she could not do so. This lesson tasks the students with responding to Carrie Chapman Catt’s letter on the subject.⁹⁵⁴ The New Jersey Digital Highway includes a lesson that has students investigate the differing rates of pay received by Union soldiers compared to their duties. This lesson asks the students outright, “Is this fair?” The Digital

⁹⁵³ George Stoner arrived in Madison, Wisconsin in 1837 as a young boy. Many years later, he recorded memoirs of the early life of the town.

⁹⁵⁴ Carrie Chapman Catt was a Woman’s Suffrage leader and was twice elected to the presidency of the National American Woman Suffrage Association.

Library of Georgia includes a lesson on its site which calls for a teacher to segregate students based upon some arbitrary selection criteria and then treat one group differently than the others for a given time period without explaining why he or she might be doing so. Once the teacher explains what he or she has done, the students then are asked to write about how the unfair treatment had made them feel. They also are asked to write about what nonviolent methods they might have used to confront their teacher's unfair treatment. (This lesson accompanies clips from local television news covering the 1960s Civil Rights Movement, as well as documentaries on the subject.) In a similar lesson, the Wisconsin Historical Society site holds a lesson which asks teachers to begin teaching in a foreign language (even a fictional one) and not tell the students what they are doing. This performance would be used to illustrate the effect of "The Bennett Law," an 1890s English-only school law.⁹⁵⁵ This lesson then has students respond to what they thought might be happening and their own feelings about the class being conducted in a language they didn't understand. In another fairness-related moral empathy and judgment lesson,

⁹⁵⁵ "By the 1880s, many immigrants, especially Germans, had established their own schools in their own neighborhoods as a way to preserve their cultures. Yankees often saw these schools as a form of unpatriotic resistance to American culture, and began to call for laws to hold parochial schools more accountable and to require that their classes be conducted in English. When William D. Hoard of Fort Atkinson ran for governor in 1888, he made these school reforms a central theme of his campaign. Rep. Michael Bennett of Dodgeville promptly introduced a bill that required stricter enforcement of attendance, specified that children could only go to parochial schools in their public school district, and required every school, public and private, to conduct its classes in English. English-speaking Yankees thought this would solve the problem of foreign "degradation" of traditional American culture. German Americans, however, denounced the Bennett Law as an assault on their culture by Yankees who sought to force their own values on everyone else. In the middle was a range of moderate voices arguing for the inevitability of assimilation and claiming that learning English would not destroy German culture. Opposition to the Bennett Law was loud, persistent, and widespread, and after only a single term the Republicans and Governor Hoard were voted out of office in 1890. The Bennett Law was repealed the following legislative session." Wisconsin Historical Society, *Turning Points Lesson Plans*, "890: English Only in Wisconsin Schools?," viewed on March 25, 2010 at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/turningpoints/lessonplans/search.asp?id=80>

an activity on the Florida Memory site uses the therapist's practice of "guided imagery" to help students situate themselves in another space and time.⁹⁵⁶ This particular exercise seeks to take students back to 1969 and asks that they imagine a restaurant with "men's only" tables. There, the students find themselves confronting the fact that men were allowed to go to the front of the line for lunch in some restaurants because it was assumed that they had to get back to work, while women had to wait because it was assumed that they had more time to sit, visit, and politely eat their lunches in less of a hurry. (After all, few females in 1969 had a desk or phone waiting upon their early return.)⁹⁵⁷ While this "past" does not seem so long ago chronologically, in some ways it is, indeed, that far and foreign country of "history."

To think historically, individuals must go beyond being able to empathize. They must be able to go beyond recognizing inequities in the past while responding morally to those inequities. Empathy and moral judgment skills also require that students be able to understand that individuals in the past were surrounded by their own moral context, and that activities in the past must be judged with this context in mind. That does not mean

⁹⁵⁶ Guided imagery is based upon the idea that the body and mind are connected. It attempts to use all of the sense to get a person to respond as if what they are imagining is real. An example of guided imagery that is often presented is to think of an orange. Smell it. Feel it. Taste it. The person leading the exercise will slowly present a relaxing description of the orange. Many people salivate when they focus on an orange in this way. Of course, such an exercise requires that a person being led through the imagination process has direct experience with the activity or environment being recreated. For this reason, it is questionable whether guided imagery activities would be all that successful with those who possess limited experience and little experience with a smoky, 1960s businessman's lunch counter.

⁹⁵⁷ This lesson could point out that in a substantial part of the world, there are still many men's only spaces, and any woman breeching these boundaries could receive serious punishment. In March 2010, a group of Muslim women risked arrest in Washington, DC for seeking to pray in the men's only section of a mosque in Washington, DC. Agence France Press, "In US, Muslim Women Challenge Mosque Separation," March 8, 2010 viewed on March 20, 2010 at http://news.yahoo.com/s/afp/20100308/ts_alt_afp/religionislamwomenrightsus.

that historians or students being educated to think historically must discard their own personal moral compasses when they encounter the past. Instead, it simply means that over time there have been different measures of behavior and different manners of thought and belief. To think historically is to recognize this fact. To think historically, students should practice using evidence to see the the past through the eyes of those in that past.⁹⁵⁸ There are precious few lessons on the 24 sites investigated that ask students to flex these particular “cranial muscles.” The New Jersey Digital Highway has a lesson that asks students, if they would have been a Loyalist during the Revolution. The Library of Virginia’s history teaching site has another that charges students with thinking about the social, religious, and economic issues of the early days of the colony before asking, “Why do you think colonists felt justified in taking the Indians’ land?” The Wisconsin Historical Society’s site presents a series of contemporary objections to married women’s property rights, and then asked that the students to try and see how people could have thought it right that everything a woman owned was actually the property of her father or husband. The Alabama Department of Archives and History, in a use of classic empathy and moral judgment teaching methodology, employed the example of criminal punishment to teach that people have, indeed, thought quite differently about some things in the past. (One of the most often used types of lessons along these lines, and one much written about in the education literature, are those that deal with the New England withcraft trials.) In the Alabama lesson, students are asked to take on the role of an antebellum Alabama governor and to review actual pleas for pardons from individuals

⁹⁵⁸ For example, imagine that we are in the future several hundred years. Everyone is a vegetarian. Eating meat is punishable as a crime. There are people who believe that eating meat today is detestable, but the majority of people, arguably, are still carnivores. It would be presentism for those in the future to view this age through their own totally vegetarian world—but that need not change their belief that it was wrong for those in the past to eat meat.

around the state. One of these pardon-seeking individuals happened to have bit off the ear of another in a brawl, while another was found guilty of horse and hog stealing. In this lesson, the students review the case files and then vote on which crime that they think is most severe, the fairness of the punishment (standing in the pillory, branding, etc.), and whether the person should have been pardoned or not for his crimes. The lesson also asks students to write a paragraph explaining how they analyzed their case and how they came to their conclusions.

While these empathy and moral judgment lessons do a good job of connecting students to the past in a memorable way (what was often called by previous history teachers, “making the past come alive”), and while they are fine tools in building empathy with actors from the past, they are not that effective in teaching students how to see the past on its own terms. (Few lessons ask questions such as, “Why was it considered by the majority of people in the past okay for restaurants to reserve ‘businessmen’s tables’ or have gentlemen’s sections? What cultural attitudes and norms would have led to such facilities being created?”) Of more significance, perhaps, there is little to no explanation for why this particular ability would be important to possess. There is little modeling for this kind of thinking (something that might begin along the lines of, “thinking like a colonial-era devout, middle-aged male . . .”) and there is little to no scaffolding presented by these sites to help students build this particular skill. There did not seem to be any exercise presented that asked students to take and defend a belief or attitude from history (using the language and reasoning of the past) that might be questionable, unpopular, or even morally repugnant by today’s standards. In short, the lessons rarely emphasize the need to see history through the eyes of those in the past.

Instead of demonstrating that the “past is a foreign country,” these exercises present a continuous stream of “what would you do exercises” that too often insinuate or imply that the students’ response should be based upon their own current sets of values—which seem to be assumed to be immutable. This kind of lesson harkens back to the nineteenth century idea of school history being a repository of “examples good and bad” held up for the teaching of moral lessons. This is a formula for teaching presentism—not empathy and moral judgment as a form of history thinking.

Continuity and Change

“Continuity and change,” as a form of history thinking, is the ability to understand the idea of “change over time.” This seems fairly straightforward, but it can be a bit more nuanced. For example, research that was presented in the extended literature review shows that many children—especially in the United States—have a difficult time understanding that while some parts of the country may be living in “big cities” with “modern conveniences,” other parts of the same country at the same time might still be living a “pioneer existence,” little houses on prairies with precious few conveniences, modern or primitive. Without prompting, too often students fail to see that log cabins and skyscrapers can exist at the same time. There is an overly linear way of thinking about the past. Immigrants “came over;” they trekked across the west; the railroad happened; and cities sprang up. It is confusing for younger children to understand that more than a few boatloads of immigrants continued to land on these shores generations after the descendants of those first few boatloads had begun to study their distinguished “first settler” genealogies. Despite this, most lessons designed to teach continuity and change

target younger students, and they usually involve various “compare and contrast” activities.

Of the 596 lessons on the 24 sites investigated that used primary sources, 328 included lessons that sought to build the history thinking skills of students. Twenty seven of those 328 lessons were devoted to teaching “continuity and change.” These 27 lessons were found on 13 of the 24 sites investigated. Five of those sites included only one continuity and change lesson; six more held either two or three lessons; one had five such lessons, and another presented eleven.

Most of these continuity and change lessons were basic, “spot the differences in the pictures” types of exercises. For example, the Connecticut History Online site had a lesson that called for students to make a Venn diagram showing what was similar and what was different about two photographs, one from the past and one fairly current. The Learn California site asks its students to look at two photographs of the same street scene. The photos had been taken about a decade apart. There were changes to the buildings, people, clothing, and a small incline railroad to note and record. Similarly, the Collaborative Digitization Program site has students examine a series of photographs of Native Americans, asking that they observe the change to these groups over time. The Wisconsin site asks its students to compare and contrast maps from different eras, noting the changing paths and development of roads, as well as the changing borders of the “Badger State.” Throughout the thirteen sites that included continuity and change exercises, there was little supporting or contextualizing materials to encourage the students to ask, “What may have brought about this change? Why might it have occurred, and why in this location? Is this change similar to other changes taking place elsewhere?”

When a person has robust “continuity and change” history thinking skills, this is the kind of questioning that should be developed. Continuity and change, then, is not really about recognizing what may have changed and what may have stayed the same. It is, rather, a form of historical hypothesizing, a launching pad that primes the pump for other history thinking skills, especially “epistemology and evidence” and “empathy and moral judgment.” Instead of presenting continuity and change as a way of thinking, a process of inquiry, some of the lessons on the Web sites analyzed appear to present challenges closer to the cartoon-page exercises of “spot the differences!” It could be the case, however, that the online history teaching sites under investigation simply took this next line of reasoning/questioning for granted; to the creators of these sites the fact that this kind of discussion would grow out of these exercises may have been obvious, and they may figure that teachers automatically will pursue such a line of inquiry given the right starting place. It’s possible.

Nevertheless, there were a few lessons that led students to identify continuity and change in a more sophisticated manner. For example, the Florida Memory site explored the role of a Seminole doll maker through photographs and oral histories. The lesson asks how that role of doll maker may have changed and how it may have stayed the same over the years. It also asks how different this form of doll-making might be from those that might exist outside of traditional cultures. In another lesson, the Alabama Department of Archives and History site, in a continuity and change exercise that bordered upon that of empathy and moral judgment, charged its students with looking closely at a list of supplies provided to families by a Great Depression-era relief organization. The lesson asks the students to compare what was on this list of supplies (half bushel of corn meal,

two boxes of oatmeal, ten pounds of sweet potatoes, four pounds of dried beans, six pounds of lard . . .) with the groceries that they would need to survive today. This same site also includes an exercise that has students compare and contrast the requirements for military women during different eras. (“Are the requirements different for women and men in the military of today? In your opinion, were the WACs an essential part of the military in World War II? What kind of training was given to the WACs? What kind of training would you have given to the WACs, if you had been the commander? . . . ”). There was a similar lesson concerning working women during World War II and today. (“Allow the students to read the documents dealing with day care for the women who were working in the factories and the guidelines for female labor on farms. Ask the students to find similarities and differences between the working woman's concerns or abilities during World War II and the woman of today.”) The Alabama site has another lesson that concerns the changes wrought by the Voting Rights Act. (“Using two blank Alabama maps and the information found in [related documents] ask the students to record the difference between the registered voters of 1964 and 1965 on one of the maps. On the second map, ask the students to shade or color the counties which had an increase in black voters from the 1962 map and the 1965 newspaper list. Ask the students to write a paragraph with the conclusions that they have drawn from the maps.”) And Virginia Memory includes a lesson that asks students to compare and contrast King James I’s disapproval of tobacco with that of the current surgeon general of the United States.⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁹ King James I, of Bible fame, on tobacco: “Smoking is a custom loathsome to the eye, hateful to the nose, harmful to the brain, dangerous to the lungs, and in the black, stinking fume thereof nearest resembling the horrible Stygian smoke of the pit that is bottomless.” King James I, “A Counterblaste to Tobacco,”1604.

Perhaps in an attempt to integrate language arts and history thinking skills (while also providing a lesson for the “identity stance”), the Ohio Historical Society’s history teaching site includes continuity and change lessons that are built around both historical records and poems by Paul Laurence Dunbar.⁹⁶⁰ These lessons look at the differences between current and past foods, toys, and modes of transportation. Along the same lines of the last-mentioned Ohio lesson, the Collaborative Digitization Program’s teaching site includes a lesson that has students place photographss of various forms of transportation in chronological order, before asking, “How did transportation change? How did different modes of travel affect people’s lives? How did it affect the ability to live in different cities?” This lesson is then tied to current transportation issues. The State Historical Society of North Dakota included a similar lesson. It asks students to track oil production over time, comparing the change in that production to the development of a town. (“How do the production figures relate to the number of rigs? Can you do some research to find out why production begins to decline? What happens to towns and counties when oil production booms? What happens when production declines? Consider social, political, and economic aspects of both boom and decline.”)⁹⁶¹ The Wisconsin Historical Society presents at least two fairly “open-ended” continuity and change activities. In one, students read a memoir, then consider the author’s overall view of life—including work, family, health, death and status of women in society—before being asked, “How have

⁹⁶⁰ Born in Ohio to former runaway slaves, Paul Laurence Dunbar was a noted poet and recognized as a leading African American intellectual. He later moved to Washington, DC and worked at the Library of Congress. He died in 1906 at the age of 33.

⁹⁶¹ It could be argued that this lesson’s primary emphasis was on building the history thinking skill of “progress and decline” instead of continuity and change. There were more than a few such lessons that seemingly crossed the “borders” of history thinking skills.

these changed or remained the same?” In the second, they read a guide for immigrants published in 1851. They are then asked to write such a guide for current immigrants.

To teach continuity and change to students, lessons need to go beyond the “spot-the-difference” exercises. Spotting the difference is the beginning of a thought process that should lead to hypothesis formation, and attempts to answer the hypotheses should then employ other forms of history thinking. Too often, the lessons found on the history teaching sites of the collaborative digitization programs and state archives Web sites focus on the identification of change in the realm of the concrete/physical: changes in landscapes, streetscape or individual buildings, changes in clothing, or in modes of transportation. There are precious few lessons that seek to analyze the change in thought, social customs, etc: roles of women, foodways, etc., and there are almost no lessons that ask students to look at continuity—beyond the Venn diagram “what-is-similar/different activities.” Arguably, an understanding of why some things fail to change is as useful to an understanding of history as those things that are easily mutable, constantly changing. Whether examining change or continuity, there are almost no lessons found on the sites in question that benefit from appropriate scaffolding designed to lead the students from identification of “change and continuity” to the formation of “why” and “how” questions. If the professional literature can be taken as evidence, it seems to be true that most continuity and change lessons are usually aimed at elementary students. It is probably because of this that the lessons on the sites investigated usually involve the highly concrete “spot-the-changes” in the landscape type of activities. These concrete activities should, however, lead to more abstract ideas of continuity and change. The lessons on these sites rarely seek to develop this form of history thinking on this level.

Narrative Building

Although not one of Seixas' six history thinking skills, the ability to manipulate sources to create a narrative is central to the historical enterprise. Narrative building is that ability to use evidence to construct a "story" that explains some occurrence, while understanding that different "stories" may be constructed from the same evidence. This historical narrative building can take the form of a traditional researched and written history, but it can also be constructed in the form of a film or audio documentary, Web creation, or other forms of recorded communication. Activities on the sites investigated that ask students to use evidence to craft and record a "story" concerning some event, individual, location, etc. from the past—no matter the media used in the resulting recording and communication—was considered to be a narrative building lesson.

Of the 596 lessons on the 24 sites investigated that used primary sources, 328 included lessons that sought to build the history thinking skills of students. Fifty nine of those 328 lessons were devoted to teaching "narrative building." These 59 lessons were found on 15 of the 24 sites investigated. Nine of those sites included only one narrative building lesson; three more held between two and five lessons; none had between six and eleven; and three had between twelve and sixteen. The largest number of narrative building lessons on any one site was sixteen. In other words, well over half the sites that held a narrative building lesson had only one, while one site claimed nearly a quarter of all of the narrative building lessons identified by this research.

The fifteen sites identified held a broad range of narrative building lessons. The most basic of these lessons ask students to develop their own chronologies. In these

activities, students select major events from a few primary sources and then place them in chronological order. (Most of the time, however, these lessons require students to “mine” only one primary source.) A good example of these kinds of lessons comes from the Virginia Memory site. This lesson assigns students the task of creating a timeline of important events from the life of James Lafayette, a Revolutionary War-era slave who later petitioned for his freedom based upon his service to his country.⁹⁶² Along the same lines, the Collaborative Digitization Program asks students to pick a topic and then search a historic newspaper database to create a timeline about that topic. Other narrative building lessons go a bit farther in their expectations of students, asking that they reword what they may have discovered in the sources provided. This is the case with a lesson from the South Dakota site, which has students read a memoir, answer questions about the content, and then describe in their own words the town of Yankton, South Dakota circa the 1850s. Similarly, the Florida Memory site has a lesson that asks students to retell, in their own words, what was recounted in a letter; and the Ohio Historical Society Web site includes an activity which calls upon students to create a broadside about a battle that they had earlier researched. In a similar vein, the Texas Tides site has students create a comic strip about the initial contact between Native Americans and Europeans; the New Jersey Digital Highway asks students to create, based upon their readings, both a World War II poster, as well as a campaign poster, in favor of lowering the voting age;

⁹⁶² James, the slave of William Armistead, served in 1781 at the Battle of Yorktown by spying on Lord Cornwallis for the Marquis de Lafayette. He carried vital information across enemy lines, even pretending to act as a double agent, providing the British with just enough information to gain their confidence so he could learn more to ensure an American victory. A 1784 petition for his freedom was not successful, but two years later another was sent to the Virginia General Assembly, which did free him, paying his owner \$250. In 1787, James took the last name of Lafayette. He later owned land and slaves, received a Revolutionary War pension, and met General Lafayette on his return tour of the United States in 1824. James Lafayette died in 1830.

and the Wisconsin site has students create a travel brochure about a specific place at a specific time. This last lesson is not unlike one found on the Collaborative Digitization Program Web site that asks students to use a historic newspaper database to make a scrapbook about a vacation spent in Colorado during a previous era.

These kinds of activities can act as good beginning exercises to introduce students to searching sources for scraps of information and then patching that information into their own quilts. Very few of these exercises, however, require students to pull information from multiple sources, and almost none of them ask students to work with conflicting sources of information. As a result, little in the way of synthetic thinking is required of the students. The task that many of these activities seem to encourage is a slightly advanced form of cut and paste. At the most introductory level, this seems to be appropriate. Unfortunately, few of the exercises seem to advance very far beyond this appropriate, introductory level. Still, the sites under investigation do provide a smaller number of slightly more advanced narrative-building exercises. Rather than drawing upon one or two sources, these exercises might ask students to pull threads of information from multiple sources and then synthesize what they have learned into something more similar to a cloth than a quilt. For example, the Collaborative Digitization Program has students choose a historical event then search a historic newspaper database for articles about that topic, before writing a short piece of historical fiction based upon those retrieved sources. This site also assigns the students the task of writing a piece of historical fiction about the life of western miners. Along the same lines, the Wisconsin Historical Society has its students identify five to ten themes concerning a specific subject era, then make a mobile with representative people, events, places, or items

relating to that theme. Perhaps, the most critical part of this exercise is the fact that it also asks the students to put the mobile together in a way that shows the relationship between the individual, dangling objects.⁹⁶³

A number of these narrative building lessons ask students to create some form of drama. For example, the New Jersey Digital Highway holds a lesson that requires its students to write a skit about a family discussing women's suffrage at the dinner table. Florida Memory has its student playwrights craft a piece of drama based upon an interview with Mary McLeod Bethune (or, alternatively, they can recreate the interview "live," as if it were an on-location television spot). The Historical Society of North Dakota includes a lesson that has its students write a play based upon a diary kept by Toyojiro Suzuki, a World War II internee.⁹⁶⁴ Similarly, Volunteer Voices, the collaborative digitization program in Tennessee, assigns its students the task of writing a script for a scene from a movie about the Trail of Tears.

Having the students take on the role of a newspaper reporter is another popular method of teaching narrative building. The New Jersey Digital Highway asks that students play the part of a newspaper reporter covering a parade for World War II hero

⁹⁶³ It must be admitted that the author still remembers creating a similar mobile and travel brochure about North Carolina history when he was a fourth grade student. I am still proud of my Cape Hatteras Lighthouse and related shipwreck.

⁹⁶⁴ Toyojiro Suzuki was interned at Fort Lincoln as a Resident Alien in February, 1942, just a few weeks after the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor. He had immigrated to the United States in April 1920, joining his father who had come a few years earlier. The men worked in the fishing industry. Although Suzuki was married to a United States citizen, this did not affect his own citizenship status. Suzuki was paroled from Fort Lincoln in August, 1942 and was allowed to join the rest of his family in the camps at the Santa Anita race track for the rest of the war.

John Basilone.⁹⁶⁵ Volunteer Voices asks students to write a newspaper article about the hardships experienced by a community going through the Civil War, and students using the Alabama Department of Archives and History site are given the task of writing a newspaper article about the death of a soldier in World War II. The Alabama site also allows students to play the other side of the media equation. In one lesson, it asks students to take on the role of a governor's press secretary who has been charged with writing a press release about what happened in Birmingham when the police force under Eugene "Bull" Connor encountered Civil Rights demonstrators.⁹⁶⁶

One of the longest-running criticisms of exercises like the ones described previously is the amount of time that they take for students to complete. Activities such as these, strike near the heart of those concerned with "coverage." As such, these criticisms go back to the earliest days of primary source-based history teaching. "There are not enough hours in a busy school day to devote the amount of time necessary to a project that might require searching multiple pieces of evidence to craft a narrative--and we have to make it to the Gilded Age by Christmas!" goes the refrain. Jigsaw exercises have been developed, in part, to help mitigate the sometimes extended demands on the clock required by project-based teaching. While also teaching team-building skills and

⁹⁶⁵ Gunnery Sergeant John "Manila John" Basilone was a former golf caddy and member of the United States Army stationed in the Philippines before joining the Marines during World War II. He received the Medal of Honor for his actions at the Battle of Guadalcanal where he held off 3,000 Japanese troops after his 15-member unit was reduced to two men. He returned home as a hero and participated in various war bond campaigns before returning to his unit. Basilone was later killed in action on the first day of the Battle of Iwo Jima. For his service in that battle, he received the Navy Cross. Basilone was the only Marine in World War II to receive both the Medal of Honor and the Navy Cross.

⁹⁶⁶ Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor was the Public Safety Commissioner of Birmingham, AL during the Civil Rights-era. He is remembered for leading the police forces in attacking demonstrators with dogs and fire hoses. That would be *some* press release.

allowing for multiple modes of learning, this technique breaks a larger task into subcomponents and assigns different students (or student teams) to complete individual, smaller activities. After each of the subordinate activities has been completed, the individual students or student teams then bring the pieces together in “jigsaw” puzzle fashion to create one larger, more complete work. A few of the history teaching Web sites’ narrative building exercises make use of this educational technique. For example, one site divides students up to examine life on the homefront during World War II (one team covers rationing, another gets bond drives, yet another investigates women in the workforce, etc.). This lesson later brings the various “sub-projects” together to provide a bigger, more unified picture of the war effort at home. The Wisconsin Historical Society uses the jigsaw method to examine the Black Hawk War with some students drawing maps, others creating timelines, and yet others drawing up lists of important people, events, and dates. The students then used these “jig-sawed” materials to write a synopsis of the war. Such jigsaw activities can help address the amount of time involved, but project-based and inquiry-driven lessons, no matter how they are divided, combined, and re-combined, will always take up more class time than will a well-developed lecture, crafted to aid memorization and fuel regurgitation.

A handful of the exercises identified on the history teaching sites require the use of quite sophisticated narrative building skills. Some of these exercises ask students to construct a narrative beyond the descriptive and to promote some point of view or belief, while supporting that point of view or belief by calling upon the evidence found in primary sources. One standard method of teaching these skills is to stage a classroom mock trial. The Learn California site includes lessons that ask students to use documents

to argue one side or the other in a courtroom contest pitting farmers and ranchers against miners concerning hydraulic mining practices. Another looks at segregated schools as protested in the courts by various minorities, including Latinos and Asians. The New Jersey Digital Highway asks students to use sources to write the closing arguments for a patent trial involving Thomas Edison. The opening section of that lesson is a good example of how such a lesson is presented to a class:

Thomas Alva Edison has been described as the greatest inventor in history. He is credited with the creation of such revolutionary technologies as the electric light, the phonograph and motion pictures as well as many others. However, some people believe that historians give too much credit to Edison and not enough is given to his assistants for these inventions. Your job is to sit as a member of a jury that must decide whether or not Edison deserves all of the credit he is given. Since this is a civil case rather than a criminal case, the burden of proof necessary for a guilty verdict is only more likely than not. You will be presented with a case for the prosecution that charges that, "Thomas Alva Edison primarily succeeded not because of his own inventive ability, but as a result of the ingenuity and efforts of the many inventors and machinists that worked for him." The defense will argue that although Edison did have teams of assistants and machinists, he succeed as a result of his own ideas, intellectual ability, leadership and hard work. The court case will rely heavily on statements from Edison and those who knew and worked with him. Any statements in quotes are directly from the witnesses and those that are not in quotes were developed for the purposes of this case based on the opinions and ideas of the witnesses. Throughout the court transcript you will occasionally see italicized questions. These questions need to be answered in your journal as you go and will assist you in determining the outcome of the case.⁹⁶⁷

In a non-trial-based lesson, the Collaborative Digitization Program has students research the working conditions of late nineteenth-century miners, before asking them to give a speech about what they think of labor unions. In another lesson that requires a

⁹⁶⁷ Electronic New Jersey, "Thomas Edison and the Process of Invention," a lesson plan view on March 24, 2010 at http://www2.scc.rutgers.edu/njh/sci_tech/edison/

similar level of narrative building, the New Jersey Digital Highway includes a fairly traditional lesson that asks students to use a range of relevant historical evidence to compose an answer to the question, “Should Charles Lee have been court-martialed for Monmouth?”⁹⁶⁸ A similar lesson from the same site has students outline an answer to the question: “How successful was Jersey Homesteads as an economic experiment during the New Deal?”⁹⁶⁹ And a third lesson from the same site assigns an essay to students in which they are to discuss the pros and cons of the impact of the Federal Fair Labor Standards Act on child labor in New Jersey. In this lesson, students are to propose solutions for at least two of the four problems they note. Yet another New Jersey lesson tells students: “using all of the pictures and documents to the best of your abilities, reconstruct the events dealing with ROTC at Rutgers University, 1967-1969. Provide three arguments for and three arguments against having a ROTC program at Rutgers.” This lesson then asks, “What would you teach in a class called ‘The Roles of Rebellion, Reason, and Responsibility in the University? List three topics.’” Finally, this in-depth lesson broadens out to place the local events in a national context by asking students to choose a maximum of ten sources from the site’s digital archive from the 1960s that best

⁹⁶⁸ One of the more interesting characters from the Revolutionary War era, Charles Lee was a British military officer who also managed to serve in the Portuguese Army and as aide-de-camp to King Stanislaus of Poland. He served with the British alongside George Washington during the French and Indian War and later married a Mohawk woman, having twins by her. Lee is most notorious for his actions during the Battle of Monmouth when he retreated instead of attacking as ordered. Washington reprimanded him publicly and Lee responded inappropriately. Shortly thereafter, he was arrested and court-martialed.

⁹⁶⁹ Today a municipality of about 900, Roosevelt, NJ was originally called Jersey Homesteads when it opened as a cooperative in 1936 through the assistance of the New Deal’s subsistence program. A “back-to-the-land movement,” Jersey Homesteads attempted to be a self-sustaining subsistence farm combined with seasonal employment in a cooperative garment factory. The Resettlement Administration, under the direction of Rexford Tugwell, took over the Jersey Homesteads project in May, 1935.

illustrate the range of viewpoints and intensity of conflict evident in the United States as represented in New Jersey during this turbulent decade.⁹⁷⁰

Whether they call upon students to write as journalists or playwrights; whether they ask them to cut and paste construction paper, compose posters, or “jigsaw,” most of the activities described above do not stress the relationship between the primary sources (the evidence) and the resulting narrative. Here, history has no footnotes. Students are told to use the sources, but they are not shown how this use is similar to the kind of work that leads to the creation of history, as it is revealed in books, films, and even Web sites. They are rarely asked to make specific links between sources and the resulting works, and when they are asked to do so, it is in a fashion not all that different from how they might consult a secondary source for a paper. They are rarely provided with conflicting evidence, and they are almost never instructed to factor in the point of view or bias of the creator of that evidence. There are only a few instances on these sites when students are presented the opportunity to see how different students can come up with different narratives while using the same evidence. For all of that, the sites investigated provide a wide range of narrative building exercises on a number of different levels. Unfortunately, none of the sites provided a clear curricular spiral leading students from more modest narrative building activities to the more robust.

The Other History Thinking Skills

As has been pointed out previously, lessons designed to help develop “significance,” “historical agency,” and “progress and decline” are rarely presented by

⁹⁷⁰ As has been pointed out by a number of individuals, great deal of what is thought of as the “1960s” turbulence actually took place in the early 1970s.

the sites under investigation. These thinking skills attempt to address the “whys” of history. As has been noted earlier, the lack of lessons in these areas might be due to the fact that these particular skills require more in the way of historical content than do some of the other elements of history thinking. In other words, despite the long line of articles cited in this work that downplay the importance of subject knowledge, students do need to have ready access to the names and dates and other facts—the “stuff”—of history to be able to fully participate in some of the more advanced aspects of history thinking. Few students, especially younger ones, have the store of facts necessary to help them think “adductively” —to add bits and pieces together, make connections, and see patterns in evidence before coming to conclusions—in a robust fashion.⁹⁷¹ Significance, historical agency, progress and decline, and also narrative building require more of this adductive thought than do the other history thinking skills which, arguably, depend more upon deductive thinking: reading clues from the past, noting change, and attempting to see history on its own terms while also morally evaluating that past—at least on the more elementary levels of those skills. This lack of content knowledge to fuel the adductive requirements of these history thinking skills might be one reason why significance, progress and decline, and historical agency exercises do not appear in the primary source lessons as often as do others. In addition, it is easy to imagine that developers of history teaching sites—if not also the teachers who use these sites—might be wary about exploring topics such as significance, progress and decline, and historical agency. Who are they to consciously tell someone else who or what was important about the past (significance)? Who are they to consciously say what is progress for some and decline for

⁹⁷¹ Remember that Martin Boothe’s seminal work on subject-specific cognition as it relates to history notes the importance of adductive thinking to the enterprise of the past.

others? Who are they to consciously identify THE cause or causes of some historical event? Of course, history teachers do just these sorts of things all of the time. It is impossible to create a lesson or write a textbook without these sorts of judgments. But it is possible to imagine a teacher or instructional designer or educational outreach person in an archives or collaborative digitization program being wary about *consciously* developing a lesson that would explore these ideas. They might be setting themselves up for criticism for pushing the “Great Man” or Marxist interpretation or “whig” view of history, among other things.

To think this way, of course, would be missing the point of these more adductive history thinking skills. To do history, a person has to decide what is worth spending his or her time on (significance), whether that be the history of a local garden club or an exploration of a world war. To do history, a person has to leave something out. Not every breath, not every word, not every deed can be included. (Again, significance.) To do history, a person has to show the effect of change and continuity over time upon different institutions, people, events, landscapes, etc. all in relation to other institutions, people, events, landscapes—or, simply put, there wouldn’t be much to tell (progress and decline). Everything would blend. And, to do history, a person has to identify a protagonist or protagonists, the person, institution, idea, etc., that brings about the observable difference, or that keeps things from changing (agency). Perhaps, it is only when we begin developing lesson plans that are designed to emphasize these forms of thinking do we become a bit self-conscious about performing the kinds of history thinking that must occur, that always occurs, if one is to force an overly simplified organization upon a much-reduced subset of ideas and actions from the past. That is, if we are to do history.

The history thinking skill of “significance” is the ability to decide what is trivial and what is important from the past—while recognizing that contexts change and that what is trivial to one account of the past might be significant to another. Activities which teach students to identify and/or explain why some events, individuals, ideas, etc. are crucial to an understanding of other events, individuals, ideas, etc. were considered to be “significance” lessons. Of the 596 lessons on the 24 sites investigated that used primary sources, 328 included lessons that sought to build the history thinking skills of students. Only three of those 328 lessons were devoted to teaching “significance.” These three lessons were found on three of the sites investigated. Each had one. “Progress and Decline” is the history thinking skill that goes beyond the idea of the constant advancing, constant progressing “whig view” of history to realize that “progress” is not constant and that what might be progress for some (or seen to be progress for some) might be decline (or seen to be decline) by others.⁹⁷² Activities that ask students to note how things have gotten better (for some individuals, locations, issues, etc.) and how they have gotten worse (for other individuals, locations, issues, etc.) in regards to historical topics, movements, issues, etc., were considered to be “progress and decline” lessons. There was only one lesson on one site that could be considered to teach this form of progress and decline. Finally, the history thinking skill of “historical agency” is the ability to identify

⁹⁷² British historian of science and philosopher of history Herbert Butterfield coined the term “Whig history” in his influential work, *The Whig Interpretation of History* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1931). The term takes its name from the British Whigs, advocates of the power of Parliament, who opposed the Tories who were advocates of the power of the King. Whig history presents the past as an inevitable progression towards constant scientific progress and ever greater liberty and enlightenment, especially personal freedom, culminating in modern forms of liberal democracy. A Whig view of history continues to influence popular understandings of the historical development as revealed by a steady stream of films, television programs, political rhetoric, and textbooks.

the cause or causes of change, postulating why things change and what and/or who led to this change. Activities that ask students to speculate, using evidence, about why and how something in the past occurred were considered to be those related to “historical agency.” There were two lessons on two sites that attempted to teach historical agency.

The “significance” lessons included one on the Florida Memory site, which asked students to react to the statement, “Zora Neale Hurston’s essay “Turpentine” is an important part of the written history of the Turpentine Camps in Florida in the 1930s.” It would be the rare student who would say that this essay was not important to an understanding of these camps. Everything about the lesson shouts that Zora Neale Hurston’s essay is important. To be fair, this is only one activity in an overall lesson about Hurston, the Turpentine industry, and the Great Depression. The other significance lesson that was identified resides on the Historical Society of North Dakota’s site. This lesson explores the impact of electrification on the life of the state. It asks students to identify a new technology from their own time that they think has historic importance. The students are to outline its significance (social, political, and/or economic) and speculate on how this technology might change their lives. The lesson also asks students to predict whether their identified piece of technology will continue to be important in the future. The Collaborative Digitization Program, headquartered in Colorado, includes a similar lesson, but one that is a bit less directed. After a thorough investigation of various newspapers, this lesson has students write a letter to a newspaper editor about an issue that was relevant to the 20th century that will continue to be relevant in the 21st.

Only one site had a lesson in “progress and decline” history thinking. This lesson uses football as an analogy to get the idea of progress across to elementary students. Appropriately enough, the lesson concerned the Progressive Era in Wisconsin and the “Wisconsin Idea.” The lesson plan tells teachers to ask their students if a “football player starts at his own 35 yard line and runs the ball in to score a touchdown, how many yards does he progress the ball?” Students are then asked to write their own definition of “progress,” which the class then discusses. The lesson plan suggests that teachers explain that, “just like in the football arena where the goal is progressing forward to the end zone, in the political arena the goal is also to progress forward with reform or change.” To tie this idea to their state’s history, students read articles about librarian Charles McCarthy who was a leader of the Progressive Movement in Wisconsin. It was McCarthy’s Legislative Research Library that recruited university experts to help draft bills for the Wisconsin legislature.⁹⁷³ The lesson asks the students, “How was Charles McCarthy like a quarterback of a football team?”

There were two lessons that sought to teach “historical agency.” The Wisconsin site charges the students with using documents to research who should be named the father and mother of Wisconsin. This lesson asks the students to select five to ten people most active in the formation of the Wisconsin Territory. The Collaborative Digitization Program has an equally open-ended historical agency lesson. It asks the students to

⁹⁷³ Largely forgotten outside of library history and the state of Wisconsin, Charles McCarthy turned his relatively obscure post in the Legislative Reference Library into a well-regarded progressive-era institution. He was an advocate of university extension and was a behind-the-scenes player in various Wisconsin reforms. See, Marion Casey, “Charles McCarthy’s ‘Idea’: A Library to Change Government,” *Library Quarterly* 44 (January, 1974): 29-41. The Wisconsin site includes a great many games designed to teach elementary students about some historical concept. Primary sources are primarily used as illustrations in these lessons, not as a part of inquiry or project-based activities.

explain how a particular problem from the past has come to the attention of the public and how the government has worked to make changes as a result of this exposure. It then asks the students to report on how some people or institutions are working to expose and correct contemporary problems. Students are to use a database of historical newspapers to provide evidence in support of their thesis.

There were six lessons on the 24 sites investigated that sought to build skills in significance, historical agency, and progress and decline. As has been postulated previously, there are a number of possible reasons why so few would appear on these sites. No matter the reason for the paucity, it could be argued that if a student does not possess these skills, history becomes for him or her simply a list of disconnected, bygone activities recounted in the passive voice. And as the research recounted in the portion of the literature review dedicated to narrative building shows, this is a recipe for forgetting. People remember best what they can make a connection to, contextualize, and explain. It is nearly impossible to do these things with scraps of history without being able to assign significance, explain progress and decline, and attribute historical agency.

As this research has shown, the 24 sites explored possess a wide range of lessons that seek to build history thinking skills. Most of these, unsurprisingly, deal with evidence and epistemology, empathy and moral judgment, continuity and change, and narrative building. Most of the lessons seeking to build these particular skills did so in their most elementary fashion, but that is not surprising either. The creators of the lessons, undoubtedly, wanted them to be as broadly applicable as possible. Even so, the lack of lessons concerning bias and conflicting points of view as revealed in primary sources was a cause of surprise, especially since this is a topic so regularly discussed in

the educational research and practitioner, professional journals. The lessons almost never ask students to work with multiple pieces of evidence—whether they were conflicting or not. Of greater concern was the lack of explanation about why one should master good evidence-reading skills. Why do we care who wrote a letter to whom and for what? Why do we care that there might be another letter that contradicts the first? There are precious few instances of lessons that demonstrate the connection between the evidence, the interpretation of the evidence, and a resulting narrative. Without demonstrating this connection, many of the lessons become simply puzzles for the students to linger over, pencil in hand. The empathy and moral judgment lessons rarely went beyond building empathy with individuals from the past, and they hardly ever asked students to see the world through the eyes of those in the past. The continuity and change lessons were more about spotting the differences in evidence than forming historical hypotheses.

And there were few open-ended assignments. For instance, few sites provided an array of sources, asked students to create their own research question, and then invited them to dive in to those sources in an attempt to answer that question. And while it is understandable that sites limit the number of primary sources for any one lesson—for time considerations, if no other—the pre-selected and pre-digested materials, while useful for younger students, do not present a true picture of the historical record nor do they provide a central experience to the history enterprise: sorting through the stuff, learning where to look, and becoming comfortable with your own “internal filter.” Sites such as these, perhaps, should provide lessons that would allow the advanced, high school students to dip an intellectual toe into the great sea of “kept stuff,” if for no other reason than to begin to understand just how artificial the previous lessons in historical thinking

they may have encountered had been. A person can practice dribbling and shooting or punting and passing in his or her driveway or yard for years, but if he or she never steps onto the court or field alongside other teammates, he or she will never quite fully grasp the game. Still, the kinds of activities presented on these sites can act as good beginning exercises to introduce students to the searching of sources for scraps of information and then patching that information into their own creations. With a bit more sophisticated contextualization, these activities could perform the function of teaching higher levels of history thinking skills. The creators of these sites probably never think that the lessons that they are presenting will stand in a vacuum. There is most certainly an expectation that the teachers who employ these lessons will provide their own, in-class explanations, contextualizations, etc. It is for future research to determine the extent and efficacy of these classroom practices in making the online materials successful.

Lessons by Subject Era

For this research, American history was divided into fifteen different “subject eras.” (The list of subject eras may be found in Table 13.) There was some chronological overlap in a few of these eras, such as the post-Civil War Industrial and Reconstruction time periods. This list of fifteen eras was based upon an initial subject era list compiled by the author using his experience with school history. This initial list was then refined with a “first draft” concept analysis of the 24 sites. As a result of this initial pass through the sites, several new eras were added to the initial list, including separating the original “women’s rights” category into “Women’s Suffrage” and “ERA.”⁹⁷⁴ The second and final

⁹⁷⁴ ERA is shorthand for the effort to pass the Equal Rights Amendment, which sought to guarantee that equal rights could not be denied a person based upon his or her sex. This

analysis found a total of 594 lessons by subject era on the sites. (This is a slight discrepancy with the number of sites recorded in the history thinking skills section of this research, which noted 597 different lessons using primary sources on the 24 sites. It is assumed that a simple counting or recording error was made.) There were 49 lessons that deal with specific eras not on the list of fifteen (most of those being devoted to the 1960s: Vietnam and the various protest movements). One hundred and twenty seven lessons were identified that were associated with no specific subject era. This could be due to the fact that a lesson was about some folk life topic (quilt making, for example) that is not easily assigned to a specific era, or it could be that a lesson sought to teach about the evidentiary value of manuscript correspondence by using letters from a wide ranging number of years.

Of the fifteen identified subject eras, the one with the fewest number of lessons devoted to it was ERA, which had only three. This was followed by a tie between the number of lessons devoted to the Revolutionary War and the Cold War, both of which had only six lessons devoted to them. The small number of lessons devoted to the Revolutionary War could be the result of the fact that many of the sites in question are dedicated to telling the history of states that were founded many years after the Revolutionary era. The Antebellum and Post-Civil War Industrial eras, at 98 and 64 respectively, could claim such a large number of lessons probably due to the fact that, as subject eras, they tended to be fairly amorphous, covering a wide range of historical topics. The number of lessons devoted to World War II (at 61) seems to be surprising, but the lure of teaching students about the “good war,” and the wide availability of

constitutional amendment passed both houses of Congress in 1972, but failed to gain ratification by the 1982 deadline. Eight state legislatures did not ratify the amendment. It was re-submitted in the House of Representatives in July 2009.

compelling primary sources related to this conflict probably had a great deal to do with this large number.

Table 13. Lessons by Subject Era

Subject Era	Number of Lessons
Pre-Colonial	12
Colonial	33
Revolutionary War	6
Antebellum	94
Civil War	29
Reconstruction	13
Post-Civil War industrial	68
WWI	25
Roaring 20s	16
Great Depression	29
WWII	61
Cold War	6

Subject Era	Number of Lessons
Civil Rights	14
Women's Rights	9 3
Suffrage	
ERA	
Not aligned by era	127
Other (specify)	49
	Grand Total: 594

As this document's extended literature review has shown, "coverage" has been a central concern in the teaching of American history since it first entered the curriculum. Teachers, parents, and educational policy makers have discussed at length whether it is possible to cover a wide range of the past in an average classroom.⁹⁷⁵ As more than one participant in that ongoing discussion has pointed out, the number of historical narratives and facts to be covered is nearly exhaustive and attempting to hop, skip and jump over piles of them in one semester can be exhausting—and not often very rewarding for the student or the instructor. Nevertheless, most people do feel that the classroom should

⁹⁷⁵ Lendol Calder has proposed a form of pedagogy for the collegiate history survey course that he calls, "uncoverage." See Lendol Calder, "Uncoverage: Toward a Signature Pedagogy," *Journal of American History* (Teaching and Textbooks, 2006) viewed on January 10, 2010 at <http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/textbooks/2006/calder.html>

“cover” all of the eras of American history, especially.⁹⁷⁶ The creators of the 24 online history teaching sites that this research investigated do not seem to share this concern with “coverage.” Only eight sites had lessons that touched upon more than seven of the identified fifteen different eras. Nine of the sites had lessons that dealt with two or more subject eras and four of these sites had lessons that were associated with no subject eras. Only three sites provided wide “coverage,” by providing lessons with primary source activities that ranged from pre-Colonial through the 1960s civil rights era. Four sites devoted lessons to none of the subject eras identified by the concept analysis instrument, while two sites covered twelve of the identified subject areas. This seems to suggest that the designers of the sites might be first selecting materials that they find interesting, useful, etc. based upon their own selection criteria, and they then appear to be “repurposing” these selected materials for the classroom, rather than selecting materials for the classroom directly. In at least two instances, the researcher knows of institutions receiving grants to digitize a certain body of material. Once the material had been digitized, the creators of the online sites then went back to see how they could then “make it useful for the classroom.” This is a laudable undertaking, but perhaps not the best way to proceed if one wishes to best meet the needs of the classroom. See Table 14 for a complete distribution of number of sites containing a certain number of identified subject eras.

⁹⁷⁶ For evidence supporting this statement, see the hullabaloo surrounding the release of the proposed new American history curriculum for North Carolina schools which was “floated” in winter 2010. Molly Hennenburg, “North Carolina Schools May Cut Chunk Out of U.S. History Lessons,” Fox News viewed March 18, 2010 at <http://www.foxnews.com/us/2010/02/03/north-carolina-schools-cut-chunk-history-lessons/>; Jim Stegall, “Firestorm Follows State Board Changes to History Courses,” *Carolina Journal Online*, viewed on March 18, 2010 at http://www.carolinajournal.com/exclusives/display_exclusive.html?id=6137; and Lynn Bonner, “History Course Shift Sets Off Uproar,” News and Observer February 5, 2010, viewed on March 18, 2010 at <http://www.newsobserver.com/2010/02/05/321148/history-course-shift-sets-off.html>

Table 14. Number of Subject Eras Covered by Lessons

Number of historical eras with lessons devoted to them	Number of sites with that number of lessons
0	4
1	2
2	3
3	4
4	0
5	1
6	1
7	1
8	2
9	2
10	0
11	1
12	2

The number of lessons on any one site dedicated to a certain subject era varied widely—and often not in any way that seemed to align with an individual state’s own history. For example, it makes some sense that the New Jersey Digital Library site would not have many lessons dealing with Reconstruction while the Alabama Office of Archives and History’s site would have a number of lessons dealing with topics from this subject era, but why would Alabama have just as many lessons on World War I? And why would the fourteen civil rights era lessons be confined to only three sites? Only nine of the sites dealt with women’s rights (both Women’s Suffrage and ERA; there is one “overlap” site with North Dakota having lessons about both). And the fact that only three sites provided lessons with primary source activities related to a topic as significant to an understanding of the American past as the Revolutionary War does seem to be a matter of some concern. Only in a few instances does it seem that sites were concerned with providing primary-source related lessons across a wide range of their state’s past.

Table 15. Number of Online Sites Covering Specific Eras

Subject Era	Number of Sites
Pre-Colonial	4
Colonial	7

Subject Era	Number of Sites
Revolutionary War	3
Antebellum	17
Civil War	10
Reconstruction	4
Post-Civil War industrial	11
WWI	8
Roaring 20s	7
Great Depression	11
WWII	9
Cold War	3

Subject Era	Number of Sites
Civil Rights	4
Women's Rights	
Suffrage	7
ERA	3
Not aligned by era	127
Other (specify)	49

Primary Sources

There were approximately 1,691 primary sources directly aligned with lessons seeking to build history thinking skills in students. This does not represent all of the primary sources found on the 24 sites being investigated. A great many primary sources were related to lessons which used primary sources for illustrative purposes only. The Collaborative Digitization Program used a database of primary sources (largely digitized historic newspapers) for its lessons. Students are instructed to do searches in this database on certain terms and then retrieve the sources that would be used in their history thinking skills-related activities. These database-bound sources were not counted. The Wisconsin Historical Society also directs its students to a database of primary sources in at least one

lesson, and these sources are not included in this count either. However, other primary sources on the Wisconsin site that are aligned with history thinking skills lessons were counted, and these numbers are included in the 1,691 total figure.

Across the 24 sites being analyzed, every subject era can claim at least one primary source. The subject era holding the least number of primary sources is the Revolutionary War with eight sources. The post-Civil War Industrial era claimed the most primary sources with 284, followed by the World War II, antebellum, and Civil War with 147, 138 and 133 primary sources respectively. These eras hold larger numbers of primary sources, in part, because 1) many of the sites cover state histories that begin after the colonial and Revolutionary eras, 2) wars present compelling and attention-grabbing primary sources when “everyday” topics do not always do so, and 3) the antebellum and post-Civil War industrial eras cover a wide range of years and a wide range of potential historical topics. More than six hundred primary sources are not aligned with any specific subject era, or they are associated with subject eras that did not fall neatly within those identified by the concept analysis instrument used. For example, a number of lessons and corresponding primary sources concerned topics that spread out across multiple subject eras or dealt with issues not associated with one time period. This was especially the case with the few “folkways” lessons such as those dealing with basket making or dollmaking, etc. Not a few of these lessons unaligned with specific subject eras were, in actuality, associated with the Vietnam War and the protests of the 1960s and 1970s. These were not enumerated separately, and, if this research were to be performed again, “The 1960s” would definitely warrant its own designation. Of course, the women’s rights movement and the Civil Rights Movement for African Americans were significant parts of the 1960s

“story” and both would need to be treated separately from other aspects of that turbulent decade. For a full distribution of primary sources by subject era, see Table 16.

Table 16. Distribution of Primary Sources by Subject Era

(Oral histories are marked for era discussed; not when recorded)

Subject Era	Number of Primary Sources
Pre-Colonial	26
Colonial	59
Revolutionary War	8
Antebellum	138
Civil War	133
Reconstruction	13
Post-Civil War industrial	284
WWI	68
Roaring 20s	36
Great Depression	57
WWII	147

Subject Era	Number of Primary Sources
Cold War	13
Civil Rights	18
Women's Rights	19
Suffrage	15
ERA	
Not aligned by subject era and other subject eras	657
Total	1,691

The number of online sites presenting primary sources about a particular subject era as part of a lesson designed to teach some history thinking skill is shown in Table 17. For example, the eight Revolutionary War-era primary sources were made available by three online sites, while the eighteen primary sources pertaining to the Civil Rights era were presented by five different sites. There is no way to account for this distribution other than the fact that some states whose Web sites were studied were chartered in the nineteenth century. After all, all of the sites were from parts of the country that had extensive pre-colonial, Native American history that is a part of their “story” and yet few hold lessons pertaining to this history. Knowledge of a state’s pre-colonial history is, more than likely, a part of each state’s standard course of study. Primary sources in the way of artifacts, if no other, do exist and provide the opportunity for a wide range of

inquiry-driven, high-interest potential learning activities. A number of these kinds of activities explored in the education literature have involved students taking on the role of archeologists.⁹⁷⁷ Yet, only three online sites present primary sources as part of lessons about the pre-colonial era, which are associated with history thinking activities.

Table 17. Number of Online Sites with Primary Sources in Specific Eras

Subject Era	Number of Sites With Primary Sources from a Specific Era
Pre-Colonial	3
Colonial	7
Revolutionary War	3
Antebellum	18
Civil War	11
Reconstruction	4
Post-Civil War industrial	14
WWI	9
Roaring 20s	8

⁹⁷⁷ There are those, especially among Native Americans, who are opposed to teaching history through archeology. They compare this discipline to little more than grave robbing.

Subject Era	Number of Sites With Primary Sources from a Specific Era
Great Depression	9
WWII	11
Cold War	4
Civil Rights	5
Women's Rights	6
Suffrage	
ERA	
Not aligned by era or represent other subject eras	19

Women, Minorities, and Children in the Primary Sources

Of the 1,691 primary sources associated with the 328 history thinking skills lessons located on the 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites that were investigated, 561 included women, children, and ethnic minorities. (For a distribution of primary sources across the different minority groups, see Table 18.) This number appears larger than the actual representation of women, ethnic minorities, and children among the primary sources, however, because an African-American female child could have accounted for three “tick marks” on the concept analysis instrument: one for

being African American, another for being a female, and yet a third for being a child. (Ethnic minority status was conferred on individuals of mixed ancestry such as Osceola.)

A primary source was considered to represent a minority if, in the case of correspondence, the writer or intended recipient was a minority, woman, or child; in the case of a diary, memoir, or other manuscript-related item, the creator was a minority, child, or female; if the minority, woman, or child appeared in a photograph, image or political cartoon; was the interviewee in an oral history interview; or if an artifact was particularly associated with a minority. For a law or other government document or a church-related manuscript or printed material to be considered to “represent” a minority, it must have dealt specifically and directly with a woman or women in general, child or children in general, or a person or persons belonging to an ethnic minority group. If a minority, woman, or child was simply mentioned in a diary entry, letter, oral history or memoir, this was not considered to be a representative primary source for this research. However, a woman appearing in an image, photograph, etc. was considered representative; and an oral history or memoir that was specifically about childhood was also counted as being a primary source that represented a child. (These choices were made to keep from having to read or listen to every word in every document or interview under investigation.) There were a number of primary sources on the sites in question that did represent minorities and women, although not that many included children. These representative sources, however, were often presented in exhibit-like formats of materials about specific historic topics. While they may have been constructed to show the context for a particular exercise, the representation of women, children, and ethnic minorities in

the primary sources actually associated with activities designed to teach history thinking were few and far between. These were the sources that are analyzed here.

Women appeared in 232 primary sources associated with the 328 history thinking exercises located on 16 of the 24 sites investigated. Females were represented primarily in materials dealing with suffrage and ERA, as well as activities related to the homefront during World War II. The Alabama Department of Archives and History had one interesting activity that concerned nursing in the Civil War. In addition, a few female “heroes” make appearances in the primary sources such as Senator Margaret Chase Smith, Mary McLeod Bethune, Zora Neale Hurston, and Florida’s Roxcy Bolton.⁹⁷⁸ (It should be noted that the last three women all appeared in sources associated with lessons on one site, that of Florida Memory.) Young girls appeared as western-bound diary keepers in another lesson. Most of the representation of women in the primary sources associated with the history thinking lessons, however, takes place through photographs and images. There the women appear often as a part of family groups or as a part of street scenes, etc. They were not, necessarily, the “reason” for the source. These primary sources only rarely show women acting as historical agents; individuals “doing” something, making change, rather than simply “being” in the past. While it is true that women in the past did not leave as many primary sources for current historians to consult, they certainly left enough to inform a wide range of potential teaching activities, even when they are about state-specific subjects. The lack of representation of women as active historical agents in the sources that provide the foundation for the learning

⁹⁷⁸ Roxcy Bolton established the Florida chapter of the National Organization of Women in 1966. She would later serve in national offices in that organization. She successfully challenged men’s only sections in restaurants and founded the first rape treatment center in a hospital in 1974. She has been active in issues concerning women and a force in Florida social and political circles most of her life.

activities is of some concern. After all, more than half of the children who will be performing these exercises, and learning this history, will be female. And as research touched upon in the previous extended literature review has shown, individuals are more likely to develop history thinking skills, if they can make a connection with individuals from the past. They are more likely to make a connection with that past if they can “find themselves” in that past. Arguably, an important part of oneself to locate in that past is one’s gender.

African Americans appeared 241 times in primary sources associated with history thinking skills lessons found on 13 of the 24 sites investigated. Sixty six of these appearances were in primary sources associated slavery, and most of these sources do not show African Americans as active historical agents. Instead, they tend to represent past African Americans as individuals who are being acted upon by others rather than working to shape their own lives. One hundred and seventy five of the other appearances of African Americans were in sources that were not related to slavery. Almost all of these were associated with the Civil Rights movement. A very high percentage of the other non-slave, non-Civil Rights materials deal with four individuals, Mary McLeod Bethune, Zora Neale Hurston (both in exercises presented by the Florida Memory Project), and Paul Robeson (who appears in primary sources related to a multi-activity lesson found on the New Jersey Digital Highway site) and Paul Laurence Dunbar (on the Ohio Historical Society site). The Florida Memory site, in its highlighting of the folk arts in Florida, does present a lesson on an African American folk craft artist. However, just as African American history in the schools is too often segregated into the month of February (Black History Month), the primary sources explored by this research too often appear only in

those lessons associated with two major, significant historical movements in American history. But African Americans have definitely contributed to American history beyond the sad story of slavery and the remarkable march of freedom that was the Civil Rights Movement.

Of the 1,691 primary sources associated with history thinking skills lessons, Native Americans appear in 113 located on fourteen of the 24 sites investigated. Forty of these primary sources concern Native Americans in conflict with European settlers/pioneers (wars, broken treaties, etc.), while 173 deal with issues related to Native American customs, foods, homes, etc. A large percentage of the latter were dedicated to a lesson with a series of activities concerning Native American mounds (approximately 65 images) and an activity designed to teach the reading of evidence in historical imagery. The last lesson included multiple images of Osceola. It is possible that the lack of lessons concerning Native American life is linked to the fact that many of the sources that survive to provide evidence of their past are considered sacred, and archives, museums, etc.—even when they might hold some of these materials—are reluctant to present reproductions of them online. Even when these materials may not be considered sacred and when there are no special “access” rules associated with their use, some institutions may not care to run the risk of generating controversy by presenting these items via the Web. Whether the resulting artifacts are sacred or not, a number of Native Americans are opposed to having their pasts told through archeological evidence.⁹⁷⁹ It is likely that for

⁹⁷⁹ This was one of the points made by Russell Means during his keynote address at the national Tribal Archives, Libraries, and Museums Conference held in Portland, OR in October 2009. This conference is thought to be the largest gathering of tribal cultural heritage professionals ever. The attendees roundly applauded Means when he called archeology nothing but grave robbing. An actor and musician, Means is a Native American Rights activist and a leader of the American

these reasons, many of the primary sources used to tell the story of Native Americans were actually created by Europeans, and many of these sources came about as a result of the friction between cultures. Of equal significance, none of the sites show Native Americans beyond the 1900s. As more than one commentator on the treatment of American Indians in the schools of the United States have pointed out, this seems to indicate to schoolchildren that “Indians” are of the past only—no longer exist. As Choctaw author, oral historian, and storyteller told a gathering of tribal librarians, archivists, and museum professionals at a 2010 meeting held at the Smithsonian’s National Museum of the American Indian (NMAI), “I have been in school libraries all over this country. I have never found the first illustrated book for kids that show Indians in modern dress!” This was reiterated by Kevin Gover, Judge of the Apache and director of NMAI, “All cultures evolve. Don’t lock us in the past. Please, when you tell our stories, bring them to the present day.”⁹⁸⁰

Other ethnic groups appear in only 60 of the 1,691 primary sources associated with history thinking skills located on the 24 sites investigated. Twenty six primary sources have Asians represented, two Latino, and 32 “others.” Most of the Asians shown

Indian Movement. He seized the replica of the Mayflower on Thanksgiving Day in 1970 and later that year he seized Mount Rushmore. He is best known for having led the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. He has appeared in the films, *Last of the Mohicans*, *Natural Born Killers*, *Into the West*, *Pocohontas*, *Under a Killing Moon*, and *Thomas and the Magic Railroad*, among others. Means made the point that he and his people know their history, and it begins when they were coaxed to climb up out of the earth through a log.

⁹⁸⁰ Both Tingle and Gover’s comments were made at an Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS)-sponsored meeting of the Tribal Research fellowship program, June 7, 2010 at the Smithsonian Institution’s National Museum of the American. Tim Tingle is the author of six books, the first of which was *Walking the Choctaw Road* (El Paso, TX: Cinco Puntos Press, 2003). His *Crossing Bok Chitto* (El Paso, TX: Puntos Press, 2007) was editor’s choice in the New York Times Book Review and won the 2008 American Indian Youth Literature Award. Kevin Gover was selected by President Clinton to serve as Assistant Secretary of Interior for Indian Affairs. He has served as the director of NMAI since 2007.

in the primary sources on these sites are Japanese, and they appear in sources associated with their “relocation” during World War II. These primary sources all appear in lessons designed to teach empathy and moral judgment skills. Three different sites hold activities that ask students to imagine themselves having to pack for a relocation camp, looking at photos of a camp and imagining themselves living there, etc. Other Asians represented in the primary sources include Hmong and Vietnamese Americans and their role in the Vietnamese War. Surprisingly, there were no Chinese Americans represented in the primary sources that were investigated. Only two primary sources appeared on two sites that included Latinos. Among these was a lesson on the Chicano Movement. There is nothing about the Spanish explorers, even on the fairly robust Florida Memory site—despite the sunshine state’s Spanish colonial heritage and present Latino population. Outside of the Latino, African American, and Asian populations, there was a smattering of materials that sought to present the idea that not all Europeans come from the same culture. One site had materials concerning Norwegians and two, Germans. Another site had materials about the Irish, and two sites had materials reflecting the Italian-American experience. Although not an ethnic designation, one site also mentioned the Mormons, specifically, and another Jews (in association with the Holocaust). But no other religious groups were specifically designated in the primary sources or lessons. As a matter of fact, religion, itself, is almost never mentioned at all in any of the sites or the sources on the sites unless it is an almost folkloric look at Native American religious stories. This is a stark omission, especially since religion has played a significant role in many aspects of America’s history. Finally, it is interesting to note that minorities all appear in these lessons during moments of history when they are impacting dominant, white culture. As

a result, they represent not the story of the minority, but their own story has an influence on “white society.” This seems to mean that even when they are represented in history lessons, they are still only a chapter in a story about “others,” not themselves.

Children appear in 90 primary sources on 10 of the 24 sites investigated. Anecdotal evidence shared by history teachers suggests that students, especially younger students, more readily engage with the past when they can make a connection with a story about a child or children from that past. Writers of young adult and children’s literature acknowledge this. Protagonists in young adult and children’s historical fiction are almost always children. Among the most often taught and deeply engaging of all history lessons found in the nation’s schools are those that deal with the Holocaust, and this is in no small part due to the powerful witness provided by Anne Frank’s diary. Most of the 90 primary sources representing children on the sites under investigation were noted because they included an image of a child in a photograph. Usually, these children were not the central focus of the image. Rather, children may have been a part of a street scene or group photograph. Children are almost never presented as historical agents. In addition, the primary sources presented were rarely the creations of children. In one of two cases, a diary or a letter written by a child might be presented. A lesson might compare and contrast schools of an earlier era to present-day schools, or students might be asked to compare the differences between the chores of a young person in the nineteenth century with their own.

It is true that children in the past very rarely generated records, and those records that they did create were likely not to be connected with the kinds of topics regularly covered by school history. This probably accounts for the lack of primary sources

showing young people as historical agents. Still, these kinds of records do exist, and they can be compelling. Such materials as the military records of young soldiers during the Civil War; orphans court records; Progressive-era studies of child labor; marriage laws; oral histories of those who took part in the Civil Rights-era Children's Crusade in Birmingham, Alabama; images of children's clothes (especially those worn beneath the outer garments); and even tombstones can be used to demonstrate the lives (and deaths) of some of the young during specific subject eras. State archives agencies, of course, would not necessarily hold many of these types of items, but the collaborative digitization programs, claiming as they do museums, historical societies, libraries, and other types of cultural agencies beneath their broad organizational umbrellas, would have greater access to these kinds of materials. Despite this potential, these collaboratives, like the state archives' sites investigated, tend to incorporate the traditional primary source materials into their lessons: photographs, manuscripts, government documents, etc. This fairly focused use of traditional primary sources has the effect of limiting the representation of women, ethnic minorities, and children in the lessons. With just a bit more creative selection from their storage rooms, cultural collecting agencies could populate their sites with a more eclectic array of sources, and—at the same time—build a teaching resource that is more representative of the students who will be asked to spend time with, make connections to, and learn about themselves while studying the past. As Table 20 shows, the distribution of primary sources across different formats on the sites being analyzed readily shows this “focus” upon the traditional.

Table 18. Minorities and Children Present in Primary Sources

Minority	Number of Primary Sources Reflecting a Minority
Women	232
African American Slave	66
Non-slave	175
	Total: 241
Native American In conflict	40
Non-conflict	173
	Total: 113
Latino	2
Asian	26
Other	32
Children	90
	TOTAL: 561

Of the 24 sites explored in this research, twenty held primary sources that included women, ethnic minorities, and/or children. (For the number of sites showing the representation of specific minorities, women, and children in primary sources, see Table 19.) At first glance, it would appear that ethnic minorities, women, and children are robustly represented on the sites in question. They do appear frequently and prominently in the illustrations surrounding lessons and on home pages of the sites. They are not so well represented, however, in the primary sources that are directly associated with the history thinking exercises. And, when they do appear in these sources, they are not acting as historical agents, but are being “acted upon” by other individuals or forces in history. African Americans’ contributions to the past are too often relegated to slavery and the Civil Rights Movements, and Native American life, as presented on these sites, seems to have stopped sometime in the 1880s. The history of Native Americans is almost always depicted as being *only* about conflict with white men. There was a wide range of “inclusivity” found on the 24 sites, and while it was obvious that every site attempts to address issues of diversity (at least ethnic diversity), a great deal more could be done to include materials about women and children, especially children. Also, while it might be more difficult to present, not all “Europeans” share the same culture, and simply talking about “immigrants” does not completely capture the American story. Moravians immigrating to North Carolina in the 1740s had quite a different immigrant experience than did Norwegians in the 1880s. Even the Irish who appeared in the New World in the 1760s had a different experience from their cousins who flocked to the same shores almost one hundred years later, and Jewish immigrants have, perhaps, a story that is nowhere near that of their future Christian neighbors. The multicultural beyond race

aspect of the national story perhaps should be presented in a much more nuanced way, and the primary sources found in libraries, archives and museums present a huge, compelling resource that can be used to do just this. Indeed, lessons that compare the immigration experience of different nationalities, religious groups, etc., might provide a compelling series of lessons. As this concept analysis shows, some of the sites investigated have flirted with this idea. More flirtation might be better.

Table 19. Number of Sites with Minorities and Children Present in Primary Sources

Minority	Number of Sites Carrying Primary Sources Reflecting Minority
Women	16
African American	(13 total sites)
Slave	6
Non-slave	13
Native American	(14 total sites)
In conflict	8
Non-conflict	9
Latino	2
Asian	3
Other Ethnic Groups	4

Minority	Number of Sites Carrying Primary Sources Reflecting Minority
Children	10

Primary Sources by Format

There were 1,732 primary sources that were analyzed by format. This represents a slight variation from the number of primary sources analyzed previously in the history thinking skill and ethnic minority sections, which found a total of 1,691 primary sources. This is a difference of 41 primary sources. The reason or reasons for this discrepancy in the numbers is not known. It could be a simple recording error, double counting, or a lesson or lessons were skipped or partially skipped in the concept analysis. That having been noted, the distribution of primary sources by format proved to be interesting. Of the 1,732 primary sources, the largest number by format by far were photographs at 542 representing a little over 31% of all the primary sources presented as a part of the history thinking skills exercises on the 24 Web sites investigated. (See Table 120 for a full distribution of primary sources by format.) This number was followed by non-photographic images at 334 or 19.28% of the total number of primary sources. These images, photographs and non-photographs taken together, represent 876 primary sources, or 50.57% of all of the primary sources associated with history thinking lessons on the 24 sites investigated. There are a number of reasons that could explain why such a large percentage of primary sources is devoted to images. The Web is largely a visual medium. As the literature review showed, children tend to be drawn to more visual primary

sources, partly because they tend to be more easily “deciphered.” Photos do not often present difficulties with vocabulary or old handwriting. Also, most history lessons that include images do tend to use multiple photographs, and this tends to increase their numbers on these sites.

The next largest number of sources by format is represented by manuscript letters at 201 or 11.6%. Most of the time, the lessons analyzed present only one letter out of context from the rest of the correspondence between two individuals, or out of the context of other letters written by an individual. Because of this, students—instead of understanding that what they are seeing is a snapshot of “history,” only one small part of a letter writer’s life—could get a rather static view of history. They do not often find a correspondent changing his or her mind in the course of one letter. They cannot watch a relationship grow between two individuals in one letter. Even a simple exchange of posts would be more revealing than a single letter. While there are many “one-sided” collections of correspondence in archives, there are enough collections of full correspondence available to demonstrate the full context of a single letter, and having such an understanding of this context is crucial to a full understanding of a single letter as a piece of evidence. That having been noted, the manuscript letters presented on these sites are often compelling, always interesting, and make good examples of strong evidence-based primary sources. Showing only one, however, or at most two, and never illustrating a broader context of a correspondence series severely limits the students understanding of this particular form of primary source.

All non-image, originally paper-based records account for 694 primary sources or 40% of the primary sources associated with history thinking lessons found on the sites

investigated. These sources include diaries, maps, business and church records, memoranda books, reminiscences, contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts, oral history transcripts, and official government publications. There are only 39 audiovisual primary sources presented on the 24 sites investigated, or 2.2% of the sources associated with history thinking lessons. This represents 22 audiotapes (being mainly oral histories) and 17 videos on nine different sites. It is possible that at one time technical considerations concerning storage and speed would have limited the presentation of digital sound and video via the Web, but these considerations have been largely overcome. It is also possible that collecting institutions have fewer audiovisual materials because they have only been created in the last 100 years or so, and really only in the last fifty in any great numbers. This means that there may be intellectual property, privacy, and other “consent issues” related to streaming audiovisual materials that other primary source formats do not encounter as often. And it is true that history teaching sites are called upon to teach about subject eras that occurred well before the development of the typewriter, much less the film projector or tape recorder. Nevertheless, in this Youtube-influenced, moving image-motivated, and background-sound age, one can easily imagine that history teaching sites that fail to “move” or “make sound” will find it difficult to capture the attention of the contemporary student.⁹⁸¹ This is especially the case as several of the sites investigated did not even try to convey the “look and feel” of the original sources, but instead provided online reproductions that seemed to be more along the lines of poor photocopies. And in some instances, only transcripts of originals were provided.

⁹⁸¹ Youtube is a free, video sharing Web site created by three former PayPal employees in 2005. It has become immensely popular. It is estimated that by 2007, Youtube was consuming as much bandwidth as the entire Internet consumed only seven years earlier.

Undoubtedly, this was probably done to counteract the difficulties of deciphering the spidery handwriting of the nineteenth century, but images of the pages transcribed would have gone a long way toward making these sites more visually appealing and more “historically interesting.”⁹⁸² Carrying this to the extreme, in at least one example (made available by the state historical society of Iowa, *Prairie Voices: an Iowa Heritage Curriculum*), all of the sources are presented as a part of what is essentially a print document transferred to the computer. While it is a well-constructed, in-depth social studies curriculum with a number of solid primary-source activities, this item is also a pre-Internet tool not all together successfully adapted to the Web. As such, the primary sources presented really come across to the user as little more than illustrations in a book.⁹⁸³

Given the number of museums that participate in the collaborative digitization programs, it is a little surprising that there are only 39 images of museum objects associated with the history teaching lessons (representing 2.25% of the primary sources

⁹⁸² Maine Memory Network and the South Dakota State Historical Society are two of the sites, which provides primarily transcripts. It should be noted that the Montana State Historical Society maintains a site for educators separated from the primary source lessons, which provides access to twelve “episodes” that use a “combination of historical photographs from the archives of the Montana Historical Society and KUFM-Montana PBS, original footage, and interviews to explore important episodes of Montana's twentieth-century history. The unique stories told in Montana Mosaic reveal Montana's connections to both national and international trends, and each episode explores one or more of the following broad themes: industrialization and deindustrialization, relocation and dislocation, ethnic migration, federalization, environmentalism, and progressivism.” Montana Historical Society, “Montana Mosaic,” viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://mhs.mt.gov/education/MontanaMosaic/MontanaMosaic.asp> This could also be a result of bandwidth and equipment issues. Many schools do not have the capability of providing robust connections to online, high-quality, multimedia productions.

⁹⁸³ Most of the time, this site actually directs the teacher to find a type of document for use in an exercise such as telephone directories, old and new, photographs of people moving, etc. The site is especially strong in environmental history topics.

on the sites). It seems that greater incorporation of museum objects into the lessons would be one place to build more video into the sites as a way of “covering” those subject eras that occurred before the rise of the typewriter, film projector, or camcorder. For example, curators could use videos to capture the use of certain museum objects (or their reproductions). Video clips taken from house museum tours or tours of historic landscapes could also be a possibility.⁹⁸⁴ Three-dimensional imaging of museum objects also carries great potential.⁹⁸⁵ In short, it is possible to introduce more moving image and sound formats into the history teaching Web sites without focusing only on the 20th century.

Almost any item from the past can be considered a primary source. For this reason, it comes as no surprise that 84 primary sources were not classified by the concept analysis instrument. This represents almost 5% of the items analyzed. They represent sources such as sheet music, menus, song lyrics, architectural plans, business directories, recipes, images of gravestones, laboratory notes, and email, among others. These sites include a wide variety of formats and a wider array of types of primary sources. The mix of reproduced images and texts make for visually appealing presentations on the Web, as well as good solid content for the students to work with.

⁹⁸⁴ The author helped with the early planning of one digitization program aimed at providing materials to the schools, which is not analyzed as a part of this research. The Eastern North Carolina Digital Library created by Joyner Library at East Carolina University includes a number of video clips used to illustrate museum objects. These clips were created as a form of “illustration” for social studies classrooms. See <http://digital.lib.ecu.edu/historyfiction/> To see the clips, choose the “artifacts” tab on the home page.

⁹⁸⁵ Mark Christal, “School-Museum Partnerships for Culturally Responsive Teaching,” *The Electronic Library* 21 (2003): 435-442. This is based upon Christal’s dissertation, which looked at case studies of, among other things, three-dimensional, virtual reality imaging of museum objects in the schools.

Table 20. Total Primary Sources by Type

Format	Number	Percentage
Manuscript letters	201	11.6
Manuscript Diaries	14	.8
Manuscript Memorandum Book	3	.17
Manuscript 1 st person Reminiscence	37	2.1
Business record	6	.3
Church/religious body record	1	.05
Official Govt. Reports, forms, laws, etc.	203	11.7
Census Record	6	.3
Photographs	542	31.3
Non-photographic images/posters	334	19.3
Maps	43	2.5
Images of 3-D museum objects	39	2.3
Oral History transcript	22	1.3
Oral History Audio	13	.8
Oral history video	0	0
Audio-other	9	.5
Video	17	1.0
Contemporary newspaper/magazine account/pamphlet	137	7.9

Format	Number	Percentage
Political Cartoon	21	1.2
Other	84	4.8
TOTAL	1732	100

As Table 21 shows, only 11 sites included any audiovisual materials as primary sources in the history teaching lessons on the 24 sites investigated (“oral history audio,” “video,” and “audio other”). Almost all of the sites used images in their history teaching exercises, but a surprising few used reproductions of museum objects, an area ripe for greater exploration.

Table 21. Number of Sites with Primary Sources by Type

Primary Source Type	Number of Sites with a Particular Primary Source
Manuscript letters	11
Manuscript Diaries	6
Manuscript Memorandum Book	1
Manuscript 1 st person Reminiscence	9
Business record	2
Church/religious body record	1
Official Govt. Reports, forms, laws, etc.	13

Primary Source Type	Number of Sites with a Particular Primary Source
Census Record	5
Photographs	17
Non-photographic images/posters	11
Maps	11
Images of 3-D museum objects	8
Oral History transcript	8
Oral History Audio	6
Oral history video	0
Audio-other	2
Video	3
Contemporary newspaper/magazine account/pamphlet	12
Political Cartoon	4
Other	12

Selection of sources to use in teaching exercises is no easy task. There are a number of major issues to keep in mind beyond those of the all-important subject content. Is the material visually appealing? Will the vocabulary used be readily understandable? Does it easily meet the demands of the exercise designed to teach some history thinking skill? Will the topic grab the students' attention? Teachers must also ask themselves if the

various exercises include historical actors with which the students can make a personal connection. While there were numerous primary sources on the various sites being used for illustrative purposes, those sources used in the history thinking exercises consisted primarily of photographs and other images. When there were other “paper-based” originals being presented as a part of these exercises, they tended to be single items, lacking even single exchanges of letters. There were almost no audio-visual materials and surprisingly few museum objects. It seems that these sites could more effectively capture the attention of students, if they were to be a bit more creative in the range of materials selected, or if they supplemented these exercises in photographs and text with audiovisual contextualizations: mini-documentaries, interviews with experts, and videos of demonstration of various museum objects. And while there were numerous images of minorities on the 24 sites, they were not so often present in the materials being used in the teaching exercises. When they did appear in these exercises, the women, children, and ethnic minorities were not very often presented as historical agents, actors in the past. Native Americans and African Americans tended to reside in subject era ghettos of settlement conflict, slavery, and Civil Rights. A person would be hard-pressed to find any Native Americans appearing in the primary sources in these exercises after their “tepee years.”⁹⁸⁶ Still, the primary sources that were used in the exercises investigated were powerful, and it is easy to see that they could capture the attention of a wide range of students.

⁹⁸⁶ I borrow this term from a Native American archivist and PhD student who did not want to refer to “pioneer days” as that did not refer to her people but “others.”

Contextualizing Practices

While inquiry-driven, project-based lessons are the heart of “history thinking” instruction, and primary sources are the lifeblood of that form of pedagogy, the contextualizing practices of those lessons, in a way, supply “the body” of the instruction, a support structure that make these source-based lessons more effective. One of the ways that this support structure does this important work is by providing “curriculum indicators,” a form of metadata that links lessons to specific parts of standard curricula or by stating the ages or “types,” or “levels” of students for which the lessons are designed. A second way that these contextualizing practices do this is by providing explanatory or supplemental materials such as timelines, bibliographies, introductory essays, and brief biographies of individuals related to the lessons. These materials supply the information students might require to be able to think more adductively *and* deductively about the past. One important form of this scaffolding is that material which helps students understand where one specific “piece,” or narrative, or school exercise about the past might fall into a broader history. They bridge the history-thinking exercises that must necessarily portray relatively “narrow” or “local” histories to a “bigger,” more general historical narrative. A third way that these contextualizing materials help make the history thinking lessons more effective is by explaining to students why they might want to build these particular thinking skills. In other words, the contextualizing materials help by showing students how these skills relate to the “doing of history.” As the literature review has shown, it is especially useful for history teaching to have explanatory materials that help demonstrate the nature of the historical process. This would include demonstrations of the links between history as it is presented and the evidence upon which it is based. One way to show this is through reference citations. Finally, the tone of

these contextualizing materials is almost as important as the educational services that they provide. As has been discussed previously, the authoritative tone of many types of history teaching materials, especially textbooks, do little to relate the interpretive, incomplete nature of the subject. They are authoritative. They state both explicitly and implicitly, “This is what happened.” These traditional teaching materials hardly ever engage in metadiscourse, discussing why a particular subject from the past was chosen, how a piece of evidence was interpreted, what was ignored, etc. These types of suggestions are the “cues” provided by the creator of the history to others that show his or her thought processes that undergird the narrative. By drawing attention to these “cues,” students can be helped to understand that a historical narrative is not simply “what happened,” but it is one slice of a great many things that might have been happening as interpreted by an individual or individuals who have explored the incomplete and often contradictory tea leaves of the past. This research analyzes the 24 online history teaching sites to determine how they incorporate some of these contextualizing processes.

Curriculum Indicators

Of the 24 history teaching sites investigated, eleven tied their primary source-based lessons to standard courses of study. For example, Maine Memory links each lesson to information literacy standards, history standards, and reading and writing standards. The Digital Library of Georgia notes that a particular lesson meets “Social Studies Skill 5” and “History Skill 8.” Volunteer Voices tags its lessons with nomenclature such as “5.5.12-Understand policies in the post-WWII period. 1. Describe the struggle for racial equality. 2. Explain Brown v. Board of Education and its

importance to the Civil Rights Movement. 3. Explain the contributions of Civil Rights leaders such as Martin Luther King, Jr.” And the Nebraska Western Trails site is equally specific with its designators: “12.1.11 Students will demonstrate historical research and geographical skills by identifying, analyzing, and interpreting primary and secondary sources and artifacts; validating sources and to their authenticity credibility, and possible bias,” but while this numbers seems so very specific, the number of thinking skills covered by this particular designator is so broad that it could just as easily have said, ‘history,’ although the emphasis *can* be weaseled out of it. The lesson apparently is supposed to teach the unreliability of historical records. Another designator from the Nebraska Western Trails site: “12.3.17 Students will develop skills for historical analysis, such as the ability to analyze documents, records, and data such as artifacts, diaries, letters, photographs, journals, newspapers, and historical accounts; evaluate the authenticity, authority, and credibility of sources.” The difference between “12.1.11” and “12.3.17,” it seems, would take some divining. This site also links each lesson to the (previous) AASL/AECT information literacy standards.⁹⁸⁷ (While it is possible to cross-walk many of the history thinking skills identified by cognitive and educational

⁹⁸⁷ The American Association of School Librarians and the Association for Educational Communications and Technology maintain information literacy standards for the schools. They changed in 2009. One of the major concerns of these information literacy standards is how well students can evaluate information and information sources. In one demonstration of the “convergence” of history thinking with other information literacy skills, Ben Walsh argues that greater history thinking skills will help students appraise information found in so many of the current “non-vetted” information sources. Ben Walsh, “Stories and Their Sources: The Need for Historical Thinking in the Information Age,” *Teaching History* (December 2008): 4-9.

psychologists over the last thirty years to various AASL/AECT information literacy skills, this mapping is not perfect.)⁹⁸⁸

Where the sites do not link the lessons to specific standard courses of study, they often specify age designations. In some instances, these age designations are rather broad or vague (such as the Idaho site's designator "upper primary grades"), and one wonders how a lesson designed to engage a sixth grader can also capture the interest of a ninth grader. Such "stretches" are possible, of course, knowing that teachers almost always modify lesson plans, suggested activities, and other teaching materials to meet the needs of their own classrooms, but these designations do beg the question: is it the historical subject matter that makes the content appropriate for a certain age group or is it the cognitive development required to perform the activities assigned to the lesson, or is it—most likely—a bit of both? The sites that do "tag" their lessons with age range designators do not provide these sorts of indications.⁹⁸⁹

Despite the fact that almost half of the sites investigated provide links to specific curricular standards, and despite the fact that a high percentage of those sites do provide these linkages in a very detailed manner with multiple objectives noted, etc., the online history teaching activities investigated by this research do not seem to be organized in

⁹⁸⁸ This research looks at all history thinking lessons provided by these 24 sites. It does not look specifically at those designed only for elementary classes or only at those designed for secondary classes. This research is a first step. It attempts to define the landscape, notice major trends, and provide guidance to digitizers among cultural caretaker institutions. The author does recognize that there are major differences between the cognitive development of young children and adolescents and that the pedagogy required to meet each group's needs is quite different. Still, each of the history thinking skills can be taught at a various levels of cognitive development.

⁹⁸⁹ The Wisconsin Historical Society's site allows users to divide lessons between "elementary" and "secondary." It also allows them to keyword search the lessons and search by topic: "progressive era," "explorers," etc.

any way that would suggest that the sites expect teachers to search for and actually select and use the lessons presented based upon these sets of learning standards—no matter how finely crafted they might have been. For example, no site investigated provided a mechanism to search by curricular standards.⁹⁹⁰ A teacher could not approach any of the 24 sites explored with the intention of teaching Social Studies III.33.+4.12b.ii and easily find a lesson. Nor could he or she search for a lesson that might teach bias in primary sources, nor could he or she find a lesson that demonstrates conflicting interpretations of evidence. Despite the fact that it is obvious that the creators of the sites understand that primary source-based activities are important to history teaching and that inquiry-driven activities are effective in teaching higher order thinking, there was no indication on any of the sites investigated which history thinking skill or skills might be emphasized by which particular lessons. Instead, lessons on the sites investigated tended to be arranged by topic or chronologically. Once one of these topically or chronologically arranged lessons is “clicked upon,” or “opened,” the standard or standards appear at the top of the page or lesson. All of this seems to suggest that the sites are designed to convey historical content (the narrative), and that the “primary source activities” are adjuncts. Yet, a very high percentage of the sites are designated as “primary source lessons,” or “teaching with primary sources,” etc. This leaves one to ask, “What is it exactly that these sites believe primary source lessons are designed to teach primarily?” It appears that these sites bestow upon not only the primary sources, but also the primary source lessons, themselves, the time-honored role of “illustration to the historical narrative.”

⁹⁹⁰ It should be noted that at least one collaborative digitization program Web site does allow its primary source material to be searched by curriculum designators. Kansas Memory, which was not one of the 24 sites investigated by this research, assigns, as a form of metadata, this designation in a database of digitized primary sources. These designators describe the sources not the activities. There were no specific history teaching activities presented by this site.

Explanatory Materials

A second way that contextualizing practices contribute to the effectiveness of online history teaching sites is through the provision of explanatory or supplemental materials for teachers, as well as students. Since almost all of these online history teaching sites have as their primary audience educators who are expected to re-purpose the presented materials to make them more appropriate for particular sets of students, almost all of the contextualizing material found on the sites seems to have been created primarily for teachers and not students. Indeed, only the Learn California site has a “for kids” section located in the “lesson area” of the site. (Some state archives and collaborative digitization programs sites, such as those of the historical societies of Ohio and Wisconsin, do maintain children’s resources separately from their teaching sites.⁹⁹¹) That having been noted, this type of explanatory material for teachers found on the sites investigated include suggestions for teaching methods and examples of discussion questions, assessment activities, and supplemental, “background” information concerning the subject matter of the lesson. Explanatory materials for students found on the sites investigated include items such as timelines, bibliographies, introductory essays, glossaries, and brief biographies of individuals somehow related to the lessons. All of the

⁹⁹¹ See the Wisconsin Historical Society’s “Just for Fun” online resource at <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/kids/> and the Ohio Historical Society’s “Ohio Kids” page at <http://www.ohiohistory.org/portal/ohiokids-p.html> North Dakota has a kids podcast in development: “Listen to kids describe the “cool things” that North Dakota has to offer. From history, places to visit, and things in between, these unique perspectives offer an invaluable insight into the rich resources worth exploring in North Dakota.” State Historical Society of North Dakota, “For Students and Families,” viewed on April 10, 2010 at <http://history.nd.gov/studentsfamilies.html>

sites offered some form of this type of contextualizing material, but they ranged greatly in number, type, and depth of materials.

As a simple, foundational measure of contextualization for educators, each of the 24 sites was investigated to determine, if it provided some sort of guidance to teachers concerning the difference between primary and secondary sources. (Such an explanation could be thought of as a form of “contextualizing canary” in the pedagogical mines.) Six of the 24 sites investigated carried this kind of explanatory material; however, there was quite a range in the content provided by these six presentations even on this one topic.

The South Dakota State Historical Society devotes two sentences to its explanation:

“Primary sources are first hand materials written at a specific time and concerning a specific topic in history. Students can learn about historical events from the individuals who lived them.”⁹⁹² The Ohio Historical Society’s site offers a three-sentence paragraph on the topic: “Primary source documents provide unique opportunities for the past to be explored. Eyewitness accounts provide a richer and more descriptive explanation of the past that cannot be reproduced in textbooks. By allowing students to examine primary sources, students can begin to see history as more than a subject with just dates and names that are to be memorized for the next test and then quickly forgotten.”⁹⁹³

Connecticut History Online and Tennessee’s Volunteer Voices each offer a page-long explanation. (See Appendices N and O.) Drawing upon the published standards of the American Historical Association, the Organization of American Historians, the National

⁹⁹² South Dakota State Historical Society, “Teaching with Primary Sources,” viewed March 10, 2010 at <http://history.sd.gov/Archives/education/primarysources/index.aspx>

⁹⁹³ Ohio Historical Society, “Primary Sources,” viewed on March 15, 2010 at <http://www.ohiohistoryteachers.org/02/04/index.shtml#definitions>

Council for History Education, the National History Standards and state standards for Wisconsin and California, the Wisconsin Historical Society offers a book, *Thinking Like a Historian*, on the topic (that is not made available online but can be ordered) and an instructional video, which is streamed off the site.⁹⁹⁴ Wisconsin's book, with the "Thinking Like a Historian Framework" forming its pedagogical philosophy, offers practical examples, lessons, and classroom activities, in addition to an explanation of sources, pedagogical techniques, etc. The associated video also provides examples of how teachers at different grade levels have implemented the "Thinking Like a Historian Framework" into their own classrooms. In a similarly in-depth approach to explaining primary sources and their use in teaching to educators, the Collaborative Digitization Program, located in Colorado, maintains thirteen online professional development modules.⁹⁹⁵ These modules include "Introduction to Primary Source Materials;" "Ordeal by Cheques;" "Assessing the Reliability of Primary Source Materials;" "Locating Primary Source Materials;" "Searching the Heritage Colorado Database;" "Searching the Library of Congress American Memory;" "Using Primary Sources with Students;" "Copyright Issues and Citing Sources;" "Using Photos and Prints with Students;" "Using Maps with Students;" "Using Documents with Students;" "Using Material Culture with Students;" and "Creating Great Lessons Using Primary Source Materials- But Avoiding the Pitfalls."

⁹⁹⁴ Nikki Mandell and Bobbie Malone, *Thinking Like a Historian* (Madison, WI: Wisconsin Historical Society, Press, 2007).

⁹⁹⁵ BCR, Collaborative Digitization Program, "Professional Development Courses," viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://www.bcr.org/dps/cdp/archive/teachertb/professional-development/courses/index.html>

A number of the sites (such as the Nebraska Western Trails, the Alabama Department of Archives and History's site, and the New Jersey Digital Highway) do not provide their own resources to help explain the use of primary sources in the classroom. They do, however, draw the attention of their users to these types of resources that have been created by other institutions. For example, the New Jersey Digital Highway carries a "links page" for teachers that includes the National Archives and Records Administration's teacher resources, the Oregon Historical Society's "Oregon History Project-Teaching with Primary Sources" site, an article from an online journal about the subject, and the online materials concerning primary sources created by the Reference and User Services Association (RUSA), a division of the American Library Association.⁹⁹⁶ One pedagogical resource for teachers often cited and/or linked to by these sites is the Library of Congress' Learning Page "Using Primary Sources in the Classroom."⁹⁹⁷ This Web resource offers a wide range of useful information and teaching tools, from classroom materials (model lesson plans and activities) to any number of professional development opportunities. It should be noted that all of the sites, whether they include aids to teachers to help explain primary sources and their uses in the

⁹⁹⁶ Oregon Historical Society, Oregon History Project, Teaching with Primary Sources viewed on March 10, 2010 at http://www.ohs.org/education/oregonhistory/learning_center/dspResource.cfm?resource_ID=0006F349-C32D-1E3E-9CB580B05272FE9F. The Oregon Historical Society's site is not described by this research as it lacked required "for educators" designation off the home page. Nena Bloom and Cynthia Stout, "Using Digitized Primary Source Material in the Classroom: A Colorado Case Study," *First Monday* 10 (June 2005) viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/1247/1167>. This issue of *First Monday* carries the articles taken from papers delivered at the IMLS-sponsored WebWise Conference. This particular conference was focused on libraries and museum digital activities in support of education. RUSA, "Using Primary Sources," viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://www.ala.org/ala/mgrps/divs/rusa/sections/history/resources/pubs/usingprimarysources/index.cfm>

⁹⁹⁷ Library of Congress, "Using Primary Sources," viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/>

classroom or not, seem to assume that teachers already know what primary sources are and why they are used in the teaching of history.

As the extended literature review points out, the Socratic Method has long been used by constructivist educators. This questioning/discussion technique is particularly useful in framing inquiry-driven learning activities such as those used to teach history thinking skills. Since this is the case, providing teachers with examples of good discussions topics and questions would probably be worthwhile for online history teaching sites. Nine of the 24 sites investigated provide some form of “guided discussion questions” to help teachers lead their classrooms in thinking about a specific historic event or issue. As with other attributes of the sites investigated, there is a range in the number of questions and what they tend to emphasize. Sometimes the list of questions is brief and the questions, themselves, (in a traditional turn) seem to be constructed to make sure that the students have paid attention to the content related by the sources (the “who, what, when and where”). A few of the sites use the discussion question examples to draw the students’ attention to the defining attributes of sources (building epistemology and evidence skills). One example of this would be the South Carolina Digital Library, which holds a number of clips from documentary film and audio recordings. Some of the accompanying discussion questions on this site include “How is this a documentary film? Who or what is being documented? And why? (Or, why do you think this is so?) Is this really newsworthy? Why or why not? Would it be considered newsworthy today? Connecticut History Online provides another example of this form of questioning:

Who is in the picture? Are there adults or only children? Is there only one child, or are there many? What seems to be the relationship between the

people in the photograph? What are the children wearing? What is the setting of the photograph? Is it a city? The country? Inside? Outside? What can you see in the background? What activities are going on?⁹⁹⁸

In a few instances, the discussion questions provided by the sites are quite extensive, and have the potential of launching the students into higher levels of critical thought and history thinking. This was certainly the case with the Missouri Digital Initiative and the New Jersey Digital Highway. (See Appendices P and Q for examples from the Missouri and New Jersey sites.) Oddly enough, there were no examples of discussion questions on the sites investigated that led the students into an exploration of the historical enterprise, itself. One can easily imagine such a set of questions: “What is history? Why do people do history? How do we know that the history we read is what really happened? Does it matter if what we read about the past is accurate or not? What can we do to figure out which is more accurate, if we read two histories about one event that do not agree?” Such lines of inquiry are, perhaps, of particular import since research has shown that knowledge of the nature of history and historical research is essential not only to being able to “do history” well (to perform historical research), but also to be able to thoroughly understand histories that might be read. (It has also been shown that this understanding is essential if one is to teach history in a way that develops those important history thinking skills.)

One of the most difficult aspects of teaching history thinking is finding a way to assess those particular skills in an efficient and objective way. As the extended literature

⁹⁹⁸ Connecticut History Online, “125 Years of Childhood: Comparing and Contrasting the Lives of Children in Connecticut,” viewed on March 10, 2010 at http://www.cthistoryonline.org/cdm-cho/cho/classrooms/classrm_lessplan_childhd.html

review has demonstrated, the need to quickly and objectively “score papers” and “grade tests” has long been an important driver in what actually occurs in the history classroom. It is fairly easy to give multiple choice tests designed to measure the memorized subject knowledge of the past: names, dates, etc.; it is a little more difficult to assign exams constructed out of essay questions, but asking students on a regular basis to demonstrate that they know history by doing a bit of history is simply not practical for most classroom situations. Put simply, assessment is a challenge for those seeking to teach history beyond the memorization of names and dates. Therefore, any guidance provided to teachers in the assessment of history thinking would, it would seem, be a most welcomed feature of history teaching sites—especially those sites that have inquiry-driven activities in primary sources at their core. Eleven of the 24 sites investigated offered some sort of assessment guidance to teachers, although individual assessment tools/resources often did not accompany each and every lesson on the 24 sites. That having been said, few, if any of the suggested assessment methods that did appear on the sites seemed to be designed to measure history thinking. Instead, they were more often assessments of clear and complete writing, the ability to follow directions, and organizational skill, as well as the ability to remember subject data. In more than a few instances, the objectives for a lesson might include “analysis of historical evidence,” or some other history thinking-related skill, but the assessment methodology was not designed so that it could actually evaluate to what extent a student had developed this particular skill. One good example of this situation comes from the Collaborative Digitization Program site, which asks students to write a letter to the editor of one of the historic Colorado newspapers that they have been reading. The “Assessment of Learning” states that the students will “use the style and

vocabulary of the early 1900s as they state their opinion of the [Ludlow] massacre and its aftermath. Advanced students may wish to research other mine disasters in the U.S. Teachers may direct them to write a letter to the editor of one of the newspapers that reported on the event.” And that is where the assessment guide ends. What might constitute an exemplary piece of work in these letters? What crucial factors should the teacher seek to find and evaluate in the student letters to the editors? This is an assignment designed to teach historical empathy (“Style and vocabulary of the early 1900s”). Shouldn’t the teacher look for evidence that the student has attempted to see the past through the eyes of a person from that past? In another lesson from the same site, students are expected to cut and paste a historic image about agricultural workers in Weld County into a word document and write a paragraph about what they have learned about this image. They are then to give a class presentation about ten to twelve related images. This is a solid, standard method of teaching historical research skills. But again, even though there is a section in this assignment marked “assessment,” there are no guides to help measure student learning in historical research. Similarly, the Maine Memory Network uses social learning tools such as “Group Brag Sheets” in its assessments, but in an assignment designed to teach point of view in primary sources, the site suggests that students should be evaluated based upon “effort, clarity, and accuracy in the journal entry they complete.” There are no criteria given to help teachers measure how well students understand the concept of “point of view.” The Nebraska Western Trails site provides highly detailed grading rubrics for a number of its lessons. (See Appendix R. Assessment Rubric Example from Nebraska Western Trails. This rubric accompanies an assignment that asks students to analyze historic photos of billboards.) But, again, these highly

detailed rubrics aren't measuring history thinking. Another example: in an assignment designed apparently to provide students with subject knowledge about pioneers migrating west while building their historical empathy with these individuals, students are asked to write their own journal. Using a few primary source journals as guides, they are to create these journals as if they, too, are nineteenth-century pioneers travelling west. The "journals rubric" for this assignment is all about clear writing, following directions, etc. There are no indicators included to cover historical analysis, historical empathy, etc. On another Nebraska digitization site, Nebraska Memories, the assessment activities provided seem to match the topics, but there are hardly any specific measures provided in the assessment methodology. For example, the assessment section for one lesson designed to help students understand that "music can, and has been used as propaganda to inspire the citizens of the United States to support a government policy of engaging in war" states:

Assessment of this lesson is entirely up to the discretion of the individual instructor. It is recommended that a variety of assessment tools be used in order to allow students to demonstrate understanding. For example, have students (individually or in small groups) write a song that has a patriotic (in favor of or opposed to policy) theme and perform it in class.⁹⁹⁹

But then, the site gives no advice on how to "grade" these patriotic songs. What about these songs might show that the students understand propaganda? Emotional imagery? The use of scapegoats and identification of adversaries? To its credit, Volunteer Voices

⁹⁹⁹ Nebraska Memories, "America, It's Up to You" lesson viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://www.memories.ne.gov/cdm4/america.pdf>

holds a wide variety of suggested assessments for its individual lessons, but these can range from the extremely vague (“teacher created rubric”) to the highly traditional:

Students will be evaluated by use of a test. There will be at least one question on a chapter test about Yellow Journalism and the explosion of The Battleship Maine. The test will be given after an intensive study of the chapter of the United States History textbook that includes the study of The Spanish American War. In addition to learning more about this time period it would be my hope that the students would enjoy such a project.¹⁰⁰⁰

In the same vein, the sites of the historical societies of Ohio and North Dakota also use subject content-focused, short-answer worksheets as their primary form of assessment. Again, on the Volunteer Voices site (as on most of the others), one can often see the foundation for the assessment of a particular history thinking skill, but then some crucial aspect of that assessment goes missing—usually the criteria being evaluated and delineation of “levels of mastery.” For example, in an assignment about the Nineteenth Amendment on the Volunteer Voices site, students are assessed based upon “the successful completion of the letter to Harry’s mother (based on use of the parts of the friendly letter as well as the response concerning the outcome of the amendment).”¹⁰⁰¹ But there is no other guidance given to teachers concerning exactly what about this letter should be assessed. In short, too often, evaluation and assessment just seem to be “all over the place” on the history teaching sites investigated. As the previous examples

¹⁰⁰⁰ Volunteer Voices, “The Spanish American War” lesson viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://volunteervoices.org/educators/lesson-plans/SpanishAmericanWarLesson.pdf>

¹⁰⁰¹ “Harry” here would be “Harry Burns” who cast the deciding vote in the Tennessee House for the Nineteenth Amendment. He followed the advice of his mother who had written to him to be a good boy and vote for suffrage.

demonstrate, it appears that assessment of history thinking continues to remain a difficulty for the developers of history teaching Web sites, if not for history teachers, themselves.

Contextualizing materials targeting students included items such as the Library of Virginia, Ohio Historical Society, and Florida Memory's use of timelines. These chronological explanatory tools, however, tended to be relegated within individual lessons. Few of the sites investigated used timelines to link together the individual lessons found on a site with an "over-riding" or "umbrella" timeline covering all of the lessons on the site; neither did the sites provide a timeline that connected events or topics of local, state, or American history with a broader representation of the past.¹⁰⁰² For example, a timeline could tie historical events under study to one state's history or to a timeline of United States history, or to world history, or to all three.¹⁰⁰³

A number of the sites provided the students with vocabulary guides or glossaries. This surely proves useful for those lessons that include primary sources replete with archaic words and word usage. In some instances, the lessons included specialized vocabularies such as the one accompanying the mock courtroom activities detailed on the

¹⁰⁰² One noted exception was the timeline provided by the Library of Virginia. As this site states, "Use our Virginia Chronology to explore the hallmarks of over 400 years of Virginia's past, while putting national events in a Virginia context as you study history, social studies, or literature. Compiled by members of the Library's staff, it is designed to give users a brief overview of the key events and turning points, whether political, economic, cultural, or social, that make Virginia what it is today." Another notable exception is the site of the State Historical Society of Iowa, which includes a 15-foot print version of a timeline of Iowa history. (Not online!) "The timeline delineates Iowa events and leaves space for locally significant historical events to be recorded directly onto its laminated surface. In addition, the timeline includes important world and national events that can serve as benchmarks for placing Iowa events in historical context." From the introduction to *Prairie Voices* viewed on March 10, 2010 at <http://www.uni.edu/iowaonline/prairievoices/images/Introduction.pdf>

¹⁰⁰³ There are numerous and wide ranging (in quality and topics/geography covered) timeline tools on the Web.

Learn California site. A number of sites also provided brief biographies of individuals appearing in the lessons and some had quick “background information” sections, designed to quickly explain institutions, events, etc. mentioned in the lessons. (For one example, see Appendix S. Example of “[Student] Background Information” from Learn California.) Perhaps most helpful to students are the contextualizing essays that help situate the individual topic being discussed in the “stream of history.” Reminiscent of textbooks in tone and content, these essays explain in a great many instances the *significance* of the topic under discussion, the individuals or forces that acted as *historical agents* in the activity or issue under study, the *change or continuity* that occurred as a result, and the *progress and/or decline* experienced by institutions, individuals, groups, or locations as a result. In other words, they are brief histories that have made use of the *epistemology and evidence, empathy and moral judgment, and narrative building* skills of their creators. The essays located on the sites of the historical societies of Wisconsin and Ohio, as well as that of Florida Memory, are especially thorough in this regard. (See the Sample Lessons section of this document for portions of some of these contextualizing essays.)

Relationship to Textbooks as “Contextualizers”

Just as the contextualizing essays help students understand where one specific “piece,” or narrative, or school exercise about the past might fall into a broader history, some of the history teaching sites use an even more traditional technique to bridge their history-thinking exercises (that must necessarily portray relatively “narrow” or “local” histories) to a “bigger,” more general historical narrative. That traditional technique

would be the use of history textbooks. In other words, a number of the sites investigated directly tie their specific exercises to content presented in traditional texts. State historical societies have long been publishers of state history textbooks, and a number of the sites investigated were created originally as supplementary sites to some of these works. For example, Maine Memory's online history teaching site was made possible through a partnership between the Maine Historical Society and the University of Maine Press and complements *Finding Katahdin: an Exploration of Maine's Past*, a comprehensive Maine Studies text book developed and published by the University of Maine Press for middle and high school teachers and students.¹⁰⁰⁴ Much of Montana's online history teaching site is a companion to the textbook *Montana: Stories of the Land*, which is actually presented online in PDF format.¹⁰⁰⁵ Each chapter of this text links to various Web exhibits, streaming audio, video, and other material. The site makes good illustrative use of primary sources, but it does not include that many inquiry-based exercises using those sources. (Many of the primary source documents used in inquiry activities on this particular site, however, come from the history *Not In Precious Metals Alone: a Manuscript History of Montana*, which apparently was a publication of the society as part of its observance of the Bicentennial of the United States.¹⁰⁰⁶) Similarly, the State Historical Society of North Dakota's online history teaching site was developed to

¹⁰⁰⁴ Amy Hassinger, *Finding Katahdin: An Exploration of Maine's Past* (Orono, ME: University of Maine Press, 2001).

¹⁰⁰⁵ David Walter, Krysl Holmes, and Susan C. Dailey, *Montana: Stories of the Land* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 2008).

¹⁰⁰⁶ Montana Historical Society Staff, *Not In Precious Metals Alone A Manuscript History of Montana* (Helena, MT: Montana Historical Society Press, 1976) viewed on April 10, 2010 at <http://cdm103401.cdmhost.com/u/?p267301coll1,638>

accompany *North Dakota: Readings about the Northern Plains State*, a collaborative effort of the State Historical Society of North Dakota and the North Dakota Center for Distance Education.¹⁰⁰⁷ Designed for the high school student, this textbook draws upon one hundred years of articles first published in the historical society's *North Dakota: Journal of the Northern Plains* to present an overview of that state's history. The State Historical Society of Iowa's online history teaching site is actually a Web version of *Prairie Voices: the Iowa Heritage Curriculum*.¹⁰⁰⁸ While content-rich, these sites too often appear to be print textbooks simply pasted onto a computer screen. They do not take full advantage of all of the opportunities provided by digital technologies. Granted, some of their static nature may be due to a consideration of the needs of their potential users, a high percentage of whom might not have robust connections to the Internet. The expectation of these sites certainly appears to be that their users will be downloading and printing the various lessons and then using them in their print forms. They are, perhaps, a first step in the long-discussed approach of the "electronic textbook."¹⁰⁰⁹

Where there is not a specific textbook mentioned on the sites, there often appears to be an implicit understanding that there is a textbook in use somewhere. For example, none of the sites attempts to present an "overriding," comprehensive historical narrative

¹⁰⁰⁷ State Historical Society of North Dakota, *Dakota: Readings about the Northern Plains State* (Bismark, ND: State Historical Society of North Dakota, 2008).

¹⁰⁰⁸ State Historical Society of Iowa, *Prairie Voices: The Iowa Heritage Curriculum* (Des Moines, IA: State Historical Society of Iowa, 2004).

¹⁰⁰⁹ Learn NC has created a North Carolina online history textbook, *North Carolina History, a Digital Textbook*. See this textbook at <http://www.learnnc.org/nchistory/> For a brief overview of the project, see Dan Lewandowski, "Learn NC Presents North Carolina's First Digital History Textbook," viewed on April 10, 2010 at <http://www.learnnc.org/nchistory/> The site is well-written and replete with a wide range of primary sources. The number of inquiry-driven projects could be increased, but the site is modular and it can be edited, added to, etc., quite easily.

for one state or one subject. As has been shown previously, few attempt to provide primary sources exercises in a “chronologically comprehensive” manner or attempt to “cover” a range of important subject-eras. (A person could not link together the various accompanying contextualizing essays on most of the sites to create a textbook.) Whether they are explicitly tied to a published textbook or not, it is clear that the online history teaching sites investigated are understood by their creators and users to be supplemental to other teaching resources and strategies.

Nature of History

As the developers of Great Britain’s Schools Council 13-16 History Project discussed earlier discovered, one of the most important things an educator can do to effectively teach history thinking skills is to instill in the students an understanding of history as a way of knowing as opposed to simply being a bundle of facts. As a result, the very first course encountered by students in the Schools Council 13-16 History Project’s curriculum was designed to teach the nature of history as an interaction with evidence from the past in order to create a narrative for greater understanding of some issue. The Schools Council 13-16 History Project attempted to build this understanding in students by introducing them to “historical mysteries.” The students were expected to come up with their own “solutions” to these mysteries, and as they did so, the teachers were expected to show the students that historians are a bit like detectives reading clues from the past. The “student detectives” were expected to discover that they were, in actuality, “student historians.” As the extended literature review shows, this particular way of explaining the nature of history has taken on a life of its own. There are a wide range of

resources, including online sites, that use some variation on the “detective theme” to introduce rising young history “Sherlocks” and “Nancy Drews” to the ways of the historian. Surprisingly, very few of the sites investigated make use of this well-worn pedagogical metaphor. (The Montana site calls its photo investigation section “History’s Mysteries,” but then doesn’t take this line of explanation much beyond the title of the site.) For that matter, not one single site explored by this research attempts to explain to the student why one might want to do history, what history is for, or the nature of the historical process. (Interestingly enough, a number of sites include a “Let’s be an archeologist”-type lesson. These archeologist lessons do demonstrate inquiry into archeological artifacts, as well as the processes used by archeologists, and come close to the kind of beginning explanations one would expect to see for history and historians.¹⁰¹⁰) Even those sites that teach about the nature of sources and go to great lengths and include numerous lessons concerning the reading of evidence, continuity and change, historical empathy, etc., don’t take the next step to explain why it might be useful to build these kinds of skills. They have lessons that explore bias in primary sources; teach students to identify change in landscapes, costumes, or the built environment; build students’ historic empathy skills through journal and letter writing—but then they rarely ever show these

¹⁰¹⁰ For example, Maine Memory Network’s “Be an Archeologist” lesson: “Do you have the skills it takes to be an archaeologist? Examine some of the items found at the Turner Farm Site on North Haven Island, and answer the following questions to find out. Be thoughtful and thorough. Once you are finished, ask your teacher for the answers from a professional archaeologist. 1. Describe the object in detail. What shape and size is it? What distinctive features does it have (i.e. holes, carved designs, etc.)? What material is it made of? 2. How do you think this object was made? Describe in as much detail as you can. 3. How do you think the object was used? Support your educated guess with reasons,” etc. Maine Memory Network, “Be an Archeologist” viewed on April 10, 2010 at http://www.mainememory.net/pdf_files/FK-MMN-1-1.pdf For an interesting case study along these lines, see David Cooper, “A Virtual Dig—Joining Archeology and Fiction to Promote Critical and Historical Thinking,” *Social Studies* 94 (March/April 2003): 69.

students how these particular skills can be joined together to “do history.” This is like learning to read notes on a musical scale, mastering the correct fingering of an instrument, but never actually playing music for oneself. It would be as if a sports team practiced catching, throwing, and batting, but never took the field against another squad in a full-out game. What band teacher or coach could get away with that?

This serious oversight by the online history teaching sites investigated might be due to the fact that their creators expect teachers to make these sorts of connections between the lessons and then present the nature of history as a part of their own contextualization of the lessons. The creators of the 24 sites investigated could easily assume that these types of activities would be something that the teacher might necessarily accomplish without the support of the online resources. After all, one can imagine the site creators responding, “These 24 online history teaching resources can’t meet every need of every history teacher.” Unfortunately, as the extended literature review has noted, few teachers incorporate “nature of history” lessons into their classrooms unless they are shown how and are given the resources to help them do it. The online history teaching sites are in a strong position to provide just these sorts of resources and instruction—to the teachers, as well as their students.

Metadiscourse

One of the best ways to impart the nature of history is to drop its omniscient, third-person delivery and to replace those all-knowing pronouncements with a narrative that shows the author making decisions about the analysis of evidence, what “stories” to tell, what to leave out, and how these decisions might be part of an on-going “conversation” with other individuals attempting to craft similar creations. Textbooks

hardly ever break the “third wall” of their third-person, omniscient delivery. Their authors don’t enter into direct conversations with their audiences; their authors don’t speak from their stages with their actors. Instead, they call down from the catwalk with the booming voice of a stage manager of sorts, using the same tone with which they might ask cell phones to be turned off. As has been noted earlier, one almost never reads the following phrases in a textbook: “while some believe otherwise,” “may have,” “could perhaps be,” or “may never know for certain.” Because of this, more than a handful of researchers in history education have faulted history textbooks for delivering a warped picture of the nature of the historical enterprise. It would be unfortunate to transfer this particular weakness of traditional history teaching tools to their online counterparts.

The 24 sites were investigated for any evidence of metadiscourse in their contextualizing materials, as well as the lessons, themselves. There was no phrasing in the contextualizing material that suggested any doubt on the part of those presenting the lessons. There were no “may have been,” “thought to be,” or “may never know.” Even in the materials designed for teachers, there was no discussion found to explain why some topics were chosen over others, or why some primary sources were selected when so many others could have been used in their place. There is little more than the curriculum indicators and “teaching objectives” listed to suggest why certain inquiry-driven or problem-solving activities are being presented. The contextualizing materials could have come straight from almost any history textbook. Across all of the sites, the tone was in the third person, and they were as omniscient as any pronouncement raining down from on high. There were a number of sites that listed authors for the lesson plans and contextualizing essays, and the author’s names on the documents were as close as

anything came on any of the sites to indicate that the materials were the interpretation of an individual or group.

There were, however, a few lessons scattered across the sites that indicated that historians can disagree about history, that history is not just one unrelated event after another—fact, fact, fact without interpretation. Most memorable were lessons on the Wisconsin Historical Society’s site which drew the students’ attention to various interpretations of historical events made by different textbooks. Along these same lines, the Montana Historical Society presents the audio of an interview with Blackfeet educator Linda Juneau as she presents her “perspective” on the fur trade and the “holy war” over the beaver. This may be the only instance on any of the 24 sites where a historian or an educator is said to have a “perspective” on some issue of the past, rather than simply imparting what happened in the past.¹⁰¹¹ It is interesting to note that this “perspective” is identified with a minority educator presenting the past from a non-hegemonic perspective. This same site later provides evidence to the students that there can be a debate about history and historical evidence, and again, this debate includes a Native American “perspective.” In a lesson titled, “People of the Dog Days,” students are invited to think about how people in the present know what happened in Montana before the arrival of the Europeans and their cultural practice of written record keeping. Students are asked to consider the differences between written and oral traditions, and as a part of

¹⁰¹¹ Montana Historical Society, “Beaver, Bison, and Black Robes: Montana’s Fur Trade 1800-1860” lesson, viewed on April 15, 2010 at <http://montanahistoricalsociety.org/education/textbook/Chapter5/Chapter5.asp>

this exploration, they can listen to “Harvard-educated Native language specialist Darrell Kipp talk about the debate between written and oral traditions.”¹⁰¹²

Just as discussions regarding the differences between primary and secondary sources were used earlier in this work as a measure of the extent of “explanatory materials” on the sites being investigated, the use of citations was explored across the 24 sites to determine a “base level” of metadiscourse. Reference citations are the scholar’s tool. (And footnotes, especially, are the tool of historians. As described in the literature review, they have been shown to read in their own professional manner, “sourcing the narrative” as they proceed. For this reason, it is handy for historians to have the citations at the bottom of the page, close to the author’s assertions.) In their most standard use, citations illustrate the relationship between the evidence and the conclusions drawn from that evidence. This is, arguably, the most basic form of historical metadiscourse. With reference citations, the historian is stating, “this is why I am saying what I am saying.” But, the dialogue, the metadiscourse of the citation, does not stop there, for it is often in the citations that decisions about selection are revealed, and it is here that ongoing dialogues with other interpretations are alluded to.

Only one site, Florida Memory, provided citations in the contextualizing essays. At least six other online history teaching sites provided citations for the primary sources

¹⁰¹² Montana Historical Society, “People of the Dog Days” lesson, viewed on April 20, 2010 at <http://www.his.state.mt.us/education/Textbook/Chapter2/Chapter2.asp> Darrell Kipp, a member of the Blackfoot tribe, is a Native American author, historian, and educator and director of the Piegan Institute. In 2004, he joined composer Robert Kapilow to create a large-scale choral and orchestra work for the Lewis and Clark Bicentennial. The work, entitled *Summer Sun, Winter Moon*, was commissioned by the Kansas City Symphony, the Saint Louis Symphony, and the Louisiana Symphony. A documentary of the event aired on public television. There is probably some significance to the fact that the descriptor “Harvard-educated” is used to describe Kipp.

used in their lessons. But this latter use of reference citations is of a different sort than that used to comment upon historical narratives. This latter use of citation seems to be more of a “location designator” (like a “call” or “accession number”) rather than as an indicator of evidence for some narrative being presented. For example, the Ohio Historical Society marked some sources on its site in the following manner: “OHS A/L OVS3507& OVS2500.” Virginia Memory cited some sources as “Virginia: Virginia Convention (1861: Richmond), Records, 1861—1961 (bulk 1861), Accession 40586, State Government Records Collection, Library of Virginia, Richmond, Virginia,” and Learn California cited one photograph used in a lesson as “California State Archives; PUC Formal Complaints, Case 1963 Photos, F3725:5048:#1-26, 3rd Street Tunnel.” The placement of the citation and usage seem to be more for the creators’ of the sites benefit than that of the users. For example, it would appear that these citations would be most helpful in case someone using one of the sites needs a reproduction of one of the sources being presented.

The sites studied certainly indicate that their creators understand the interpretive nature of history. There are enough lessons across enough of the sites investigated to show that these creators also seem to believe that it is important for students to grasp this understanding at some point during their study of history. But, like the female school principal discussed by Sam Wineburg who had been inspired by Laurel Thatcher Ulrich’s *A Midwife’s Tale* to include more women in her own historical creation, they, too, drop the metadiscourse. It was this metadiscourse, which gives Ulrich’s work a significant part of its power. Think what a powerful teaching tool these sites could be, if they, too, included more discussions about the decisions their creators have made. Instead, these

creators do not use metadiscourse in their creations. They return to the tone of the traditional textbook.

What has been presented (curriculum indicators; explanatory materials: discussion guides, assessment aids, timelines, brief biographies, and contextualizing essays for students; the relationship of the online sites to textbooks as bridges to broader historical narratives; nature of history; and the presence of metadiscourse) is only a skin-deep, “quick-pass” investigation of the materials that surround and reinforce the primary source lessons found on the 24 sites in question. These lessons do not stand alone. It could be argued that the context in which they are presented will have a significant impact upon how the individual lessons will be actually implemented in the classroom. For that reason, the importance of these “contextualizing materials” justifies a much more thorough investigation than was presented here. It is hoped, however, that this brief look at these “non-lesson” portions of the online history teaching sites will generate additional dialogue and further investigation along these lines.

Part III: Summation

In a 2005 meta-analysis of Library and Information Science research, Jian Zhang determined that the earliest concept analyses of a particular genre of communication tend to be “landscape studies.”¹⁰¹³ This research certainly follows that pattern. In this initial attempt to describe the “lay of the land” of archives and special collections-sponsored online history teaching sites, this research used David Bruce LaVere’s concept analysis of history textbooks as a model and Peter Seixas’ six elements of history thinking, plus “narrative building,” as its conceptual framework. Fifty four state archives agencies and 55 statewide collaborative digitization program Web sites were initially investigated. Only 38 of those 99 sites had sections designated for the schools and, of those, only 24 had links off of their homepages to lessons that directly incorporated the use of primary sources. Some of the 24 sites investigated have changed since the original analysis. That being the case, this research necessarily represents only a snapshot of these 24 sites as they existed for a brief period of time during the fall of 2009. (A separate investigation into 163 different online resources funded, in part, by grants from the Institute of Museum and Library Services revealed only 24 other sites to have links off of their homepages to educational resources.) It is surprising how few digitization projects/programs have repurposed portions of their online materials for the classroom.

There were 596 lessons on the 24 sites investigated that made use of primary sources. Six of the 24 sites represent approximately 70% of all of the primary source lessons. Of the 596 lessons initially identified, only 328 used primary sources in a way that would develop one of the six history thinking skills as defined by Seixas, plus

¹⁰¹³ Jian Zhang, *Content Analysis of Web Sites from 2000 to 2004: A Thematic Meta-Analysis* (Thesis, Texas A&M University, 2005).

narrative building. Almost all of the other lessons located on these sites used primary sources as illustrative materials for other activities (online exhibits about a particular topic from history, etc.)

Each of the seven history thinking skills was represented at least once among the 328 history thinking lessons, with “epistemology and evidence” being most popular with 181 total lessons. The epistemology and evidence lessons rarely ask students to work with multiple pieces of evidence or contradictory evidence. They also present very few opportunities for students to use epistemology and evidence skills in “open-ended” research in collections of multiple sources. While the number and design of lessons crafted to teach students to “read sources” is laudable, the sites investigated almost never show how these important deductive skills are actually related to the “doing of history.” Instead, the epistemology and evidence lessons tend to emphasize finding information in a source and judging its accuracy.

There were 55 “empathy and moral judgment” lessons found on the 24 sites. Most were designed to help students make a personal connection with the past. There were almost no lessons crafted to help students see history through the eyes of those in the past. As a result, although most of these lessons did a good job in connecting students to history in memorable ways, they did little to combat presentism in the students’ interpretations and understanding. The 27 “continuity and change” lessons were, most often, “spot the differences” exercises with little scaffolding provided to help students use “continuity and change” skills to begin to craft historical hypotheses in attempts to answer why a particular change may have occurred at a particular time. There is quite a cognitive leap between “can you see a difference in these two pictures,” and asking

oneself, “I wonder why this happened,”—the formation of historical research questions. The 59 “narrative building” activities covered a broad range of lessons, but very few of them stressed the relationship between the evidence and the various narratives being crafted by the students. There were almost no lessons presented that covered the “higher order,” adductive skills of “significance,” “progress and decline,” and “historical agency.” In short, precious few lessons attempted to demonstrate the connection between evidence, interpretation of evidence, and a resulting narrative, and there were almost no lessons that explained to students that all of their comparing and contrasting, information seeking, etc., are small pieces of the larger historical enterprise.

“Coverage” has been a long standing concern in America’s history classrooms, but despite this concern, “coverage” of a sweep of the past was not treated consistently across the 24 sites. A number of sites carried more than a few lessons about some subject eras and no lessons about others. Few of the sites investigated had lessons that provided “comprehensive coverage” of American or even the individual state history.¹⁰¹⁴ Only three sites provided lessons that ranged from the pre-colonial era through the 1960s Civil Rights era. For that matter, only three sites had lessons about the Revolutionary War.

Of the 1,691 primary sources directly aligned with lessons seeking to build history thinking skills located on the 24 sites investigated, 561 included representations of women, children, and ethnic minorities. This is actually an “inflated number” as a photograph of a Native American little girl would have accounted for three “tick” marks on the concept analysis instrument (one for being an ethnic minority, one for being a child, and one for being a female.) Women, children, and ethnic minorities are almost

¹⁰¹⁴ There is no such thing as “comprehensive coverage.” This term is used here to denote those treatments of the past that give nods to major historical activities, themes, and individuals across a broad sweep of chronology.

never portrayed as historical agents in these materials. More often than not, if they are an ethnic minority, they are being “acted upon” by other individuals in the past, usually men of European descent. If they are women and children, then they are likely to be in a group photograph. It is likely that this level and type of representation of minorities in the primary sources associated with history thinking skills lessons has consequences for those students who are seeking to make a connection with the past.

Most of the primary sources used by the history thinking lessons are photographs. This is understandable. The Web is largely a visual medium. A little over 90% of all of the primary sources used by these lessons are derived from “paper-based” originals (letters, posters, photographs, newspapers, etc.). Only a little over 4% of the primary sources used by the history thinking lessons investigated are derived from museum objects and audiovisual materials, and most of the audiovisual materials are oral histories. Since these lessons are destined to be used by students who are accustomed to having their online materials move, make sound, and incorporate some level of interactivity, this lack of AV material seems to be a serious oversight.

A brief investigation into the various contextualizing practices of the 24 online history teaching sites found that while a little less than half of the sites used curriculum indicators, none of the sites provided a method by which the lessons could be searched by those indicators. And none of these indicators were “dissected” in a way that would describe the various history thinking skills. Because of this, the curriculum indicators seem to be only a “sideline” to the subject content of the lesson. If they truly are of importance to educators, and educators wish to teach certain lessons, then it is arguable

that the lessons should be accessible by educational standards. Instead, almost all of the sites arranged their material chronologically or topically.

The sites provide a wide range of explanatory materials for use by the teachers and students, although the assessments suggested by the sites for the various lessons hardly ever measured the kind of skills that are actually used when one thinks historically. A lesson could have at its core the building of historical empathy, but the assessment guides would only draw the attention of the teachers to issues of clarity, organization, etc. of the resulting student work products.

The contextualizing materials provided to the students, the “scaffolding,” could be strengthened on most of the sites. Greater use of or more links to external biographical dictionaries, glossaries, maps, etc. would add substantially to the students’ learning experiences. (Of course, most of the sites were not designed for direct use by students but for teachers who, it is assumed, would be re-purposing most of these exercises for their own classrooms.) If the sites were companions to textbooks, then they had a ready connection between the individual, in-depth inquiry-based learning activities and a broader historical narrative. Unfortunately, most of the sites lacked this explicit connection, although most of the sites seemed to imply that they were being used with some other teaching materials.

If the sites had any major flaw, it was the fact that none of them attempted to impart an understanding of the nature of history in their students in an in-depth sort of way. Using these sites students could learn how to read primary sources. They could experience making personal connections with individuals from the past. They could learn to note change and they could have guidance in the creation of bits and pieces of

historical narratives—but nowhere did any of these lessons show why they might be learning to do all of these things. Neither were they explicitly told by these lessons that these are the skills that must be mastered, if one is to create his or her own history. This weakness is compounded by the fact that all of the sites continue to use the third-person, omniscient tone of history textbooks. This suggests that history is just one event from the past after another, a “clothesline view.”

The 24 online history teaching sites investigated by this research are, essentially, first steps in repurposing archival and special collection materials for the schools. Many of these sites were probably created as one-time projects and not as a part of any on-going program of development. In some cases, these sites were created by panels of experts, and in others, they were aided through the good offices of a series of volunteers from both the educational and cultural caretaking communities. All of the sites recognize the power of primary source-based history lessons, and a number have a strong grasp of how to teach at least the “epistemology and evidence” lessons. Whether they involve tasks that help develop history thinking skills or not, the sites are replete with lesson plans that are student-centered and project-based—good constructivist practices. It is obvious that a conscious effort was made to make these sites as inclusive as possible. Unfortunately, this level of inclusion did not always seem to make it into the primary source lessons, themselves. And it goes without saying that the creators of these sites are experts in their state histories, as well as the content of their collections. The sources with which the lessons are populated are uniformly interesting and instructive. It also goes without saying that, without a doubt, most of these sites were created by individuals who were also busy doing a wide range of other things: arrangement and description, fund

raising, report writing, personnel management, and reference. Probably very few of the creators of these online resources had the luxury of reading scholarly works on domain-specific cognition and history pedagogy for a couple of years. Still, these sites have done yeoman's work by breaking the pedagogical ground for archives and special collection libraries as they seek to better serve an important constituency, the future. It is perhaps time to till this new ground one more time, to develop a second generation of archives and special collection library-based online history teaching sites.

Proposal

The developers of the Historical Scene Investigations (HSI) Web site discussed previously applauded archivists for creating more educational programs for the schools, but they were dismayed to find that these programs primarily stressed “familiarizing students with reading room procedures, archival finding aids, and collections.” They fumed that “[a]s if confronted by an invisible barrier, archivists seem unwilling to take a further step and provide instruction and guidance in historical research methods and critical thinking in the analysis of primary sources.”¹⁰¹⁵ In his 2006 survey of online history sites, Stephen Robertson found that these online resources contain “little else other than their documents. Information on context or methodology to help the user make sense of the sources is extremely limited.” Those items that do exist along these lines, he found, are often included “off to one side.”¹⁰¹⁶ In addition, Robertson complained that archives’ Web sites often allow “movement only one way, from search results to specific documents. In so doing, they replicate the organization of a conventional archive.

Hypertext is employed simply as a path to a text, which is then presented on the screen to

¹⁰¹⁵ Kathleen Owings Swan and Mark Hofer, “The Historical Scene Investigation (HIS) Project: Facilitating Historical Thinking With Web-based, Digital Primary Source Documents,” *Journal of the Association for History and Computing* (April 2008) viewed on February 18, 2009 at <http://mcel.pacificu.edu/jahc/2008/issue1/swanhofer.php> For a related article, see K. Swan and M. Hofer, “The Historical Scene Investigation (HIS) Project: Facilitating Historical Thinking with Web-based, Digital Primary Source Documents, in C. Crawford, et al, eds, *Proceedings of the Society for Information Technology and Teacher Education International Conference*, 2005 Chesapeake, VA: AACE. 4002-4009.

¹⁰¹⁶ Stephen Robertson, “What’s Wrong with Online Readings?: Text, Hypertext, and the History Web,” *History Teacher* (August 2006): 441-454. For a similar set of responses to online historical sites, emphasizing readability of those sites, see James Longhurst, “World History on the World Wide Web: A Student Satisfaction Survey and a Blinding Flash of the Obvious,” *The History Teacher* 36(May 2003), viewed on August 1, 2009 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/36.3/longhurst.html>

be read.”¹⁰¹⁷ He complained that archival sites lacked links between documents to help present what Sam Wineburg has called the “inter-textual weave,” allowing the “active process of connecting things in a pattern.” This “weaving” is a process that Wineburg has pinpointed as lying at the heart of the kind of contextual thinking that should be developed in students.¹⁰¹⁸ Robertson wished for an archival site that would provide explanations of anachronistic language, point of view, and other contextualizing bits of information. He complained that online history sites maintained by archives are not taking full advantage of the medium, and, like early filmmakers who aimed their static camera at a proscenium stage, their structures were tied to earlier methods, and their methods to earlier structures. The file folders of old had simply been given a digital skin.

As the Library and Archives of Canada’s Michael Eamon has explained,

The popularisation of the Internet has created an audience hungry for authoritative content. Users employing the Internet for research are engaging in an heuristic activity, in wanting to learn-by-exploring the richness of whatever content can be made available with the least amount of visible mediation. However, contrary to a popular historical mantra, the facts do not speak for themselves. The mere digitising of images, without context, or indeed without any interpretation just adds to the background noise of the World Wide Web, especially in an educational setting.¹⁰¹⁹

¹⁰¹⁷ Stephen Robertson, “What’s Wrong with Online Readings?: Text, Hypertext, and the History Web,” *History Teacher* (August 2006): 445-446.

¹⁰¹⁸ Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, 2001): 21, cited in Stephen Robertson, “What’s Wrong with Online Readings?: Text, Hypertext, and the History Web,” *History Teacher* (August 2006): 441-454.

¹⁰¹⁹ Michael Eamon, “A Genuine Relationship with the Actual”: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, History and the Internet in the Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) viewed on July 29, 2009 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html> Eamon was manager of virtual exhibits at the Library and Archives of Canada.

Eamon went on to note that a “balance needs to be—and can be—struck between the user's desire for unassisted research in digital collections and the practical necessity of mediated access to archival holdings that ensure authenticity and security of the record.” He maintained that not only can the basic sources for historical education be provided through the Internet but that archivists could provide a greater context for those sources, as well. “This not only assists trained historians, but can also bring the pedagogical elements of primary sources to students and to the general public traditionally removed from archival research.” After all, archivists have long worked to support the classroom “from the creation of lantern slides and the publishing of document transcriptions, to the reproduction of documents on microfilm and the development of travelling exhibitions.”¹⁰²⁰ Archives have also long supplied online and print packets of materials associated with lesson plans, and, in some instances, have tied those materials to standard courses of study.¹⁰²¹ But structuring online primary sources to help teachers develop historical thinking skills goes well beyond those sorts of activities. Although, as this research has shown, there have been a few archives that have moved from merely facilitating the use of primary sources to the teaching of some historical skills. The United States National Archives and Records Administration’s “National Archives

¹⁰²⁰Michael Eamon, “A Genuine Relationship with the Actual”: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, History and the Internet in the Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) viewed on July 29, 2009 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html>

¹⁰²¹Library and Archives of Canada, *Strategic Plan for Educational Programmes*, (March 3, 2003), Internal Report, (Ottawa, Canada: Library and Archives Canada): 4, cited in Michael Eamon, “A Genuine Relationship with the Actual”: New Perspectives on Primary Sources, History and the Internet in the Classroom,” *The History Teacher* 39 (May 2006) viewed on July 29, 2009 at <http://www.historycooperative.org/journals/ht/39.3/eamon.html>

Experience” and “Boeing Learning Center,” are, perhaps, at the forefront of those efforts.¹⁰²²

A few researchers have seen this need for the structuring of primary sources for pedagogical purposes to be aligned with the desire of archivists and special collections librarians who have long sought to broaden their user base from a fairly narrow range of scholarly users. Early in the life of the Web, Kathleen Noonan observed that, “Perhaps the advantages of using the Web are what will finally force historians into a less solitary approach to the discipline and bring them in to a continuing alliance and collaboration with librarians.”¹⁰²³ Others have agreed while seeking to extend this potential partnership. One of the most detailed looks at the use of digital libraries to support social studies teaching was produced by Cheryl Bolick, David Hicks, John Lee, Peter Doolittle, and Philip Molebash.¹⁰²⁴ They reported on the efforts of social studies education programs to help future history and social studies teachers develop the historian’s “habits of the mind” and “meta-cognitive strategies.” In other words, they sought to teach their student teachers historical thinking skills so that they, in turn, could later teach those skills to

¹⁰²² The National Archives Experience is the exhibit center that recently opened in the National Archives Building on the Mall in Washington, DC. See “National Archives Experience,” viewed on August 1, 2009 at <http://www.archives.gov/nae/>. The Boeing Learning Center includes a learning lab and a ReSource Center where students can experience the research process in a mock-up of the National Archives search room. When school groups visit, they are given a task (such as help the president with a speech) and different students take on different roles to complete this task. They “exhibit” their work by having it incorporated into a taped press conference <http://www.archives.gov/nae/visit/learning-center/>.

¹⁰²³ Noonan, Kathleen, “Untangling the Web: The Use of the World Wide Web as a Pedagogical Tool in History Courses,” *The History Teacher* (February 1998):217. One example of an article describing this collaborative work: Adrienne Lim, “Collaborative Digitization Projects: Opportunities to Enhance Learning and Teaching,” *Information Technology and Libraries* (June 2003): 75-78.

¹⁰²⁴ Cheryl Bolick, David Hicks, John Lee, Philip Molebash, and Peter Doolittle, “Digital Libraries: The Catalyst to Transform Teacher Education,” *AACE Journal*, 12(2004): 213-233, viewed on June 2, 2008 at <http://www.historicalinquiry.com/publications/digitalLibraries.pdf>

their elementary and high school students of history. In their work, the authors recommended that digital library designers consider who will be using their collections as they construct their online sites. The authors noted that “[d]esign architecture that includes simple spatial representations can empower student users and ease what can be a difficult transition as students are introduced to historical digital library research.” They went on to state that “design conventions need not be static as they often are in physical libraries. Instead, designers should plan for a wide variety of user needs and develop multiple user interfaces.”¹⁰²⁵ They also suggested that librarians think pedagogically when designing digital collections. This would shift library design

from an end-product focused on making resources available, to a process that views access to digital library resources as part of a learning experience. Since most all library use is associated with formal or informal education, designers must build pedagogic intent into their design. This pedagogic intent should transcend the temporal characteristics of the physical library.¹⁰²⁶

Bolick, et. al. went on to recommend that “teacher educators and librarians systematically develop tools for teachers and students to use when accessing historical resources in digital libraries,” and suggested that they collaborate to create “digital history labs” for doing authentic historical inquiry in the historical resources found within digital libraries and “digital history toolkits” that would help teachers and students work with the resources found in those digital libraries. The authors believed that the most

¹⁰²⁵ Cheryl Bolick, David Hicks, John Lee, Philip Molebash, and Peter Doolittle, “Digital Libraries: The Catalyst to Transform Teacher Education,” *AACE Journal*, 12(2004): 213-233, viewed on June 2, 2008 at <http://www.historicalinquiry.com/publications/digitalLibraries.pdf>

¹⁰²⁶ Cheryl Bolick, David Hicks, John Lee, Philip Molebash, and Peter Doolittle, “Digital Libraries: The Catalyst to Transform Teacher Education,” *AACE Journal*, 12(2004): 213-233, viewed on June 2, 2008 at <http://www.historicalinquiry.com/publications/digitalLibraries.pdf>

“effective toolkits should include a combination of descriptive, analytical, and evaluative tools.” They acknowledged that, while having some generalizable characteristics, these toolkits must “reflect the idiosyncratic nature of the collection for which the toolkit has been developed.”¹⁰²⁷ These proposed toolkits would provide an overview description of the various collections and would include analytical “devices,” or features, that would scaffold the students critical exploration of the evidence, as well as any interpretation made from that evidence.

The authors of this “manifesto” for online history teaching sites stated that the digital history labs should 1) “focus on clearly defined, meaningful, and authentic historical issues and should make use of limited historical collections within digital libraries,” 2) present an “obvious and reproducible” process for “completing student-led historical inquiry,” and 3) present to students all of the resources needed to complete their projects. Students working in such a lab should be given adequate time to complete their inquiries with “continuous support from a teacher or librarian who has knowledge of the collection and of the historical techniques being used by the student;” and the “students’ work should be valued as a contribution to the general understanding of a particular historical issue and should be made available to others interested in their work.”¹⁰²⁸ In short, students should be provided with a subset of materials and instruction in authentic historical inquiry while being supported in their research as they perform their own

¹⁰²⁷ Cheryl Bolick, David Hicks, John Lee, Philip Molebash, and Peter Doolittle, “Digital Libraries: The Catalyst to Transform Teacher Education,” *AACE Journal*, 12(2004): 213-233, viewed on June 2, 2008 at <http://www.historicalinquiry.com/publications/digitalLibraries.pdf>

¹⁰²⁸ Cheryl Bolick, David Hicks, John Lee, Philip Molebash, and Peter Doolittle, “Digital Libraries: The Catalyst to Transform Teacher Education,” *AACE Journal*, 12(2004): 213-233, viewed on June 2, 2008 at <http://www.historicalinquiry.com/publications/digitalLibraries.pdf>

inquiry, before being allowed the opportunity to share their findings with a wider world. In these digital libraries/labs/online history teaching sites, using these digital tools, students would learn history by doing history.

As Bolick and her colleagues explained, digital libraries—properly constructed and contextualized—carry the promise of providing the bridge between academic disciplines, teacher education, and K-12 education. But it does not seem that this promise is being fully met. Online history education projects like those described earlier (*History Matters*, *Historical Scene Investigation*, etc.) were all created largely as demonstration projects, for research reasons, with grant funds, and as a result, lack long-term institutional support. They are part of special academic institutes, often surviving on the charisma of one or two leading professors and the heroic support of low-paid graduate and undergraduate students, along with the invaluable input of unpaid volunteers and interns. Their sustainability is questionable. With the loss of a major professor, an economic downturn, or a major shift in technology, the future of some of these resources could be seriously called into question. Issues related to the maintenance of site materials, migration of resources for preservation reasons, and updating of materials to reflect changes in the curriculum and/or the findings of research all call into question the long-term viability of this handful of special projects, which have done so much to blaze the trail of Web-based history teaching.

In addition to concerns about sustainability, there is the issue of the small base of contextualized materials. While huge amounts of materials have been scanned and made available on the Web, few enjoy the kind of intense contextualization provided by sites like *Historical Scene Investigations*. As research has shown, the development of

historical thinking skills related to causality, empathy, and significance can all be greatly enhanced by providing “hyper-local” resources for children to explore and repurpose. In other words, students can more easily begin to understand and develop these skills when they are working with materials that somehow touch upon their own personal experience. This seems to suggest that five or six or even twenty major online historical sites would not be able to provide the primary sources from each and every ethnic group or geographic region or hobby or whatever identifying subset of information might be required to allow students from all over the country to “bridge” the local and personal to the more broad-based and universal. To build what has been called the “narrative” level of historical understanding, where one knows the “bigger story” and is able to place his or her own personal history within that “story.”

Each of the special, highly contextualized history teaching sites uses its own tools, underlying architecture, and systems. They are not interoperable. As such, they lack the ability to include multiple partners or scale up to meet greater demands of use or be easily edited or “re-mixed” to address different circumstances, learning objectives, etc. Even though their primary investigators often interact and perform collaborative research, these sites are, more often than not, independent, stand-alone projects. Greater interoperability at the “back-end” of these sites, perhaps through the use of standardized “learning objects” and appropriate, standardized learning object metadata, would provide greater efficiency, allowing teachers to move easily from one site to the next.¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²⁹ For an overview of learning objects, see David A. Wiley, *The Instructional Use of Learning Objects* (Bloomington, IN: Agency for Instructional Technology, Bloomington, IN, 2002) and Robert R. Saum, *An Abridged History of Learning Objects*, viewed on August 8, 2009 at <http://www.igi-global.com/downloads/excerpts/Northrup3364Ch1.pdf> For a discussion of the related metadata, see Carol Jean Godby, “What Do Application Profiles Reveal About the Learning Object Metadata Standard,” *Ariadne* October 14, 2004, viewed on August 8, 2009 at

Libraries and archives are uniquely situated to answer these issues concerning sustainability, “dispersion,” and interoperability. They are geographically widespread, hold a vast array of different types of materials from every nook and cranny of the nation, and have proven their sustainability for at least one hundred years. They have also created any of a number of interoperable, standardized tools and systems. Those libraries and archives found in college and university settings have a history of supporting the classroom, and a high percentage have participated in some way or other with some sort of K-12 classroom support, if only peripherally. Archivists and librarians have contextualized archives and special collection materials for years, primarily facilitating their use by scholarly researchers and administrative users, but increasingly they have begun to build tools and services to meet the needs of hobbyists such as genealogists, as well. They also have shown a strong commitment to providing greater access to their materials through the use of digital technologies, but, perhaps most importantly, they also know their collections better than anyone else. And it is this specialized knowledge that so many users of archives have long valued. Who better to find that one telling pin in the haystack of the archive that just might inspire the exploration of a “scholar-in-training”? Who better to impart an understanding of the importance of the provenance and the

<http://www.ariadne.ac.uk/issue41/godby/> William Paquette described the potential of these sorts of tools for the teaching of history fairly early on. See, William A. Paquette, “A Taste for MERLOT,” American Historical Association Web Site, may 2003, viewed on August 10, 2009 at <http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2003/0305/0305for4.cfm> MERLOT is a user-centered, searchable collection of peer-reviewed online learning objects for teaching at the undergraduate level. There is a history portal to MERLOT’s collection. A history of MERLOT may be found at “How did MERLOT get started?” viewed on August 10, 2009 at <http://taste.merlot.org/howmerlotstarted.html> There does not appear to be a similar, national system and tool for elementary and secondary schools, although some individuals states maintain online collections of activities, lesson plans, etc.

corpus of a collection to a proper understanding of one item from that collection? Who better to provide an understanding of document analysis than the documents experts, to promote historical empathy than individuals who exercise their historical imagination daily? Who better to help teach significance than the very individuals charged with deciding what to keep and what to discard from the past?

While few archivists may be aware of research into subject-specific cognitive development, most are well aware of the historical thinking skills delineated by Seixas. After all, most exercise these skills daily in writing finding aids, providing reference, and processing collections. Most archivists and special collections librarians have the necessary subject knowledge and know the nature of history that research into the teaching of history seems to indicate is necessary to teach historical thinking skills. For these reasons, it appears that archivists and special collections librarians should be the individuals structuring their digitized materials to aid history educators.¹⁰³⁰ Yet they have done little along those lines.

If anecdotal evidence taken from more than a few discussions and interviews with librarian an archivist digitizers over the years can be used as any indication, few

¹⁰³⁰ Despite the fact that libraries and archives seem particularly well placed and suited to provide this service, some still question whether this is an appropriate role for them to play. Even after the National Archives has done so much to build up its “museum side,” as its staff sometimes calls its public teaching role, some of those to whom NARA reports are uneasy with what they believe to be something close to “mission creep.” The very first visit to Congress by the newly confirmed Archivist of the United States David Ferriero was to speak to the Subcommittee on Information Policy, Census, and National Archives of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform about this very issue. Ferriero made the point that if NARA is to fulfill its primary mission of preserving and providing access to the records of the United States, it must help teach the future users of those records about the agency’s function and the critical analysis of evidence, among other topics. David Ferriero, *Testimony of David Ferriero, Archivist of the United States Before the Subcommittee on Information Policy, Census, and National Archives of the House Committee on Oversight and Government Reform on History Museum or Records Access Agency: Defining and Fulfilling the Mission of the National Archives and Records Administration*, December 16, 2009, viewed on February 20, 2010 at <http://www.archives.gov/about/speeches/ferriero/ferriero-testimony-dec2009.pdf>

archivists have done much toward the creation of these types of online resources because they are busy with other, more pressing activities and many feel that they do not possess the skills and knowledge needed. “I am not a teacher,” more than one archivist or special collections librarian has told the researcher over the years. It is true that only the largest of cultural repositories have educational outreach specialists. And it is true that contextualizing materials for the classroom can be considered a “sideline” to what are currently considered more central archival concerns. But it is also true that not every archives or special collection need invent their own educational tool. Indeed, there is some benefit to creating a tool that can be shared. Such a shared tool could be more easily “scaled up,” such a shared tool would, necessarily, be more likely to be interoperable, allowing archives to create their own modules that could then “speak” with a larger corpus of educational materials.

A collaborative undertaking engaged in by educators, cultural caretakers, Web developers, and historians could create an online, educational framework to teach history thinking skills. Such a framework could be subject content agnostic. In other words, this proposed collaboratively-built tool would concern itself only with teaching the “nature of history” and its processes. By being subject content agnostic, it could then be overlaid on any subject content, state to state, or even those non-geographic, topics-based approaches to understanding the past (African-American history, women’s history, history of science, etc.). Instead of creating a standard curriculum that would concern itself with “coverage” of a particular historical span, the proposed standard curriculum would be more directly

concerned with developing the seven history thinking skills.¹⁰³¹ The proposed multi-disciplinary team would be charged with creating a succession of “spiraled,” inquiry-driven, project-based activities that would be tied to and grow out of an understanding of the cognitive development of children. In an attempt to make their sites more useful to the schools, there have been digitization projects that have “cataloged” primary sources with designators from a standard course of study. (They were not discussed previously by this research because they did not include specific, history thinking activities as a part of their sites.) But one primary source can be used to teach many different lessons. Therefore, instead of being concerned with the sources, this proposal would put its primary emphasis on the activities. The primary sources for the proposed series of activities would not be designated by the teaching framework, itself. Instead, open “slots” in this framework would indicate the attributes—and not the subject content—that the primary sources should carry so that they best meet an activity’s pedagogical requirements. This series of activities would begin with the highly concrete, highly-scaffolded, and then move toward the open-ended and more self-directed. This would mean that, if an individual history course were being taught chronologically, then the earlier subject eras might have lessons that are devoted to simply “spotting change” in a series of sources, and by the end of the school year, when students are learning about events decades--if not centuries--later, they might be completing exercises that help them

¹⁰³¹ Of course, it might be that the collaborators identify a different set of history thinking skills. The Centre for the Study of Historical Consciousness in Canada maintains a “Benchmarks of Historical Thinking Project.” It works with six distinct but closely interrelated historical thinking concepts. This project maintains that to think historically students need to be able to 1) establish historical significance, 2) use primary source evidence, 3) identify continuity and change, 4) analyze cause and consequence, 5) take historical perspectives, and 6) understand the ethical dimension of historical interpretations. The project has identified exemplary lessons that teach each of these concepts. “Benchmarks of Historical Thinking,” viewed on April 10, 2010 at <http://www.histori.ca/benchmarks/> Peter Seixas is the director of the Benchmarks project.

develop historical hypotheses. Once again: at the beginning of a school year, students might simply identify content (date, author, place of creation) in a manuscript letter from the colonial era, and by the end of that same school year, those same students might be seeking bias and judging the accuracy found in a series of correspondence created by individuals involved in the Civil Rights Movement. It goes without saying that, following the model of the Schools Council History 13-16 Project, some of these first activities should, perhaps, use the “detective” metaphor to begin to introduce students to the nature of the subject. That way, students, whether they are studying the history of North Dakota or East Texas, would don their deerstalkers and start their history courses with an investigation into some local mystery.¹⁰³²

The proposed archivist, educator, web developer and historian “team,” should, perhaps, do more than construct the important “stepped” or spiraled activities while defining the attributes of the primary source materials required by those activities. They, perhaps, should also work to create the important contextualizing materials that would accompany these primary source-based activities. (Again these materials would concern the historical processes and not the content.)¹⁰³³ Materials along these lines might include videos of “think aloud” activities, such as those found on the HistoryThinkingMatters site. These videos show professional historians “reading” sources, followed by brief explanations by a narrator who explains to the students the types of reasoning that is taking place. These contextualizing materials could also include interviews with

¹⁰³² North Carolina’s “Lost Colony” provides the perfect topic for this sort of endeavor.

¹⁰³³ For just one recent example of the importance of scaffolding in these types of learning environments, see Jeffrey Allen Greene, Cheryl Mason Bolick, and Jane Robertson, “Fostering Historical Knowledge and Thinking Skills Using Hypermedia Learning Environments: The Role of Self-Regulated Learning,” *Computers and Education* 54 (January 2010): 230-243.

archivists and special collections librarians who would explain their own processes of appraisal, arrangement, description, preservation, and access. They could also include interactive communication technologies to 1) allow archivists and librarians who are implementing the series of activities locally to communicate with one another, 2) encourage the communication between educators who might be using the activities, and 3) provide a place for students to share a portion of their own creations that might have resulted from the sites. And they should certainly include assessment guides that would be designed to measure the history thinking that went in to the various project-based activities produced by the students.¹⁰³⁴

By using an interoperable tool, such a system could also support geographical tagging of the sources across all of the users. Such tagging could then be used to build maps of the primary sources used in the various methods, opening up additional possibilities for their use in the classroom. (Imagine a class studying the westward migration, and how materials from various states, originally “assigned” to one set of activities could be used in an illustrative manner, if no other, in a totally separate set of assignments.) Geographical information systems could also be used to enhance the overall site by mapping historic sites, or other “fieldtrip opportunities.”¹⁰³⁵

¹⁰³⁴ The American Association for History and Computing sponsored a conference in 2008 on Web 2.0 and the teaching of history. See “Web 2.0/History 2.0, Making History Together,” viewed on April 27, 2010 at <http://www.h-net.org/announce/show.cgi?ID=161251>. One university has attempted to implement Web 2.0 tools into primary source-based history teaching. See, “Rebooting the Past: Uploading the Future: Web 2.0 and the Study of History Through a Living Learning Community (Learning Technology),” a presentation at the ELI 2010, viewed on April 27, 2010 at <http://www.educause.edu/Resources/RebootingthePastUploadingtheFu/196978>

¹⁰³⁵ For a quick overview of some major issues related to GIS and history, see J.B. Owens, “What Historians Want from GIS,” *ESRI* (Summer 2007) viewed on April 28, 2010 at <http://www.esri.com/news/arcnews/summer07/articles/what-historians-want.html> For one of the most significant pieces of research into the use of GIS in history teaching, see Jia-Jiunn Lo, Chuen Jung Chang, Hsiao-Han Tu, and Shiou-wen Yeh, “Applying GIS to develop a Web-based

The contextualizing materials created by the teams should also, perhaps, carry advice to those who would adopt the proposed series of activities. This advice would instruct the local content experts about use of metadiscourse in their creations, the importance of audio-visual materials as sources and contextualization, and the need to include more three-dimensional museum items. It would also have to discuss not only the representation of women, children, and ethnic minorities in the primary sources, but also their portrayal as historical agents, as opposed to simply being present in the past.

There are, doubtless, any of a number of other attributes that such a collaborative, online history teaching tool should accommodate. This research, however, seems to indicate that these few items are, perhaps, among the most significant that should be addressed.

Through their digitization efforts, libraries, archives, and museums have provided a great service to their users. Never before has there been such access to the locked storage rooms of the world's cultural repositories. Without a doubt, these institutions will continue to add to their wealth of online reproductions, and as the numbers of these online materials increase, so too will those online services that will be required to make them more completely useable. The schools will certainly remain one of the most obvious communities of users for these materials. And even though it might take a bit more specialized effort to help the schools use these digitized sources, working together, archives, libraries, and museums can certainly better meet the needs of teachers and students.

spatial-personal-temporal History Education System," *Computers and Education* 53 (August 2009): 155-168.

Sample Lessons

Using Primary Sources in the Classroom:

Reconstruction Unit

Lesson 1: Freedman's Bureau: Labor Contract or Re-enslavement?

1. Background Information for Teachers:

On March 3, 1865, the United States Congress established the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands. This federal agency helped ex-slaves with food, medical aid, education, and legal advice. General Wager Swayne was appointed assistant commissioner in Alabama and, after 1866, district military commander over the federal troops who occupied the state. Under his direction, the Freedmen's Bureau distributed rations to thousands of blacks and whites in the "starving time" of 1865-66.

Thousands of African Americans who had left the plantations for the cities when freedom came soon found themselves homeless and hungry. Early in 1866, the freedmen began to return to the land for spring planting. At first they worked for the promise of wages at rates agreed upon at the start of the year. The Freedmen's Bureau required labor contracts to be entered into by blacks and their employers, but did not set wage levels. In a near-cashless society, money wages were soon discontinued, to be replaced by sharecropping arrangements. The standard contract gave the black laborer a share of the crop according to how much of the expenses of production he paid. Only for a brief period did the Freedmen's Bureau offer some economic shelter for the ex-slaves. The sharecropping system that evolved during Reconstruction soon bound most African Americans into debt so ruinous that they were practically re-enslaved. (William Warren Rogers, Robert David Ward, Leah Rawls Atkins, Wayne Flynt, *Alabama: The History of a Deep South State*, 234-39.)

The first labor contract selected for this activity is especially significant because it was written before General Swayne implemented his labor policy in Alabama. Later ones are included for comparison.

2. Learning Objectives:

Upon completion of this activity, students should be able to:

1. Define Freedmen's Bureau.
2. Define labor contract.
3. Explain sharecropping.

4. Analyze economic conditions in Alabama after the Civil War.
5. Draw conclusions about the problems inherent in sharecropping.

3. Suggested lesson:

1. Review with your students economic/social conditions in Alabama (and the south) after the Civil War.
2. Make copies of James G. Tait Labor Contract and ask students to answer the following:
 - a. What type of document is this?
 - b. Who wrote it?
 - c. What is the tone of the document? (businesslike? friendly? legalistic?)
 - d. What kind of information does it contain?
 - e. Who signed the document?
 - f. What is significant about the date of the document?
 - g. What is significant about the signatures of the employees?
 - h. How will it be enforced?
 - i. Are both employer and employees equally protected? Why or why not?
 - j. How do you think life would be different for the freedmen from their former lives as slaves?
3. Ask students to write an article for the local newspaper on the subject of labor contracts from the point of view of General Wager Swayne, James G. Tait, or one of the former slaves.
4. Other: Use the additional documents to explain problems of enforcing labor contracts. Explain how the 1868 contract between Tait and Thomas Hill differs from earlier one. (This is not truly a labor contract under Freedmen's Bureau policy.)

Tait labor contract.

The Tait family occupied a prominent place in Alabama politics and agriculture in the 1817-1880 period. James Tait (1791-1855) came to Wilcox County from Georgia during the great land rush which followed the Creek War, bringing twenty slaves, ten of them field hands. During his first few seasons, his hands planted only 175 acres of cotton and 80 acres of corn a year. He was soon followed by his father, Charles Tait, (1768-1835) a former U.S. Senator from Georgia, who became the first U. S. Judge for the Alabama district, 1820-1826.

As Tait prospered, he bought more slaves and land. From his father, he inherited

100 slaves and two nearby plantations. In 1851, Tait owned 311 slaves. His six plantations produced 465 bales of cotton, and 15,000 bushels of corn, and 340 hogs for slaughter.

Tait's vast holdings lay on both sides of the Alabama River. Steamboats called regularly at his landings for cotton and corn and to take members of the Tait family to Mobile or Montgomery. Tait served as a trustee of the University of Alabama, a stockholder in Wilcox Academy, and a member of the American Colonization Society which advocated that free blacks and slaves, purchased from their owners, be resettled in Africa. James A. Tait and his wife had eight children, one of which was James G. Tait (1833-1911). James G. attended Harvard University and returned to the Wilcox County plantation and life as a planter.

Looking back with satisfaction on nearly 35 years as an Alabama planter, Tait wrote in his farm book in 1853:

"Since I came into possession of my Father's estate, my progress has been steadily onward but not rapid, for I have always worked by the rule, 'take care and hold on'." (Hamilton, 162)

James G. Tait (1833-1911) landowner in this Labor Contract dated July 31, 1865, just three months after the Surrender (end of the Civil War), evidently adhered to this rule too as this labor contract insured that his crops would be harvested.

Learn California

1906 San Francisco Earthquake Online Lesson An online lesson describing the effects of the quake and fire

The 1906 San Francisco earthquake resulted in great property destruction and great loss of life. This lesson will use photographs to examine the effects of the earthquake and the fire.

Objectives:

- Analyze photographic data for evidence of earthquake damage
- Determine cause and effects of the earthquake and the fire

Student Task:

Students will examine photographs of the 1906 earthquake and its effect on specific locations. They will then decide if the destruction came from the earthquake or the fire.

Time Required: One 45-minute class period

Grade Level: 4, 8, 11

Lesson Connections and Standards References:
California Department of Education

- History—Social Science Standards:

11.5.7

- Historical and Social Sciences Analysis Skills
Grades Nine through Twelve

Chronological and Spatial Thinking: 4

Historical Research, Evidence, and Point of View: 4

Historical Interpretation: 4

Subject Areas: History-Social Science, Language Arts, Technology

Resources Used:

Fullerton Collection
California State Archives

Materials and Preparation: Before class begins, download and print the following materials:

Student Instructions

Call Building Photos

San Francisco Before, During and After Fire Photos Circled

Howard Street Building Photo

Procedure:

1. Discuss with class the need for careful analysis of photographic data. Tell the class that photographs are often used to determine the outcome of insurance claims. Tell the class they will be in the role of an insurance adjuster after the 1906 San Francisco Earthquake. Distribute the three building analysis sheets and the student instructions to each student. Have them go online to [learncalifornia.org/students/lessons/San Francisco Earthquake](http://learncalifornia.org/students/lessons/San-Francisco-Earthquake) to begin the lesson. Allow them time to finish their building analysis forms. If they have extra time, encourage them to look at the Additional Earthquake Photographs.
2. Conduct a class discussion of the results of their observations. Ask students to justify the decisions they made as adjusters.
3. Tell students that the army, to create a firebreak to try to prevent the fire from spreading too far, dynamited many buildings. As a class, decide if that destruction should be covered by insurance.
4. Point out to students that some buildings were destroyed when the army dynamited blocks of them to make a fire break to keep the fire from spreading. As a class, decide if a building destroyed in this manner would be covered by insurance.
5. An excellent web site for more information about the 1906 earthquake is the. It has many photos, eyewitness accounts, newspaper articles, and various reports.

Evaluation Criteria:

1. Building analysis forms- accuracy and thoroughness of observations.
2. Participation in class discussion.

Extensions:

1. Students can visit The Museum of the City of San Francisco to view additional photographs of the earthquake and fire, as well as interviews, newspaper reports and oral history reports.
2. Have students look and the photos of San Francisco before and after the fire. Ask them to find buildings that survived the quake.
3. Discuss the difficulty in housing the people made homeless from the fire. Examine the photos of the refuge housing and the tent cities created for the homeless. Discuss whether the people should pay for staying there and how long they should be allowed to stay.
4. Assign students specific eyewitness accounts from The Museum of the City of San

- Francisco (www.sfmuseum.org). Have students share what they learned to give an overall view for the entire class.
5. Have students take the role of a survivor of the earthquake. Ask them to write a letter to a relative describing their experiences.
 6. Explore the role of plate tectonics in earthquakes, and how they apply to San Francisco.

Examine the seismograph readings shown for San Francisco The Museum of the City of San Francisco (www.sfmuseum.org) web site. Compare the 1906 earthquake readings to those of 1987.

Collaborative Digitization Program

**“It’s News to Me!”
Teaching with Colorado’s Historic Newspaper Collection
Model Lesson Format**

Lesson Title:

“Coalorado:” The Ludlow Massacre

Subject(s) and Grade Level(s):

History, Language Arts Grades 4-12

Focus of Lesson: A brief explanation of what students are to learn in this lesson (content and/or skills). What is the purpose of the lesson?

In this lesson, students will explore the history of the Ludlow Massacre through an online encyclopedia, through Colorado’s Historic Newspaper Collection, and the Collaborative Digitization Program. In particular, they will measure the impact of the strike on the miners, their families, Colorado and the nation. Students will develop their skills in using electronic databases and primary sources, both print and digitalized. They will critically analyze and question the content and the digitalized images.

Standards Assessed: Which standards will you be assessing in this lesson? Identify the content area, the standard number and any key components or benchmarks that are applicable.

Information Literacy Standard 2: The information literate student evaluates information critically and competently.

History Standard 2: Students know how to use the processes and resources of historical inquiry.

History 2.1 Students know how to formulate questions and hypotheses regarding what happened in the past and to obtain and analyze historical data to answer questions and test hypotheses.

History 2.2 Students know how to interpret and evaluate primary and secondary sources of historical information.

Reading and Writing Standard 4: Students apply thinking skills to their reading, writing, speaking, listening, and viewing.

In order to meet this standard, students will

- Make predictions, analyze, draw conclusions, and discriminate between fact and opinion in writing, reading, speaking, listening, and viewing
- Identify the purpose, perspective, and historical and cultural influences of a

- speaker, author, or director
- Evaluate the reliability, accuracy, and relevancy of information

Assessment: Explain the assessment. (Include the formal 'assessment assignment' and any forms, worksheets, etc. in the Materials Section)

1. Students will read and analyze three articles on the subject of the Ludlow Massacre from Colorado's Historic Newspaper Collection.
2. Students will study and analyze three pictures from the Ludlow Massacre.
3. Students will write a letter to the editor of one of the newspapers. They will use the vocabulary and style of that historical time and express their opinion of the miners' strike.

Standards Addressed: Which standards will you be addressing (but not assessing) in this lesson? Identify the content area, the standard number and any key components or benchmarks that are applicable.

Information Literacy Standard 1: The information literate student accesses information efficiently and effectively.

Information Literacy Standard 7: The information literate student contributes positively to the learning community and to society and recognizes the importance of information to a democratic society.

Examines diverse opinions and points-of-view (i.e., culture, background, historical context, etc.) to develop and modify his own point of view.

History Benchmark 2.3: Students apply knowledge of the past to analyze present-day issues and events from multiple, historically objective perspectives.

History Standard 3: Students understand that societies are diverse and have changed over time.

Reading and Writing Standard 1: Students read and understand a variety of materials.

Reading and Writing Standard 6: Students read and recognize literature as a record of human experience.

Time: The number of class periods required for the lesson as well as the length of class period.

Total of four class periods at 45 minutes each

Materials / Teacher Preparation Section: List the technology, handouts, chart paper, text resources, etc. needed to complete the lesson. Include what you need to do to prepare ahead of time for your students to complete the lesson.

Computers with Internet access
Allow students to work in pairs
Technology support for functions in Colorado's Historic Newspaper Collection and Collaborative Digitization Program
Online encyclopedia
Data (LCD) projector for the teacher to introduce the daily lessons

Handouts
Worksheets for photographic and news articles analysis
Historic Letter to the Editor Rubric

Possible Procedures: Enumerate the procedure teachers can follow to teach the lesson to students. Provide the URL for the digital primary sources that you will use.

Class 1: Introduction to Keyword Searching on the Encyclopedia
Teacher will use the data show projector to introduce the Ludlow Massacre. He/she may direct students to construct an electronic timeline of the events immediately before and after.

Class 2: Introduction to Keyword Searching and Article Analysis
Teacher will use the data show projector to introduce Colorado's Historic Newspaper Collection. Students will learn to search by keyword, display newspaper articles by date, scan for basic content, list unfamiliar vocabulary and analyze three articles.

Class 3: Introduction to Searching for Digital Pictures
Teacher will use the data show projector to introduce the Collaborative Digitization Program. Students will learn to search Heritage West at www.cdpheritage.org for pictures using keyword "Ludlow Massacre" bringing up 49 hits. For example, Ludlow Monument, Near View of Ruins Ludlow Tent Colony, Demonstrations Ludlow Massacre, and Ludlow Massacre Tent Colony. They will study the captions and analyze three pictures. They will then discuss these images with their partner and describe what is happening.

Class 4: Assessment of Learning
Based on the articles they have read and the digitalized pictures they have analyzed, students will write a letter to the editor of one of the Colorado newspapers. They will

use the style and vocabulary of the early 1900s as they state their opinion of the massacre and its aftermath. Advanced students may wish to research other mine disasters in the U.S. Teachers may direct them to write a letter to the editor of one of the newspapers that reported on the event. News articles to consider include:

1. *Thirty-three known dead in fight at Ludlow; scores are missing*, Weekly Courier, Fort Collins, 4/24/1914.
2. *13 Killed in Ludlow Battle*, Summit County Journal & Breckenridge Bulletin, 4/24/1914
3. *Ludlow Camp Center of War: hundreds of bullets open fight with striking miners*, Blue Valley Times, Dillon, 10/10/1913
4. *Ludlow Fire Horror*, Colorado Transcript, 5/7/1914

Potential Learning Resources:

Colorado's Historic Newspaper Collection <http://www.coloradohistoricnewspapers.org>

Collaborative Digitization Program www.cdpheritage.org

Wikipedia (online encyclopedia) <http://wikipedia.com>

"Historic Letter to the Editor" Rubric

<http://www.cdpheritage.org/educator/chnc/documents/LettertoEditorRubric.pdf>

Photographic Analysis Form <http://memory.loc.gov/learn/lessons/98/brady/photo.html>

News Article Analysis Worksheet

<http://www.cdpheritage.org/educator/chnc/documents/NewsArticleAnalysisWorksheet.pdf>

Current news articles <http://www.post-newscustomercare.com>

Created by Andrea Antico, Librarian, Westerly Creek, Denver

Connecticut History Online

125 Years of Childhood: Comparing and Contrasting the Lives of Children in Connecticut

By Patricia Wiedenmann

Objectives:

Students will examine photographs of children from Connecticut History Online and compare these children's lives with their own in order to draw conclusions about changes in society over the past 125 years.

Suggested Grade Level: 5th-6th

Time Required: 50 minutes

Essay as Homework

Work Packets:

- [CHO Photographs](#)
- [Venn Diagram](#)

Procedure:

1. Introduce the lesson by having students think about differences they know about or might expect between their own lives and those of children in the late 19th-early 20th century. You might want to write responses on the board to refer to later.
2. Explain what students might look for in photographs to help them gather information about the past, details such as:
 - Who is in the picture? Are there adults or only children? Is there only one child, or are there many?
 - What seems to be the relationship between the people in the photograph?
 - What are the children wearing?
 - What is the setting of the photograph? Is it a city? The country? Inside? Outside?
 - What can you see in the background?
 - What activities are going on?
3. You might want to demonstrate this process of observation/analysis with the whole class using one of the photographs from CHO.
- 4 . Have students pair up and direct them to the CHO Images in the 125 Years of Childhood work packet. Let students browse amongst these images and their records to familiarize themselves with the website before they begin their assignment.
5. Have the students work in pairs to study the images and draw conclusions about the changing lives and roles of children in Connecticut.
6. Print and hand out the Venn Diagram and ask students to complete it by comparing and contrasting their lives today with the lives of children in the past.

Homework:

Have each student choose one photograph to write about. (You may want to print the students' photos for them to take home.) Following your own writing guidelines, have each student write a short essay from the perspective of one of the children in the photograph describing what was going on just before the picture was taken, what is happening as the photo is taken, and what will happen next.

Possible Extension Activities:

1. Have students bring their own pictures from home and use them to show differences or similarities between their lives today and the lives of children in the past.
2. Have each student pick one image from CHO to compare and contrast with a photo from home in one paragraph or short essay.
3. Post the photos and text in the classroom or turn them into a PowerPoint presentation.

Florida Memory

Risking Their Lives for Salt

Looking at an excerpt from the Civil War memoir of Joshua Hoyet Frier.

Grades	4 to 5	
Subject	Social Studies Science	
Sunshine State Standards	SS.A.1.2.2	- uses a variety of methods and sources to understand history (such as interpreting diaries, letters, newspapers and reading maps and graphs).
	SS.A.6.2.2	- understands the influence of geography on the history of Florida.
	SC.H.3.2.1	- understands that people, alone or in groups, invent new tools to solve problems and do work that affects aspects of life outside of science.

Overview

When supplies were cut off by the war, salt production became a crucial endeavor for citizens of Florida. This lesson contains an excerpt from the memoir of a Confederate soldier who discusses the production of salt. This lesson will help students understand why the Florida coastline was important in producing salt during the Civil War.

Objectives

1. Students will discuss concepts and vocabulary to prepare them to understand the memoir of Joshua Hoyet Frier.
2. Students will listen to the excerpt from the memoir.
3. Students will reflect on and discuss what they have learned.

Materials and Preparation

1. Excerpt from the memoir of Joshua Hoyet Frier.
2. Concepts and vocabulary terms (below).

Procedure

1. Tell students that they are going to hear an excerpt from the memoir of a Confederate soldier. Introduce concepts and vocabulary from the memoir of Joshua Hoyet Frier. Ask students to give answers to the following questions, either before you read the selection or as you come to relevant passages.

a. If students have done the introductory lesson, ask them to remember what they talked about. Call on a few students to answer. If they have not done the introductory

lesson, ask students how important salt is to them. Ask them by a show of hands, how many of them would travel a hundred miles to get salt. How many would risk their lives to get salt?

b. What is a meat house? [A building for smoking meat to preserve it. Think of smoked mullet.]

c. Why would someone put salt on meat? [For the taste, to preserve it. See Meat Curing and Smoking.]

d. How would you make salt if you couldn't buy it at the store? [Evaporate it from sea water, other possibilities]

e. If you were going to evaporate salt water to make salt, what would you put the salt water in? [Pot, kettle, etc.]

f. If you build a sand castle on the beach, what can happen to the sand castle? [High tide, people kicking it over, rain.]

g. If you built a salt works on the beach (coast) during the Civil War, what could happen to it? [High tide, storms, Yankees knocking holes in the pots.]

h. What is a gale? [A strong wind, 32-63mph. Think of gale force winds.]

i. What are provisions? [Supplies, food.]

j. What is a vessel? [In this case it means a hollow container, a pot. Other meanings are blood vessel (hollow container for blood), sailing vessel (hollow container that sits on the sea).]

2. Read the excerpt from the memoir of Joshua Hoyet Frier.

3. Ask students what they think about the what Joshua Hoyet Frier wrote. Were they surprised that he said salt was the most serious consequence of the blockades? Would they eat meat that had been covered in salty mud? What would the alternatives be if they didn't want to eat it. Why was the Florida coastline important in producing salt during the Civil War?

Digital Past (Illinois)

Early Elementary Local Community History

State Goal: Identify key individuals and events in the development of the local community.

Work as a class to list all the parks and playgrounds in your town. Alternative: List any streets and buildings in your town that include someone's name, like "Sanders Road."

Circle the ones that include someone's last name. For example, "Mitchell Park".

Assign a name to each student or team.

Search for the name on Digital Past (www.digitalpast.org) by putting the name ("Mitchell") in the search box. To limit it to your town, you would want to search for something like Mitchell "Arlington Heights". Phrases should be included in quotes.

Can you find a picture of the person or someone in the same family?

Why was this person or family important to your town?

Optional Research: Are members of the family still living in the area?

Class Project After Research:

Make a map of your town, adding pictures and explanations for the names you were able to identify.

State Historical Society of Iowa
The Mormon Trail Through Iowa

Grades: 6-8

5 Class periods

Goals/Objectives/Student Outcomes:

Students will:

- Create a sample travel diary that describes some portion of the trail as it crosses one county in Iowa.
- Learn to compare aspects of the available travel technology, topography of the land to be crossed, weather, and factors such as the presence of helpful or hostile residents in the area the route will traverse.
- Become more sensitive to how different people react to situations depending on their age, gender, and personal background.
- Better understand situations in which a person or a group may be persecuted for beliefs—religious and otherwise.

Materials:

- Paper
- Pencils or pens
- Outline maps of Iowa
- Detailed maps of Iowa (such as DOT highway maps)
- Sample diary entries from the Mormon Trek in 1846
- Readings about the historical context of 1846

Background:

In 1844, Joseph Smith, Jr., the leader of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (known as Mormon), was murdered in the Hancock County, jail at Carthage, Illinois. This event was the culmination of a long series of persecutions of Smith's followers. Most of the members of the church in Nauvoo, Illinois then accepted Brigham Young as their leader and organized themselves to move west where they could worship in peace. During the next two years, the approximately 20,000 Mormon residents of Nauvoo completed the building of their temple, gathered supplies and equipment, and began

selling their property. Beginning in early February 1846 the Mormons began crossing the Mississippi River to Iowa. There they formed a permanent camp site that was called Sugar Creek. The river crossing was dangerous at

that time of year because the channel was filled with floating chunks of ice and the water was frigid. For a few days the temperature was cold enough that the water froze over completely and the people were able to drive their wagons across what they referred to as a "bridge of ice."

The Sugar Creek Camp was a horrible place because of the cold temperatures, the snow, the lack of food for the people and the animals, and the temporary nature of the shelters in which the Mormons were forced to live. While in this camp they organized themselves into groups of Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens. These numbers did not refer to the number of people in a group, but to the number of able-bodied adult males in each group. Moving west according to these Hundreds, Fifties, and Tens, they began the long, arduous trip across Iowa during the worst weather imaginable.

For the next several months they went west across Lee, Van Buren, Davis, Appanoose, Wayne, Decatur, Clarke, Union, Adair, Cass, and Pottawattamie Counties until they reached the Missouri River in the summer. Three permanent campsites were established as they moved west. Garden Grove in Decatur County and Mount Pisgah in Union County were referred to as "farms," because several thousand acres of land was plowed and crops were planted. This was to supply food to the people who would follow this trail during the next seven years—until 1852 when all the Mormons who intended to go west finally had traveled across Iowa. In addition to crops, these permanent camp sites contained blacksmith shops, wheel and barrel repair shops, and other establishments to provide equipment and repairs to the thousands of people passing through.

Crude houses were built, and several families remained in these permanent camp sites for several years. Because of the severity of the weather, the lack of food, and the difficulty of the travel, many people became ill and died. Some were buried along the trail where the death occurred. Others were buried in cemeteries in Garden Grove, Mount Pisgah, and the last of the permanent camp sites, first called Kaneshville and later called Council Bluffs. Actually, the Mormons often referred to this latter area as "Winter Quarters" because the first group stayed there during the winter of 1846-47 and then made the rest of the journey across the Great Plains during 1847. The final destination was the valley of the Great Salt Lake in what was later called Utah.

Winter Quarters was another organizing station, and spread over both sides of the Missouri River, into what later became Omaha and Florence, Nebraska. Houses were built, land was plowed, and crops were planted around this area too. The farms north of Council Bluffs and Omaha were referred to as "Summer Quarters."

As the Mormons passed through southern Iowa they encountered settlers in the first few counties. Some of these settlers helped them and some hindered them. Money was raised by working at carpentry and bricklaying, and also by performing band concerts. Food was purchased as long as the settlements and existing trails lasted, but by the time the Mormons got to Davis County there were no trails to follow, and they had to make their own. They also made their own bridges over creeks and rivers, and invented ways to pull wagons out of mud holes. Wagons were pulled by teams of horses or oxen, and other

livestock was driven in herds so that when they arrived at their destination they would have the animals to start farms.

Most of the travelers were family groups, and the men, women, and children all had assigned tasks to help with the move. Many possessions had to be left behind them in Nauvoo because wagons that were too heavily loaded tended to break down and also were more likely to get stuck in the mud. That spring was wet in Iowa, and the amount of snow and rain made travel all the more difficult. Since they started the journey in the winter, the animals suffered from lack of grass, and often had to subsist by grazing on the bark and branches of small trees.

Without the expert organization, the required amounts of supplies, and the help of the group, the trip would not have been possible. As it was, it was one of the most difficult yet most important movements of people on the American frontier. Many who made the trip kept diaries and journals, and many others wrote their reminiscences afterward. It is from this enormous amount of written material that we have such excellent knowledge of what it was like for the members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints to cross Iowa in 1846 and the following 6 years, over a route that has come to be known as the "Mormon Trail."

Procedure:

1. Read selections from diaries to the students. Discuss the recurring themes in the diary entries such as, food, the temperature, rain and snow, difficulties in crossing creeks and rivers, and sickness.)
2. Discuss the matter of how people traveled at that time in history. What technology was available to them? What was the cost? This particular migration was of families in groups and was very well organized. How many miles could a family travel in a day? What obstacles did they encounter? What preparations could be made in advance to make the journey easier? What supplies did they need to pack and take with them? What did they eat, and how did they prepare it? What did they wear?
3. Read the historical background about why these people were traveling across Iowa and where they were going.
4. Discuss the conditions in the United States in 1846. What else was going on that influenced what this group of people did? Why were these people not protected under the Constitution (freedom of religion)? Why did their neighbors treat them in such ways that they felt they had no alternative but to leave their homes and travel such long distances in such unfavorable weather?
5. Begin to create draft copies of fictitious diaries. Students will need to decide if they want to create the diary of an adult or child, a man or a woman, a leader or a follower. Discuss the dates the diaries will cover, how to describe the crossing of a particular part of Iowa, and whether the diaries will describe all aspects of travel or concentrate on only a few.
6. Read, rewrite, and edit the draft fictitious diaries. When they are in a form that is acceptable to the student, then the students will read their diaries aloud to each other until every student has read at least a part of the diary he or she has written.

7. Selections from original diaries should be read aloud and compared with the diaries created by the students for similarities and differences. Remember, the original diaries differed from one another just as much as the original diaries will differ from the fictitious diaries created by the students.

Some of the fictitious diaries may lend themselves to role-playing, readers' theater presentation, or actual dramatic presentation. If there are diaries that are suitable for such adaptation, this can be a culminating activity.

Assessment of Outcomes:

The students can evaluate their own created diary in terms of realism.

The students can evaluate each others' diaries in terms of realism.

The students can pick out particularly imaginative and realistic passages and read them aloud again.

The students can think of other situations in history in which groups of people have been forced to leave their homes and move to an unknown place. Reasons for moving, methods of travel, and the difficulties of movement can be compared and contrasted (for example, the Pilgrims to Plymouth in 1620; the Africans to North America as slaves in the 17th and 18th centuries; the Native American Indians when they were forced to move west or onto reservations; the Japanese-Americans who were forcibly re-located to camps at the beginning of World War II).

Extensions and Adaptations:

The students can visit a Mormon Trail or camp site and see first-hand what the geographical terrain was like.

The students can develop geography skills to complement the historical analysis skills inherent in this unit.

The students can learn library research skills when looking for background and contextual information.

The students can learn creative writing skills when preparing the fictitious diary.

The students can learn more about social customs of another time: e.g. what people ate, wore, and how they interacted with each other.

The students can learn more about the technology of travel and how it changes, particularly as it changed to meet existing challenges.

Resources:

Janath Cannon. *Nauvoo Panorama*. Nauvoo: Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1947.

Porter French. "On the Trail of Brigham Young." *The Iowan* 26 (Summer 1978): 46- 52.

Stanley B. Kimball. "The Iowa Trek of 1846." *Ensign* 2 (June 1972): 36-45.

Stanley B. Kimball. *Discovering Mormon Trails*. Salt Lake City: Deseret Book Company, 1979, pp. 14-17.

William J. Petersen. "The Mormon Trail of 1846." *The Palimpsest* 47 (September 1966): 353-367.

Jacob Van der Zee. "The Mormon Trails in Iowa." *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 12 (January 1914): 3-16.

"Historic Nauvoo." Video (16 minutes), Nauvoo Restoration, Inc., 1990.

The local branch of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

The Iowa Mormon Trails Association. The National Park Service.

The local and county historical societies in counties and towns through which the trail passed.

Farmers who own land through which the trail passed and where remnants of the trail or campsites may still be visible.

Selected Diary Entries

13 February 1846, Eliza Snow, Sugar Creek Camp: "Crossed the Mississippi and joined the camp. . . . We lodged in Brother Yearsley's tent, which, before morning was covered with snow."

13 February 1846, Patty Sessions, Sugar Creek Camp: "The wind blows. We can hardly get to the fire for the smoke, and we have no tent but our wagon."

14 February 1846, Eliza Snow, Sugar Creek Camp: "After breakfast I went into the buggy and did not leave it till the next day. Sister Markham and I did some needle work, though the melting snow dripped in through our cover."

18 February 1846, George A. Smith, Sugar Creek Camp: "The snow began to fall early this morning in great quantities and lasted all day. Everything looked gloomy. . . . The wind blew so strong from the northwest that it uncovered our tent. . . . Our hunters went out and brought in six rabbits. We dined on rabbits, corn meal, and potatoes."

23 February 1846, Patty Sessions, Sugar Creek Camp: "We got canvas for a tent. Sewed some on it."

23 March 1846, Orson Pratt, Shoal Creek Camp: "The day is rainy and unpleasant. Moved only seven miles. The next day went through the rain and deep mud, about six miles, and encamped on the west branch of Shoal Creek. The heavy rains had rendered the prairies impassable; and our several camps were very much separated from each other. We were compelled to remain as we were for some two or three weeks, during which time our animals were fed upon the limbs and bark of trees, for the grass had not yet started.

24 March 1846, George Smith, Chariton River Camp: "The ground was so soft that it required three or four yoke of oxen to draw our two horse wagon. We have suffered more the last three days than at any time since we left Nauvoo."

6 April 1846, Hosea Stout, Hickory Grove Camp: "This day capped the climax of all days for travelling. The road was the worst that I had yet witnessed, up hill and down, through sloughs, on spouty oak ridges and deep marshes, raining hard, the creek rising. The horses would sometimes sink to their bellies on the ridges. Teams stall going down hill."

6 April 1846, Patty Sessions, Locust Creek Camp # 1: "Brother Rockwood came to our wagon; told us the word was to get out of this mud as soon as possible. We move before breakfast, go three miles, cross the creek on new bridges that our men had made; had to double team all the way."

9 April 1846, Orson Pratt, Locust Creek Camp # 1: "We encamped at a point of timber about sunset, after being drenched several hours in rain. The mud and water in and around our tents were ankle deep, and the rain still continued to pour down without any cessation. We were obliged to cut brush and limbs of trees, and throw them upon the ground in our tents, to keep our beds from sinking in the mire."

9 April 1846, George A. Smith, Locust Creek Camp # 1: "We travelled very well about two or three miles when the roads began to get very bad. We had to double our teams and get each other out of the mud. About noon it began to rain in torrents and every driver soon got wet to the hide. It seemed as though the bottom of the road had now fallen out, for wagons sunk in the mud up to their beds, and the women and children had to get out in the rain so that their teams might pull the wagons through the mud. Frequently we had to put eight or ten yoke of oxen to a wagon to get the wagons out of the mud holes."

16 April 1846, Horace Whitney, Rolling Prairie Camp: "Today eight rattlesnakes were killed by our company, and two of the oxen in the same were bitten."

17 April 1846, Horace Whitney, Pleasant Point Camp: "Our principal hunters went out before starting this morning and cut down two bee trees, bringing into the commissary three pails of first rate honey: they also killed two deer and turkeys during the day which were distributed to the company."

Reminiscences of Helen Mar Whitney, Garden Grove Camp: "The next day another fishing excursion was taken, when Horace caught a dozen or more. These substantials were very acceptable, as we had had no meat—except a little that had been given to us—for a number of weeks, but had subsisted principally on sea biscuits and that sort of fare. At Garden Grove we had our first trial at eating cakes made of parched corn meal, one meal of which sufficed me."

10 May 1846, Parley Pratt, Garden Grove Camp: "A large amount of labor has been done since arriving in this grove; indeed the whole camp is very industrious. Many houses have been built, wells dug, extensive farms fenced, and the whole place assumes the appearance of having been occupied for years, and clearly shows what can be accomplished by union, industry, and perseverance."

18 May 1846, Helen Mar Whitney, Mt. Pisgah Camp: "Monday morning the brethren had to build a bridge before starting, and had to stop and build another in the afternoon. We travelled ten miles and encamped at evening in a grove on the brow of a hill, a small bottom intervening between us and the middle fork of Grand River, which abounded in fish, such as sun fish and catfish."

Reminiscences of Zina D. Young, Mt. Pisgah Camp: "Sickness came upon us, and death invaded our camp. Sickness was so prevalent and deaths so frequent that enough help could not be had to make coffins, and many of the dead were wrapped in their grave clothes and buried with split logs at the bottom of the grave and brush at the sides, that being all that could be done for them by their mourning friends."

28 May 1846, Patty Sessions, Mt. Pisgah Camp: "Sister Rockwood gave me some tallow. I panned 17 candles. I thought it quite a present. Sister Kenneth Davis gave me a piece of butter. Thank the Lord for friends."

Maine Memory Network

Lesson 11.1

MARGARET CHASE SMITH'S DECLARATION OF CONSCIENCE

Objective: Students will be able to articulate the significance of Margaret Chase Smith's Declaration of Conscience and its influence on twentieth century Maine politics.

Materials:

- Sheet 11.1: "Declaration of Conscience" Student Worksheet
 - Doc 11.1A or Doc 11.5B: Copies of the text of the "Declaration of Conscience."
- Depending on the level of your class, you may wish to have them use the Excerpted Version instead of the full document.

Timing: One to two class periods

Background Reading: Chapter Eleven, Section One

Procedure:

1. Review with students Section One of Chapter Eleven, making sure students understand the context for the "Declaration of Conscience." Discuss the threat of communism, Senator Joseph McCarthy and his anti-communist campaign, the effect of that campaign on Americans, and the Cold War.
2. Pass copies of the "Declaration of Conscience" (full or excerpted version) out to students. Have students read the document, then answer the questions on a separate sheet of paper. You may wish to have students work in pairs, or to answer the questions at home for homework.
3. When students have finished reading the document and answering the questions, regroup as a class and discuss their answers. Answer any questions they might have about the document.
4. Ask students to judge Margaret Chase Smith and her "Declaration of Conscience." Take a vote: how many people agree with what she said? How many do not? If you had been a Republican Senator hoping for a Republican victory in the next presidential election and had heard that speech, what might you have thought of it?
4. Have students write a short response to the question: do you think Smith did the right thing by writing the "Declaration of Conscience?" Why or why not? Back up your point.

Evaluation: Grade student responses based on how well they demonstrate their understanding of the document and its historical implications.

Follow-up Activities:

- Connect this lesson with "The Declaration of Conscience in Cartoons," Lesson 11.2.
- Have student write research reports on a twentieth century Maine politician of their choice. Have them compare their chosen politician to Margaret Chase Smith.
- Connect the "Declaration of Conscience" to current events by having students

write their own “Declaration of Conscience” to the contemporary Senate (either in Maine or in Washington). Have students pick a topic, either as a class or individually, that they think the Senate needs to address in a different way. They will need to do some research before writing the Declaration. Stage a mock Senate hearing: have students read their Declarations out loud to the class, who can then act as members of the Senate and respond accordingly.

- Give students examples of essays from National Public Radio’s *This I Believe* series: <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=4538138>. Have them write their own Declarations about a topic they strongly believe in.

Alignment with the Learning Results:

Grade Level: 6th-8th

Content Area: Social Studies: APPLICATIONS

Standard: Researching and Developing Positions on Current Social Studies Issues
Students research, select, and present a position on a current social studies issue by proposing and revising research questions, and locating and selecting information from multiple and varied sources.

Descriptors A1c,e,f: Locate and access relevant information that includes multiple perspectives from varied sources, distinguish between primary and secondary sources, and evaluate and verify the credibility of the information found in print and non-print sources.

[Followed by transcripts of speeches, etc.]

**Missouri's Early Slave Laws:
A History in Documents
Lesson Overview**

This lesson, developed by the Missouri State Archives for ninth through twelfth grade students, will instill student appreciation for original documents by introducing them to primary sources relevant to slave law legislation and the struggles of an imprisoned abolitionist. This lesson plan, which may be presented in whole or divided into two parts, may also be adapted to suit eighth grade students.

Students are provided images of an 1837 Missouri law related to abolitionist publications, and an 1847 Missouri law concerning the education of “slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes.” Students will also view a set of documents relating to the struggle of George Thompson, an Illinois abolitionist imprisoned in 1841 for violating a Missouri statute against stealing slaves. An accompanying history of slave laws in Missouri will help students in their analysis of the relevant documents.

Instructional Procedures:

- A History of Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri: Territorial to 1850s
- A Brief History of George Thompson
- Original Document Worksheet
- Department of Elementary and Secondary Education's Social Studies Framework
- Guided Discussion Questions

Learning Goals:

- To engage students in an age-appropriate discussion of the slave laws that governed early Missouri, and the effect they might have had on African Americans and other groups.
- To help students understand why some records are deemed to be of “permanent, historical value” to the state.

Lesson Plan:

1. Begin the lesson with a discussion of the general purpose of slave laws, and what types of behavior legislators might have hoped to regulate before the Civil War in Missouri. Have the students get into groups and brainstorm a list of their ideas.
2. Distribute copies of *A History of Laws Concerning Slavery in Missouri*. Either have the students read these quietly to themselves, or they could take turns reading aloud to their group. (You might also send this history home with them the night before as homework).

3. Optional Vocabulary Activity: Ask students to mark words that they find hard to understand. Within their groups, students may divide up the problem vocabulary. Distribute copies of dictionaries, or have the students consult the glossary of their textbooks or on-line dictionaries, writing down brief definitions of the vocabulary words. Once they have done that, go around the room and ask each group to report their findings. Lead a discussion of the relevancy of these words to the topic.
4. Distribute copies of the original documents 1837 Missouri law and 1847 Missouri law, or have students view them on a computer. The documents may be easier to see and navigate on the computer, if one is available for students.
5. In groups, ask students to complete their “Learning from Primary Sources: Original Document Worksheets,” one for each original document. As this is a standard worksheet that can be adapted for usage with all original documents, some questions may be more relevant to the different sources than others.
6. Bring all groups together in a discussion of what the documents can tell us about the treatment of slaves and abolitionists in early Missouri, and what can be learned from these historical documents. Why are the documents important? Use the questions from the document worksheets to discuss the specific subject matter of each document. Refer to the “History” and the “Guided Discussion Questions,” to delve into the possible impact of laws like this.
7. Read the short history of George Thompson to your students.
8. Distribute copies of the original documents from the George Thompson case (one petition and Thompson's plea for his release from prison), or have students view them on a computer. The documents may be easier to see and navigate on the computer, if one is available for students.
9. Have students complete their “Learning from Primary Sources” worksheets, one for the Thompson letter and one for the petitions signed by people who wanted Thompson granted his freedom.
10. Bring all groups together in a discussion of why George Thompson's case is important to be preserved and studied. What can students find out about the outcome of his case by examining these primary sources?

Montana Historical Society

Two Worlds Collide, 1850-1887

Online textbook: Chapter 7 - (.pdf)

Worksheet 1: Analyzing a Picture - (.pdf)

Worksheet 2: Comparing Information on a Chart - (.pdf)

Learning from Historical Documents:

Letter from Chief Victor to Territorial Gov. Sidney Edgerton, 1865, Asking Edgerton to Enforce the 1855 Treaty

Letter from Frank Elliott to "Father," from the Madison Valley, 1865, Advocating War against the Indians

Interesting Links

Delve more deeply into the Battle of the Little Bighorn.

Learn more about the Nez Perce War, take a virtual tour of the Nez Perce National Historic Trail, and then test your knowledge by playing Nez Perce National Historic Trail Jeopardy.

Learn more about the Metis and Louis Riel.

Browse the work of 13 different Indian ledger book artists.

Additional Information and Resources for Chapter 7

Educational Trunks

Cavalry and Infantry: The U.S. Military on the Montana Frontier from the Montana Historical Society. This trunk explores the role of the U.S. military and the life of an enlisted man on Montana's frontier, 1860 to 1890.

Websites and Online Lesson Plans

"Blood on the Marias: Understanding Different Points of View Related to the Baker Massacre of 1870" is a flexible one- to three-day learning activity designed to challenge students to grapple with historical evidence and to better recognize the complexity of native-white encounters.

"Hearing Native Voices: Analyzing Differing Tribal Perspectives in the Oratory of Sitting Bull and Plenty Coups" is a flexible one- to three-day activity that focuses on excerpts from a number of speeches and addresses given by two well-known tribal leaders. Comparing and contrasting these speeches will help students recognize that great diversity existed in the way individual American Indian leaders responded to changing circumstances during the late nineteenth century.

"The Treaty Trail: U.S. - Indian Treaty Councils in the Northwest" includes information on 10 treaties negotiated by Territorial Governor Isaac Stevens, including the Hellgate Treaty and the 1855 Treaty (also known as Lame Bull's Treaty). The site includes complete texts of the treaty, lesson plans, maps, and much more information.

Full text of the 1851 and 1868 Fort Laramie treaties are [available here](#).

The Internet Archives had digitized all of the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior from 1863 through 1938. Access to these full-text, machine searchable documents can be found through the [University of Louisville Library's website](#).

"Federal Indian Policy-Treaty Period" is an IEFA Model lesson plan from OPI.

The Regional Learning Project has created *The Great Peace Council of 1855: A Readers' Theater in Three Acts* to enhance study of the 1855 treaty frequently referred to as Lame Bull's Treaty.

The National Archives has posted this Teaching with Documents lesson plan on the Fort Laramie Treaty of 1868.

The American Memory Project has put up maps that document the Indian Land Cessions from 1784-1894 (U.S. Serial Set 4015). You can browse by tribe or by state/territory.

Montana The Magazine of Western History created discussion guides for articles in its winter 1999 transportation issue, including "The Crow Indians and the Bozeman Trail," by Frank Rzeczkowski. They also posted the text (but not the pictures) of the article online.

Good background information on the Bozeman Trail is available through the Fort Phil Kearny/Bozeman Trail Association.

OPI has a model IEFA lesson plan that asks students to analyze John Gast's 1872 print, *American Progress* (reproduced on page 132 of the textbook).

Explore multiple perspectives on the Battle of the Little Bighorn with the Southwest Museum Research Library's lesson plan, "Exploring Questions of Identity: The Battle of

Little Big Horn." OPI also has an IEFA model lesson plan focused on the battle: "Point of View, Misconceptions, and Errors of Omission - Perspectives on the Battle of the Little Big Horn."

Montana PBS also has a lesson plan focused on the Great Sioux War: "End of an Era: The Battle of the Little Big Horn."

PBS created several lesson plans associated with its documentary *The West*, including "Nez Perce and the Dawes Act" (which, despite its title, includes a lesson on the Nez Perce War).

The CBC's website, "Rethinking Riel," includes streaming video and audio and associated lesson plans on the Riel Rebellion (or Insurgence).

The "Learning Resources" produced by the Gabriel Dumont Institute of Native Studies and Applied Research offers lesson plans including "La Mishow Wayayshhaywuk: The Big Rip Off," which investigates the events leading up to the Metis Resistance (or Riel Rebellion) of 1885.

The National Park Service has digitized Nez Perce Summer, 1877, by Jerome A. Greene, the definitive book on the Nez Perce War.

Videos or DVDs

The Bicycle Corps: America's Black Army on Wheels, PBS - 60 minutes.

"Fight No More Forever," Episode 6 of the PBS series *The West* - 84 minutes.

How the West Was Lost, a Discovery Channel Series (each episode is 58 minutes). Available for purchase via an internet search.

Sitting Bull: A Stone in My Heart, produced by Lillimar Pictures - 83 minutes.

The American Experience: Last Stand at Little Big Horn - 60 minutes.

Possible Fieldtrips

Bear Paw National Battlefield, near Chinook

Big Hole National Battlefield, near Wisdom

Council Grove State Park, near Missoula (Related IEFA lesson plans are available.)

Fort Assiniboine, near Havre

Little Bighorn Battlefield National Monument, near Hardin

Rosebud Battlefield State Park, near Hardin (Related IEFA lesson plans are available.)

TEST AND ANSWER KEYS

WORKSHEET

Analyzing a Picture

Illustrations are visual documents that can provide useful information about the era in which they were created and the artist's point of view. Below is an illustration by William M. Cary, created two weeks after the famous Battle of the Little Bighorn. Look at the illustration carefully, and then, on a separate piece of paper, answer the questions below using the image and information from the text.

- (1) What is the title of the illustration? What year was it created?
- (2) What is the illustration about?
- (3) Find Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer's location in the illustration. Why do you think Cary placed him there?
- (4) After studying the illustration, what conclusions can you draw about the artist's point of view?
- (5) Do you think this illustration is a reliable source of information? Why or why not? Support your answer.



The Battle on the Little Big Horn River—The Death Struggle of General Custer, by William M. Cary, published in the *New York Daily Graphic*, July 19, 1876

Driving Down the Highway: Billboards in Nebraska

Grade: 9-12 **Time:** Two 50-minute sessions

Lesson Introduction: The Western Trails Project has photographs from Nebraska. Using the Lincoln Highway Exhibit billboards as examples, students will design a billboard promoting/advertising a city in Nebraska. Proficiency will be demonstrated by the 11x17 billboard which will be created and by the presentation of the billboard to the class.

Goals/Standards:

Nebraska Social Studies:

12.1.11 Students will demonstrate historical research and geographical skills by:

- Identifying, analyzing, and interpreting primary and secondary sources and artifacts.
- Validating sources as to their authenticity, authority, credibility, and possible bias.

12.3.17 Students will develop skills for historical analysis, such as the ability to:

- Analyze documents, records, and data, such as artifacts, diaries, letters, photographs, journals, newspapers, and historical accounts.
- Evaluate the authenticity, authority, and credibility of sources.
-

AASL/AECT Information Literacy:

1. The student who is information literate accesses information efficiently and effectively
 - 1.2 Formulate questions based on information needs
 - 1.4 Develops and uses successful strategies for locating information
3. The student who is information literate uses information accurately and creatively.
 - 3.1 Organizes information for practical application
 - 3.2 Integrates new information into one's own knowledge
 - 3.3 Produces and communicates information and ideas in appropriate formats

Objectives:

Examine and interpret the map of Nebraska

Examine the physical geography of Nebraska

Strengthen student inquiry and critical observation skills

Gather and analyze data from photos and maps and form generalizations

Develop presentation skills, using visual prompts

Materials:

A class set of Nebraska maps

11x17 sheet of white paper for each student

Computer for each student to research the towns in Nebraska

Procedure:

1. Show the students the billboard photographs from the David H. Trail Lincoln Highway Collection of the Western Trails Project. To locate the Collection, go to the Western Trails Project. Click on Exhibits. Scroll down and click on Lincoln Highway. Scroll down and click on David Traill Album.
2. Look through the David Traill Album of billboards. Show the students a variety of the billboards, especially those with indicators of where the towns may be located.
3. Each student will locate a town in Nebraska from their Nebraska map. Make sure the town located has a web site by looking at Nebraska's Department of Economic Development site. Look at the map to determine relative location, land features, latitude and longitude. Click on the town to look through the town's web site to determine the important services and/or tourist attractions that one would want to emphasize when creating an advertising billboard for the town. Why would anyone want to visit this community? You will be trying to convince us to visit this community. What makes this town/community special?
4. Create a billboard advertising the town/community. Include the characteristics of the town/community which make it special and inviting.
5. On the billboard, the student will also describe the location of their community. (Use the billboards from the David Traill Album to show examples). Example: 63 miles north to Grand Island, 23 miles west to Franklin, with the Republican River flowing past = Red Cloud.
6. Students will use note cards to take notes about the important qualities and highlights of their communities.
7. Each student will then present their billboard to the rest of the class, describing the location and having the others in class locate the town on their own maps.

Assessment:

The final product will be a billboard design.

Proficiency will be demonstrated by the student's presentation to the class after creating the design. The billboard rubric will be used to guide the students to include the elements needed for a successful presentation.

Extension Activities:

1. Students will be asked to write a one-page description of this process, including why they selected the town and what characteristics they looked for in describing it

Nebraska Memories

Lesson Introduction

Songs filled with nationalism and pro-war patriotism have been part of the history of the United States of America. This particular lesson focuses on one song called, “America, It’s Up to You,” written in 1917 as the United States is preparing to enter the conflict in Europe.

Desired Results

Nebraska Twelfth Grade Social Studies STAR Standards 12.1.13: Students will develop skills for historical analysis. Example indicators

- Analyze documents, records, and data, e.g., artifacts, diaries, letters, photographs, journals, newspapers, and historical accounts
- Formulate historical questions and defend findings based on inquiry and interpretations

Nebraska State Social Studies Standards: Same as the STAR standard

Understandings

Students will understand that music can, and has been used as propaganda to inspire the citizens of the United States to support a government policy of engaging in war.

Essential Questions

1. What is propaganda?
2. What are the purposes of propaganda?
3. Do we internalize music as a response to some political event?
4. In what ways do the rhythm, tempo, and score of a patriotic song affect the listener?
5. Can patriotic songs be in opposition to government policy?

Students Will Know

1. Students will know that patriotic songs can inspire patriotism.
2. Students will know that patriotic songs can inspire compliance with government policy.
3. Students will know that patriotic songs manipulate the listener.
4. Students will know that patriotic songs can be in favor of or opposed to official government policy.

Students Will be able to

1. Students will be able to analyze and critically interpret the song in this lesson.

2. Students will be able to engage in critical dialogue about the various purposes of patriotic songs.
3. Students will be able to identify more recent patriotic songs and how they compare to the song in this lesson.

Assessment Evidence

Assessment of this lesson is entirely up to the discretion of the individual instructor. It is recommended that a variety of assessment tools be used in order to allow students to demonstrate understanding. For example, have students (individually or in small groups) write a song that has a patriotic (in favor of or opposed to policy) theme and perform it in class.

Learning Plan

1. Have students read the lyrics to Toby Keith's song "Courtesy Of The Red, White And Blue (The Angry American)." If you have a copy of the actual song, play it while students read the lyrics. The song is from the Unleashed album. The lyrics can be found on his website:
http://tobykeith.musiccitynetworks.com/index.htm?id=1341&inc=7&album_id=67
2. Ask students if they know the historical context of this song.
3. What emotional response of the listener is the songwriter attempting to create? Why?
4. After a brief discussion, hand out the song, "America, It's Up to You". It might be interesting to have given the song to a music student beforehand and have her/him play it in class while the students read the lyrics.
5. Have them identify the historical context of the song and the message of the songwriter.
6. Ask students to compare the two songs and decide if they are examples of musical propaganda.
7. Ask students if they can identify other songs that are either pro-war or anti-war and how they may be examples of musical propaganda. More historical musical scores can be found searching Nebraska Memories for patriotic music: <http://memories.ne.gov>
8. For information on how to preserve musical scores, have students check out resources at "Saving Your Treasures: Paper":
<http://www.netnebraska.org/extras/treasures/paper.htm>

Sources <http://parlorsongs.com/issues/2004-4/thismonth/feature.asp>

LESSON:

Frontier Wars of the 1790s

(A lesson plan for Grades 4 and 5. Can be adapted for Grade 8)

LESSON SUMMARY:

In this lesson students will learn about the frontier wars of the 1790s. They will gain an understanding about the causes and effects of these wars through individual or group research, create informational or editorial broadsides, and share their research and the broadsides they have made with the rest of the class.

ESTIMATED DURATION:

Two hours

COMMENTARY:

In this lesson students will participate in activities, which will help them to structure their research and to distinguish between fact and opinion.

PRE-ASSESSMENT:

Before you get started the whole class will construct a K-W-L (What we *Know*, What we *Want* to know, and What we *Learned*) chart. The K and W sections will be completed at the beginning of the assignment; the L section will be filled in after the broadsides have been completed.

POST-ASSESSMENT:

When you started the lesson, the whole class constructed a K-W-L (What we Know, What we Want to know, and What we Learned) chart. The K and W sections were completed at the beginning of the assignment; the L section will be filled in at the end of the lesson after the broadsides have been completed.

INSTRUCTIONAL PROCEDURES:

Materials and Resources:

Background Page: Frontier Wars of the 1790s and their Aftermath

Worksheet 1: KWL Chart

Worksheet 2: Research a Battle

Worksheet 3. Create a Broadside

Broadside: Columbian Tragedy

Procedures:

- Before beginning the lesson, distribute Worksheet 1 and ask the students to complete the K and W columns of the KWL chart to assess their knowledge of the topic.
- Give students an overview of the lesson.
- Distribute the Background Page, Frontier Wars of the 1790s and their Aftermath, or present the information to the students at their level.

- Explain to the students that they will research one of the battles of the frontier period then prepare a report. Distribute Worksheet 2. Ask students to select one of the listed battles for their report. Point out the table below that will assist them with organizing their research.
- This might be a good opportunity to have your class visit the school library or public library to learn about some of the tools they can use for research: atlases, encyclopedias, dictionaries, newspapers, multimedia, and books on the topic. Show the students the index and glossary in these resources.
- Singly, in pairs, or teams, have the students research their choice of battle, complete the worksheet, then write their report for turn in or oral delivery.
- Discuss life in the 18th century with the students. Remind them to keep in mind that times were different without electricity, electronic communication, and mechanical transportation. How would daily activities then compare to those today? How was information passed about in the populated East? How was the news relayed on the frontier? Could everyone read?
- Distribute copies of the Columbian Tragedy broadside (poster). Explain that broadsides were printed and posted on/in public buildings or fences to announce events. Point out that these were printed using only black ink and they had no illustrations or crude illustrations. Ask students to examine the example of the broadside telling of the Columbian Tragedy. Look at the illustrations. How are they the same or different than those we use today? Discuss the language and vocabulary used in describing the event. How is it the same or different than that we use today?
- Distribute Worksheet 3. Tell students to create a “broadside” to tell citizens of the 1800s about the battle that they researched.
- At the end of the lesson complete the remaining section of the KWL chart on Worksheet 1.

DIFFERENTIATED INSTRUCTIONAL SUPPORT:

Instruction is differentiated according to each learner's needs, to help all learners either meet the intent of the specified indicator(s) or, if the indicator is already met, to advance beyond the specified indicator(s). Students with reading difficulties may need partners to read the information aloud. Be sure the partner is able to assist without enabling. Students who have difficulty in writing could create a newscast of the event.

EXTENSION:

The Frontier Wars of Ohio case history, a traveling trunk, will be available fall 2006. The trunk contains primary and secondary source objects and documents and a curriculum guide with lots of suggested activities, and is available for rent at www.ohiohistoryteachers.org/02/01/index.shtml

HOMEWORK OPTIONS AND HOME CONNECTIONS:

Have students find current informational or editorial stories in newspapers or magazines about events that happen during a war or about communication today and bring them to school to share with the other students.

INTERDISCIPLINARY CONNECTIONS:

History. Students use materials drawn from the diversity of human experience to analyze and interpret significant events, patterns, and themes in the history of Ohio, the United States, and the world.

Benchmark B. Describe the cultural patterns that are evident in North America today as a result of exploration, colonization, and conflict.

Grade 4

Indicator 3. Explain the causes and effects of the frontier wars of the 1790s, including the Battle of Fallen Timbers, on American Indians in Ohio and the United States.

Benchmark C. Explain how new developments led to the growth of the United States.

Grade 5

Indicator 6. Explain the impact of settlement, industrialization, and transportation on the expansion of the United States.

Benchmark D. Describe the effects of interactions among civilizations during the 14th through the 18th centuries.

Grade 8

Indicator 2. Describe the political, religious, and economic aspects of North American colonization including: c. Interactions between American Indians and European settlers, including the agricultural and cultural exchanges, alliances, and conflicts.

Benchmark E. Explain the causes and consequences of the American Revolution, with emphasis on both Colonial and British perspectives.

Grade 8

Indicator 4. Explain the results of important developments of the American Revolution including: d. Impacts on American Indians.

People in Societies. Students use knowledge of perspectives, practices and products of cultural, ethnic, and social groups to analyze the impact of their commonality and diversity within local, national, regional, and global settings.

Benchmark B. Explain the reasons people from various cultural groups came to North America and the consequences of their interactions with each other.

Grade 4

Indicator 2. Describe the impact of the expansion of European settlements on American Indians in Ohio.

Benchmark B. Analyze examples of interactions between cultural groups and explain the factors that contribute to cooperative conflict.

Grade 8

Indicator 3. Analyze how contact between white settlers and American Indians resulted in treaties, land acquisition, and Indian removal.

Government. Students use knowledge of the purposes, structures, and processes of political systems at the local, state, national, and international levels to understand that people create systems of government as structures of power and authority to provide order, maintain stability, and promote the general welfare.

Benchmark A. Explain why people institute governments, how they influence governments, and how governments interact with each other.

Grade 6

Indicator 3. Explain the ways that countries interact with each other including: a. Diplomacy; b. Treaties; c. International meetings and exchanges; d. Military conflict.

KEY VOCABULARY:

acculturation – Cultural modification of an individual, group, or people by adapting to or borrowing traits from another culture; also: a merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact.

aftermath – The consequences and results, especially of a disaster or misfortune.

alliance – A union formed by agreement; a joining of interests.

ally – Combine for some special purpose or agreement for mutual interests and protection.

ambush – A surprise attack by people who are hidden.

artillery – Mounted guns or cannons.

attack -- To begin to fight against.

barrier – Something that blocks the way.

bayonet – A blade attached to a rifle for piercing or stabbing.

Black Swamp – A lowland area in northwest Ohio where a swamp forest once stretch from Paulding and Van Wert Counties to the Lake Erie shores in Lucas and Ottawa Counties until the mid 1800s.

block print – A form of printing first developed in China. Artists carve the original painted, drawn, or written image into the block of wood. The block is covered with ink and used in a press to create copies of the original image.

bombardment – An attack with bombs and big guns

boundary – A line that marks the edge of an area of land.

bribe – Money or gifts given to someone to get him to do something wrong or something he does not want to do.

broadside – A one-page bulletin of information that was posted or passed around among Americans in the 1800s. A poster.

campaign – A specific state or area of war

casualty – A soldier or sailor who has been wounded.

colonist – A person who helps to form a colony, for example, the American colonies.

confederation – A union or joining together in a league or alliance.

conflict – A fight, struggle, disagreement.

depot – A place where military supplies are stored.

desertion – To go away, abandon, leave, or forsake.

detachment – A group of soldiers or ships sent on some special duty.

encampment – A place where one camps for the night.

fleet – A group of warships under one command or navy.

force – A group of people who work together for a common cause.

fort – A strong or fortified structure occupied by troops, often surrounded by a ditch, moat, rampart, or parapet; a permanent army post.

garrison – A permanent military post or installation. A place where soldiers are

stationed.

homestead – A piece of land that was given by the government to a settler for farming.

impressment – The act of forcing one into naval service.

Indian agent – A person who has the authority to represent another. A person who acts and communicates between the American Indians and the U.S. government.

intrusion – The act of coming unwanted.

invasion – A large-scale assault to take over enemy territory.

migrate – To move from one place to settle in another.

militia – Military troops liable for call-up only during an emergency – usually civilians on non-active duty. A group of citizens who are trained to fight and/or help in emergencies.

missionary – A person sent on a religious mission.

nation – A group of people bound together by a strong sense of shared values and cultural characteristics, including language, religion, and common history.

negotiate – The act of discussing with another so as to arrive at an agreement.

reservation – Land set aside by the government for Indian tribes to live on.

retreat – A forced withdrawal of troops in the face of an enemy attack.

siege – A blockade of an enemy city or fort to force depletion of resources and ultimate surrender.

terms – The conditions under which something is done. All accepted the terms of the peace treaty.

territory – An area of land; the land and waters under the jurisdiction of a state, nation, or sovereign.

theater – A place of military action, for example, military battles. The geographical area of warfare.

treaty – An agreement negotiated between two or more countries or rulers. An agreement, especially one between nations, signed and approved by each nation.

Any agreement between nations relating to peace or land.

warrior – A fighting man. An experienced soldier.

TECHNOLOGY CONNECTIONS:

Ohio Historical Society's online encyclopedia www.ohiohistorycentral.org

Ohio Historical Society's picture website www.ohiohistory.org/ohiopix

RESEARCH CONNECTIONS:

Marzano, R. et al. *Classroom Instruction That Works: Research-Based Strategies for Increasing*

Student Achievement. Alexandria, VA: Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development, 2001. Nonlinguistic representations help students think about and recall knowledge.

GENERAL TIPS:

Period broadsides were printed in black ink and used block print illustrations. If they wish to recreate period broadsides, students may want to avoid colored illustrations. A period broadside from St. Clair's defeat entitled "The Columbian Tragedy" is included with these materials as an illustration.

ATTACHMENTS:

Background Page: Frontier Wars of the 1790s and their Aftermath

Worksheet 2: Research a Battle

Worksheet 3: Create a Broadside

Broadside: Columbian Tragedy

This project was made possible by the generous support of

Fort Meigs is one of sixty sites operated by the Ohio Historical Society, a non-profit organization that serves as the

state's partner in preserving and interpreting Ohio's history, archaeology, and natural history.

HISTORY: FRONTIER WARS OF THE 1790S (1)

From the time the Europeans set foot on the North American continent, westward expansion and resulting repercussions were inevitable. During the first part of the 18th century, French and English immigrants began to explore and **migrate** west of the Allegheny Mountains into the Ohio valley. Each culture sought to form **alliances** with the American Indians in the region. Differences over who had rights to the **territory** resulted in the French and Indian War (1754-1763). In the French and Indian War, the French and their Indian **allies** fought with the English and their Indian **allies**. France was defeated and England acquired this **territory**. The English government attempted to improve relations with the residing Indians by prohibiting further settlement in the Ohio Country. This action greatly upset English **colonists** and became one of the reasons for the **American Revolution**. In 1783, the **Treaty of Paris** formally brought the Revolution to a close. England recognized the United States' independence and the United States secured all land east of the Mississippi River except for English possessions in Canada and Spanish territory in Florida. The English and the **Colonists** did not invite the Indians of the Ohio Country to take a formal part in the Treaty of Paris **negotiations**. In fact, under the treaty's **terms**, England made no effort to protect their Indian Revolutionary War **allies**. Despite this, the English did not abandon the Indians for they continued to trade guns and other European manufactured goods for native furs. The English hoped that the Indians, with English weapons, could stop the further westward **migration** of **homesteaders** from the newly independent American states. Unfortunately for the Indians, **settlers** now faced no legal obstacles in **migrating** westward to populate the Ohio Country. Their only concerns were the Indians, who reacted to this **intrusion** into their hunting grounds and settlement areas. Conflicts arose that eventually escalated into the events now known as the Ohio Indian Wars. The United States government lacked the funds to equip an army to deal with the Indian threat. Nonetheless, Henry Knox, the Secretary of War, demanded that Northwest Territory Governor Arthur St. Clair establish a peaceful relationship between the **settlers** and the Indians. St. Clair summoned the Indian chiefs and representatives of the Wyandot, Delaware, Ottawa, Chippewa, Potawatomi, and Sauk tribes. . . . [Several pages more]

BROADSIDE: COLUMBIAN TRAGEDY

OHS A/L OVS3507& OVS2500

TRANSCRIPTION:

COLUMBIAN TRAGEDY:
CONTAINING A PARTICULAR AND OFFICIAL

A C C O U N T

OF THE BRAVE AND UNFORTUNATE *OFFICERS* AND *SOLDIERS*,
WHO WERE SLAIN AND WOUNDED IN [THE] EVER – MEMORIAL AND

BLOODY INDIAN BATTLE

Perhaps the most shocking that has happened in AMERICAN since its first Discovery; which continued *Six Hours*, with the most unremitted fury and unparalleled *Bravery* on both Sides, having lasted from day-break, until near ten o'clock on *Friday Morning*, *November 4*, 1791; between *Two Thousand* AMERICANS belonging to the UNITED ARMY, and near *Five Thousand Wild Indian Savages*, at *Miami-Village*, near *Fort-Washington*, in the *Ohio-Country* in which terrible and desperate *Battle* a most shocking Slaughter was made of *Thirty-nine gallant AMERICAN OFFICERS* and upwards of Nine hundred brave youthful *SOLDEIRS*, who fell *gloriously fighting* for their *COUNTRY*.— The *Particulars* and *Elegy* are now published in this SHEET by the earnest Request of the *Friends* to the DEFEATED *WORTHIES*, who died in Defence of their *COUNTRY*, not only as a *Token of Gratitude* to the *DECEASED BRAVE* but our PERPETUAL MEMORIAL of the *important Event*, on which, perhaps may very effertially depend the future *FREEDOM* [and] *GRANDEUR* of *Fifteen* or *Twenty States* that might, at some Period, be annexed t[o the] *AMERICAN UNION*.

WORKSHEET 1: KWL CHART

Think about the Frontier Wars that occurred during the exploration, trade, and settlement era of early Ohio's history. Before beginning your lesson complete column 1 (What I know) and column 2 (What I want to know). When the lesson is finished, complete column 3 (What I learned).

Topic: Frontier War's of Ohio

Name:

What I KNOW What I WANT to know What I LEARNED

WORKSHEET 2: RESEARCH A BATTLE

Choose one of the battles listed below to research. Use atlases, encyclopedias, dictionaries, or multimedia to research your project. Answer the questions below then write a report to hand in or give an oral report.

Battles of the 1790s Subsequent Battles of the Indian Wars

Harmar's Defeat

St. Clair's Defeat

Battle of Fort Recovery

Battle of Fallen Timbers
Battle of Tippecanoe
Battle of Frenchtown (River Raisin Massacre)
Siege of Fort Meigs
Battle of the Thames

Name of battle:

When did the battle occur?

Where did the battle happen?

Who was involved in the battle?

What happened?

Why did the battle occur?

How did people react at the time?

WORKSHEET 3: CREATE A BROADSIDE

A broadside (poster) was a one-page informational bulletin that was posted or passed around among Americans in the 1800s. Early broadsides were text only and were printed in black ink. Later, they sometimes included illustrations made with block prints.

In the space provided, or on poster board, design a broadside that would give a report of the battle you researched. If you wish to create a realistic broadside of the period, avoid using color and if using illustrations, they should be hand drawn.

South Carolina Digital Library

Lesson Plan #2: African-Americans and The Military of WW 2

Grade Level: 5th Grade

Standards Addressed: 5.3 – The student will demonstrate an understanding of major domestic and foreign developments that contributed to the United States’ becoming a world power.

Purpose of Lesson: To introduce students to the role of African-Americans in WW 2 using news reel. This lesson is based on the understanding that students have already been exposed to news reel as primary source documents in the Social Studies classroom (this can be done in succession with Lesson #1 or as a stand alone lesson during African-American History Month or during a WW 2 unit).

Activities:

Teacher will prompt students to assist with make a list of “expectations” they have for the role of African-Americans during WW 2. Students may use opinion, schema or assumptions to create this list.

Teacher will reiterate that these are “expectations” and encourage students to back up their list.

Teacher will show several clips from the collection and have students document what they notice/observe as they watch each one.

(Use clips: MVTN 48 295 (A): All Negro Troop Unit in Mass Calisthenics, MVTN 51 15 (B): The War in Italy: Eighth Army Front, MVTN 51 860: Heroes of the Week: 5th Army Silver Star Hero, MVTN 52 616: 3rd Anniversary of Tuskegee Army Airfield)

NOTE: If equipment is available, teacher can divide students into four groups and have each group view and document on one clip. Then re-show each clip to entire class for groups to present their observations after small group discussion.

Students will use their list to meet with a small group of students and discuss the following:

- a. What did you notice about African-Americans in the clip?
- b. Did this give you any information about their role (or lack of role) in WW 2?
- c. What hypothesis about the war can you make from these clips?
- d. Why were African-Americans used in military news clips, given the climate of pre-Civil Rights?
- e. How could this have effected the future Civil Rights movement?

Students will individually write an essay about observations from the clip and the information they garnered from the discussion.

Author: Melanie Johnson

South Dakota State Historical Society

Steve A. Cihak sent 552 letters to his sweetheart Mary I. Paul from September 9, 1942 to November 11, 1945. The World War II correspondence covers Steve's eight months in basic training, three months in North Africa, and two years and one month in Italy. The correspondence includes hand written letters, typewritten letters, v-mail and air mail, postcards, and Western Union Telegrams. The excerpt below is from three letters Steve wrote to Mary from Camp Robinson, located about 7 miles from Little Rock, Arkansas. Steve's indoctrination into the military life emerges during his two months at Camp Robinson. Mary learned about K.P., the P.X., drilling, hiking, the firing range, digging spider holes, receiving vaccinations, the ambulance corp., and when Steve talked with the Major of the camp. Steve also informed Mary about visiting Little Rock, a local dance hall, his time in church, bunking with his fellow South Dakota soldiers, and receiving the Tyndall, SD newspaper. Although removed from his state, you can see in Steve's letters that he is kept aware of what is happening back home in South Dakota.

We are in the army now, out her in the Arkansas Ozarks, where the hillbillies live, it looks like a pretty fair country, but not like northeast of Tyndall, that's a real country.... I'm bunking with 3 Tripp fellows and 2 Vermillion fellows. So I think I'm pretty lucky.... We are going to stay here 6 weeks, then we move again.... Please write me all the news around there, and a lot about yourself, I wouldn't like anything better then to hear about you, besides seeing you. Am writing this letter to you, now after the lights went out, so I walked over here to the latrine, if you know what it means or what it is. The lights go out at 15 minutes to 10 at night. But the lights in the latrine burn all night. So that helps, It's a heck of a place to write a letter to a good and beautiful girl like you.... today I was on K.P. we all get K.P. about every 2 weeks here and there, so don't think I did something wrong (ha).... We are doing a lot of drilling, walking, handling a rifle, and a nice looking rifle, haven't shot it yet but I have an idea when I do, it will knock me over, as it's a big riffle, if you would see me handle a rifle now, You would say them tricks are not possible, but we all had to learn them, they handle rifles and other things different then in the last war. Yesterday we went through the gas chamber, boy! Did I bawl, but I got my gas mask on in time so it didn't hurt me any.... we train a little of everything, and then we are going to be shipped out of here for our actual training, like Ed Carda, or others, so we get out of here in about 5 weeks, they said, we will all be picked out for a certain job, like mechanics, military police, infantry, machine gun, airplanes, etc.... The army life isn't so bad, it isn't like home by a long shot, but it has its good, bad, sad, funny side to it. For example lets take the good – Well there is a lot of good boys here, I have seen it in church Sundays, by the way we have two churches, Catholics I mean, in our camp. The bad – Well there's a lot of bad over here too. They don't obey orders, stay away from camp, steal, drink, etc. sad.... Well one day I seen 3 men go down and out from the heat. It's damp, but here the boys aren't use to it. If one man falls in our platoon, we don't stop, we have to keep on going even if we have to step over him, that's what the ambulance corp. are for, they drive behind us and pick us up if we fall. I'm still going strong so far. I hope I can keep it up. The funny side for example is like when we come home, or what we call home.... We have one fellow from Vermillion, SD he is a pretty good auctioneer and he makes it sound funny and a

few laughs make us all feel good and of coarse I am usually making a fool out of myself by doing things to make them laugh. I have to do it at least every other day as the boys come over some evenings . . . [Several pages follow]

Questions:

Name two military related activities Steve did during basic training at Camp Robinson?

What things reminded Steve of life back home in South Dakota?

What were some of the good and bad things about army life that Steve mentions?

In your own words, what do you think is the purpose of Basic Training?

If you were in Steve's situation who would you write letters to and what would you talk about?

Texas Tides

Summary

After this lesson plan, students will be able to: identify the causes, major events, important people, and significant outcomes of World War II.

They will describe the life of a typical soldier during WWII, and create a letter that might have been written home from a WWII soldier to his family. This lesson should take a total of four, 50-minute-long periods to complete – two for the lecture, and two for the project.

Standards/Objectives

History. The student understands traditional historical points of reference in world history. The student is expected to:

- identify the major eras in world history and describe their defining characteristics;
- identify changes that resulted from important turning points in world history such as the development of farming; the Mongol invasions; the development of cities; the European age of exploration and colonization; the scientific and industrial revolutions; the political revolutions of the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries; and the world wars of the 20th century;
- apply absolute and relative chronology through the sequencing of significant individuals, events, and time periods;
- explain the significance of the following dates: 1066, 1215, 1492, 1789, 1914-1918, and 1939-1945.

TEKS §113.33. World History Studies (c)(1)(A,B,C,D)

History. The student understands how the present relates to the past. The student is expected to:

- identify elements in a contemporary situation that parallel a historical situation;
- describe variables in a contemporary situation that could result in different outcomes.

TEKS §113.33. World History Studies (c)(2)(A,B)

History. The student understands the impact of totalitarianism in the 20th century. The student is expected to:

- identify and explain causes and effects of World Wars I and II, including the rise of nazism/ fascism in Germany, Italy, and Japan; the rise of communism in the Soviet Union; and the Cold War;
- analyze the nature of totalitarian regimes in China, Nazi Germany, and the Soviet Union.

TEKS §113.33. World History Studies (c)(9)(A,B)

Citizenship. The student understands the significance of political choices and decisions made by individuals, groups, and nations throughout history. The student is expected to:

- evaluate political choices and decisions that individuals, groups, and nations have made in the past, taking into account historical context, and apply this knowledge to the analysis of choices and decisions faced by contemporary societies;
- describe the different roles of citizens and non-citizens in historical cultures, especially as the roles pertain to civic participation.

§113.33. World History Studies (c)(17)(A,B)

Social studies skills. The student applies critical-thinking skills to organize and use information acquired from a variety of sources including electronic technology. The student is expected to:

- identify ways archaeologists, anthropologists, historians, and geographers analyze limited evidence;
- locate and use primary and secondary sources such as computer software, databases, media and news services, biographies, interviews, and artifacts to acquire information;
- analyze information by sequencing, categorizing, identifying cause-and-effect relationships, comparing, contrasting, finding the main idea, summarizing, making generalizations and predictions, and drawing inferences and conclusions;
- explain and apply different methods that historians use to interpret the past, including the use of primary and secondary sources, points of view, frames of reference, and historical context;
- use the process of historical inquiry to research, interpret, and use multiple sources of evidence;
- evaluate the validity of a source based on language, corroboration with other sources, and information about the author;
- identify bias in written, oral, and visual material;
- support a point of view on a social studies issue or event;
- use appropriate mathematical skills to interpret social studies information such as maps and graphs.

§113.33. World History Studies (c)(25)(A,B,C,D,E,F,G,H,I)

Social studies skills. The student communicates in written, oral, and visual forms. The student is expected to:

- use social studies terminology correctly;
- use standard grammar, spelling, sentence structure, and punctuation;
- interpret and create databases, research outlines, bibliographies, and visuals including graphs, charts, timelines, and maps.

§113.33. World History Studies (c)(26)(A,B,C)

Procedures

1. Through either reading or lecture/notes format, provide information to students regarding World War II. Use the attached reference notes from a World History Class as a guide.
2. For day two, guide students through the collection of letters from *James Carlton Owens* to his family describing his life as a WWII soldier, as well as other pieces of the collections pertaining to World War II, found on the TIDES website.
3. Finally, have students pretend they are a World War II soldier. Based on the information from the notes and from the TIDES website, have students create a postcard using a 4x6 blank note card. On one side, students will draw and color picture of an image they might have seen as a soldier. On the other, students will write a brief letter home (8-10 lines) describing their lives as soldiers. Have students share their postcards with the class.

Class Notes

During the 1930's, dictators were gaining power throughout Europe, and no one stopped them.

- Japan took Manchuria and left the League of Nations, then invaded China
- Italy and Mussolini tried to invade Ethiopia to pay back former loss – won
 - League of Nations sanctioned, but had no power to enforce
- Germany – Hitler built up military, occupied the Rhineland

The Western powers appeased these dictators; France was weak, Germany was understandably upset by the Treaty of Versailles, NO ONE wanted another war; US passed Neutrality Acts stating they were not getting involved in European affairs...

Axis powers began to form (Rome to Berlin to Tokyo Axis) between Italy, Germany, and Japan – all agreed to not bother one another's quests, and to bring down USSR.

Spanish Civil War: The king of Spain abdicated in 1931, and a republic with a liberal constitution was formed.

- Liberals wanted further reforms — Conservatives (with military) no change
- 1936, Francisco Franco (Conservative) led revolt

Nationalists (Fascist, conservatives) vs. the Liberal Loyalists

- Hitler and Mussolini supported Franco, GB, France, and US neutral
- Almost 1 million died, esp. in attacks by German bombers
- 1939 Franco won – became Fascist dictator

Germany: Hitler tried to increase the size of Germany and bring all Germans together

- Anschluss – union of Austria and Germany – Annexed by putting Nazis in power
- Czechoslovakia - Germany wanted Sudetenland given to Czechs after WWI, began to invade
 - Munich conference, 1938, Britain and France appeased Hitler and forced Czechs to give in; Hitler promised not to take any more.

Things moved quickly after that – March 1939 Hitler took the rest of Czechoslovakia, and had an eye on Poland

- Hitler made pact with Russia (he hated/feared communism, but did not want any competition in Eastern Europe)
 - They pledged to support one another's Polish division, and not get in one another's way
- September 1, 1939, Germany invaded Poland and Britain and France declared war on Germany

Global Conflict

Invasion of Poland demonstrated Blitzkrieg or 'lightening war'

- Started with air strikes, then tanks and troops
- Russia moved in on East-side, and took their territory as well as Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and part of Finland

French waited behind Maginot line (line of defense built up along the northeastern edge of France) – British reinforced line – there was no action for several months, many called this a 'phony war.'

Then, in April 1940, Hitler went through Norway, Denmark and Belgium, (went right around Maginot Line) and invaded France trapping the British – British sent every vessel they had to get their troops off the beach at Dunkirk – more than 300,000 troops were safely brought home.

Germans attacked French from the north, Italians attacked from the south – French surrendered, Germans set up puppet state of Vichy, France in the South.

Some French, including an emerging leader, Charles De Gaulle fled to Great Britain and set up resistance government.

Axis powers successful in North Africa under the leadership of Rommel, the Desert Fox, who won several major victories in 1941 and 1942.

British were the only ones left in Western Europe who had not been invaded; Winston Churchill took over for Chamberlain as Prime Minister, and pledged to stop Hitler. Germans launched Operation Sea Lion – invasion of Britain – began with air strikes that were devastating (Blitz), but it only strengthened the resolve of the British and was overall a failure.

Germans then set off on Operation Barbarossa – invasion of Soviet Union – Stalin was taken completely by surprise, 2 ½ million Soviets died, but Hitler’s soldiers were stopped by the Russian winter.

- The siege of Leningrad began – 2 years long – most survived on very little (ate wallpaper....); Stalin asked Churchill for help.

U.S. Involvement: United States neutral at first, then secretly helped the British

- US passed ‘lend-lease act stating they would help anyone fighting for freedom in the World.
- In August 1941, the US and GB pledged to help each other
- December 7, 1941, the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor in response to the US refusing to sell Japan war materials; more than 2400 killed
- US immediately declared war on Japan, and then Germany and Italy declared war on the US
- Allies not very successful in the Pacific in the beginning – lost many territories, and had major battles at the Philippines, Guadalcanal and Midway Island, but Japanese would not be successful for long.

Global Conflict: Allied Successes

Occupied Territory: Hitler still hung up on ‘superior race’; took art, technology, and other resources from conquered lands

Worst part was the Holocaust – genocide – particularly the Jewish people, but he killed gypsies and the mentally ill as well.

- Hitler’s “Final Solution” was to kill them all
- Built ‘death camps at Auschwitz, Sobibor and Treblinka
 - Prisoners forced to work on railroads, or in factories; some killed right away, others had horrible tests performed on them.
- Some rebelled, but to no avail, others protected by friends

Japan was pushing for ‘Asia for Asians’ – wanted ALL westerners out. Created the ‘Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere’ – conquered a lot of land, and were brutal to those they conquered

Allies: Big three (Roosevelt for US, Stalin for USSR, Churchill for GB) began to meet regularly to discuss strategy

- Wanted to wrap up war in Europe before heading to Asia
- All resources directed towards war – consumer goods put on hold
- Women took men’s places in the workforce, even served in the military

Several battles helped turn the tide of the war:

1. El Alamein – Rommel (Desert Fox) finally stopped by Montgomery (British) and pushed back to Tunisia
2. Eisenhower began at Morocco and met them there – Rommel defeated
3. Italy – July 1943 – Allied invaded Italy, using Africa as a launching point – Mussolini was overthrown, Hitler sent reinforcements which spread him thin, Germans put up a good fight in Italy, but eventually were defeated
4. Red Army – Germans were stalled at Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg), tried to take Stalingrad, but failed
 - Surrounded the city, but were then surrounded themselves
 - Hitler driven out of the USSR, and Soviets moved into Eastern Europe
5. France: Allied landing in France at Normandy was successful – had been planned for MONTHS – Allies had tricked Germans with fake bases and false transmissions. Eisenhower was now Allied commander, and led the invasion on June 6, 1944 (D-Day) – Allies eventually made it to Paris, other Allies came in through southern France, and Paris was liberated – by September, France was once again free.

Toward Victory

Pacific: Different type of fighting in Asia

- Japanese VERY successful at first, especially in Philippines – Bataan death march, thousands died
- Finally during the battles of Midway and Coral Sea, Allies were successful
 - Began Island hopping, blockade by Nimitz slowing Japan down

Meanwhile, the Allies were pushing towards Germany

- In Belgium, the Battle of the Bulge stopped Hitler
 - Hitler's popularity declining, constantly under threat of assassination, Germany being bombed non-stop, 135,000 died in Dresden alone
- By the end of April, 1945, Russians and Allies met in Berlin
- Germany surrendered May, 1945, May 8 1945 considered V-E Day

By mid 1945 Japan lost navy and air force, but still had huge army

- Invasion too risky, Kamikazes were deadly
- Allies testing other methods – came displaced scientists, including Einstein, discovered Atom-bombs
- Truman decided to use it on Japan
- August 6, 1945, Hiroshima bombed – 70,000 died instantly; 8/9 Nagasaki bombed
- Japan surrendered 8/10 (Hirohito leader)

Post War

Europe in ruins, again

- 75 million around the world dead
- Nazi atrocities came to forefront
 - Nuremberg Trials punished guilty Nazis
- Democracies established by Allies in attempt to strengthen war-torn areas
- United Nations (50 countries) established April 1945
 - Every member nation had 1 vote, security council given more power – 5 member – US, Russia, Brit, France, China – could veto any decision; did more than keep peace, tried to solve and prevent world problems (World health Organization, and Food and Agricultural Organization)
- New powers came about – US and USSR – they had conflicts which led to the Cold War – state of tension and hostility – especially in Eastern Europe
- Stalin (USSR) wanted to extend communism and create buffer against Germany
 - He had troops in Eastern Europe, US was influencing Italy and Japan
 - Roosevelt and Churchill against his view, Truman, too – USSR went ahead
 - Churchill called at an ‘Iron Curtain’ dividing Eastern and Western Europe
 - ‘Blocks’ formed – East – communist, West – democratic
 - US became heavily involved in foreign affairs
 - Stalin became more aggressive in Turkey and Greece
- March 1947, Truman doctrine issued – US would defend democracy everywhere – policy of ‘containment’ to contain communism
- US offered aid package to strengthen countries against communism – Marshall Plan – gave food and \$\$ to Europe
- Stalin tried to get Eastern Europeans to reject US aid
- Germany became divided – East was dismantled by USSR, West supported by US and GB
 - Crisis created in Berlin – USSR tried to close Berlin to the west, GB and US airlifted food and fuel to West Berlin – Soviets gave up blockade, Berlin divided.

1949 NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) formed, and in 1955 USSR formed Warsaw Pact in response

Led to arms race, bigger better weapons and a ‘balance of terror’

Materials: *James Carlton Owens WWII letters Other World War II items on TIDES* 4 x 6 blank note cards

Created by Claire Bray, December 2007

Wisconsin Historical Society

Black Hawk War

By Jim Tripp

Standards: 8.1, 8.2, 8.3, 8.4, 8.7, 8.10, 8.11; 12.1, 12.2, 12.3, 12.4, 12.5, 12.12, 12.16

Grade Level: Secondary

Topic: Territory to Statehood

Lesson Plan Text:

Introduction/Background: The Black Hawk War was a result of the collision of white lead mining interests and the attempt of the Sauk and Fox Indians to protect their homelands. Following the great Indian peace council at Prairie du Chien in 1825 the tribes of southwestern Michigan Territory (later, Wisconsin) and northwestern Illinois signed a series of treaties with the United States which whittled away at their traditional lands and eventually removed most of them to lands farther west. The Black Hawk War, the last Indian-white conflict in Wisconsin, was precipitated by Black Hawk's attempt to regain control of corn growing land east of the Mississippi River.

Resources:

Article- Narrative of Walking Cloud--a Ho Chunk leader recounts the war

Manuscript- Personal narrative of the Black Hawk War, 1855 -- soldier Joseph Dickson looks back on his role

Book- Autobiography of Black Hawk

Article- Reminiscences of Adele Gratiot

Additional primary and secondary sources on the Black Hawk War

Lesson Objectives: All or some of the following objectives can be pursued depending on the level of the students, time available, and focus of the class.

Use and construct maps to locate important event sites

Construct time lines which show events in context

Use the internet and other resources to find information

Be able to explain differences between primary and secondary sources

Consult documents giving multiple views of the same event

Identify point of view in differing accounts of the same event

Place events in Wisconsin in perspective to national policy and trends

Be able to identify important people, places, dates and events

Suggested Activities: Match the activity to the objective above:

Divide students into groups containing 3 to 5 students each. Have every group complete the following activities. When complete the groups should display, present, or in some way share their results with an audience. Comparison of the synopses of all groups would be particularly useful.

- A. Construct Time lines
- B. Draw Maps
- C. Make lists of people, places, and events with identification
- D. Write short narrations of events from documents found in Turning Points
- E. Find examples of similar events from national history
- F. Write a brief synopsis of the Black Hawk War and defend it as being historically accurate and pertinent to national historical events.

A. Time lines: The concept of proportionality in relation to time and design features of good time lines would need to be clear to the students at the outset. If there is an opportunity to work with an art class this is a good place to use creative skills to dress up the time line for greater visual impact. Two time lines could be constructed. One could show national and regional events from, say, 1763 to 1848, and the other could cover the immediate events of 1832. Lists of events could be given to the students or they could be assigned to find them on their own.

B. Draw Maps: Using outline maps or maps which the students produce on their own locate important places, events, routes and features. Lists of map features can come from student research or from a list provided to them. Students should incorporate the standard map protocols, including distance scale, compass rose, legend, title, and accurate placement.

C. List People, Places, and Events: Each group should produce a list of the important people, events, places and groups that were involved. The list could be provided for them or they could generate it on their own. Each item on the list should be identified in context of the Black Hawk War and also in a larger context if that would be helpful, (i.e. Jefferson Davis, later the President of the Confederate States of America).

Note: Dates, people, places and events can all be found using the articles, manuscripts and links on the Turning Points website. The related links can produce further material.

D. Write Narration: Using the documents found in Turning Points and elsewhere the groups should produce at least two (or more, depending on time) short narrations of the events of the Black Hawk War from different perspectives or from different sources. For example, Turning Points can provide versions of the conflict from Walking Cloud, Adele

Gratiot, Joseph Dickson, and Black Hawk himself. Each narration should be written using only one source. The narrations will be similar but with variations in emphasis and interpretation. Each narration should be identified as to the source of the information.

E. Research Comparable Events: The Black Hawk War in Wisconsin was an isolated event in the history of the United States, but had causes, personalities, events, and results that can be compared to other events. The Black Hawk War was also a part of a larger picture. Students could be assigned to find and compare similar events in other places, compare the causes of the war to other events, and compare the results with what occurred in other places. This is probably the most sophisticated of the tasks and would not be appropriate for all ages or classes. The documents from Turning Points will provide the necessary material on the Black Hawk War and similar websites can provide similar documents. A search for Sand Creek Massacre, for example, turned up a very nice PBS website which could be used for this exercise. There are many others also.

F. Write Synopses: Each group should conclude their study and work by writing their version of the Black Hawk War and defend their work using the standards of historical writing. (Reliability of sources, ability to assess accuracy of accounts, etc.).

Evaluation and Assessment:

1. Maps and timelines should demonstrate accuracy, neatness, complete information, and appropriate appearance according to standards developed by the teacher.
2. The Lists of people, places and events should be complete and correspond to the standards set for amount of detail, depth of understanding displayed, and quantity of information.
3. Written summaries, narratives and synopses should display grammar, spelling and punctuation appropriate to grade level and stated expectations.
4. Presentation of information and interpretation of material can be evaluated using a rubric developed by the teacher.
5. Student-to-student critique and suggestion could be used effectively in this lesson.

Appendix A: Directory of State and Territorial Archives and Records Programs
Council of State Archivists
As of June 13, 2009

ALABAMA Alabama Department of Archives and History home page
<http://www.archives.state.al.us/index.html>

ALASKA Alaska Division of Libraries and Archives home page
<http://www.library.state.ak.us/>

Archives and Records Management
<http://www.archives.state.ak.us>

AMERICAN
SAMOA American Samoa Government
Territorial Archivist, Office of the Attorney General

ARIZONA Arizona State Library Archives and Public Records
home page
<http://www.lib.az.us/>

Arizona History and Archives Division home page
<http://www.lib.az.us/archives/>

Records Management Division home page
<http://www.lib.az.us/records/>

ARKANSAS Arkansas History Commission home page
<http://www.ark-ives.com/>

CALIFORNIA California State Archives home page
<http://www.sos.ca.gov/archives/archives.htm>

Department of General Services,
Statewide Information and Records Management Program home page
<http://www.osp.dgs.ca.gov/calrim/>

COLORADO Colorado State Archives home page
<http://www.colorado.gov/dpa/doit/archives/>

CONNECTICUT Connecticut State Library home page
<http://www.cslib.org/>

Public Records Administrator
<http://www.cslib.org/opra.htm>

Connecticut State Archives
<http://www.cslib.org/archives.htm>

DELAWARE Delaware Public Archives home page
<http://archives.delaware.gov/>

DIST. OF
COLUMBIA District of Columbia Office of Public Records home page
<http://os.dc.gov/os/cwp/view.asp?a=1207&Q=522721&osNav=|31376|>

FLORIDA State Library and Archives of Florida home page
<http://dlis.dos.state.fl.us/index.cfm>

Bureau of Archives and Records Management
<http://dlis.dos.state.fl.us/barm/>

Florida State Archives
<http://dlis.dos.state.fl.us/barm/fsa.html>

Florida Records Management Program
http://dlis.dos.state.fl.us/index_RecordsManagers.cfm

GEORGIA	<p>The Georgia Archives home page http://www.sos.state.ga.us/archives/</p>
HAWAII	<p>Hawai'i State Archives http://www.hawaii.gov/dags/archives</p> <p>Archives http://hawaii.gov/dags/archives/about-us</p> <p>Records Management http://hawaii.gov/dags/archives/records-management</p>
IDAHO	<p>Idaho State Historical Society home page http://www.idahohistory.net</p> <p>Library and Archives http://www.idahohistory.net/library_archives.html</p> <p>Division of Purchasing, State Record Center home page http://adm.idaho.gov/purchasing/record_cnt.htm</p>
ILLINOIS	<p>Illinois State Archives home page http://www.cyberdriveillinois.com/departments/archives/archives.html</p>
INDIANA	<p>Indiana Commission on Public Records home page http://www.in.gov/icpr/index.htm</p> <p>Indiana State Archives http://www.in.gov/icpr/2358.htm</p> <p>Records Management Division http://www.in.gov/icpr/2361.htm</p>
IOWA	<p>State Historical Society of Iowa home page http://www.iowahistory.org/</p> <p>Archives and Records Program</p>

<http://www.iowahistory.org/archives/index.html>

KANSAS

Kansas State Historical Society home page

<http://www.kshs.org/>

State Archives

[http://www.kshs.org/research/collections/
documents/govtrecords/index.htm](http://www.kshs.org/research/collections/documents/govtrecords/index.htm)

Records Management

[http://www.kshs.org/government/records/
recordsmanagement.htm](http://www.kshs.org/government/records/recordsmanagement.htm)

Local records

[http://www.kshs.org/government/records/
localgovt/index.htm](http://www.kshs.org/government/records/localgovt/index.htm)

KENTUCKY

Kentucky Department for Libraries and Archives home page

<http://www.kdla.ky.gov/home.htm>

State Records Services

<http://www.kdla.ky.gov/recmanagement/state.htm>

LOUISIANA

Louisiana State Archives home page

<http://www.sos.louisiana.gov/tabid/53/Default.aspx>

MAINE

Maine State Archives home page

<http://www.maine.gov/sos/arc/>

Division of Archives Services

<http://www.maine.gov/sos/arc/research/homepage.html>

Division of Records Management Services

<http://www.maine.gov/sos/arc/records/>

MARYLAND

Maryland State Archives home page
<http://www.msa.md.gov/>

Maryland Department of General Services home page
<http://www.dgs.maryland.gov/>

Office of Procurement and Logistics,
Records Management Division
<http://www.dgs.maryland.gov/overview/logistics.htm>

MASSACHUSETTS Massachusetts Secretary of the Commonwealth
<http://www.sec.state.ma.us/>

Massachusetts Archives home page
<http://www.sec.state.ma.us/arc/arcidx.htm>

Public Records Division home page
<http://www.sec.state.ma.us/pre/preidx.htm>

State Records Center home page
<http://www.sec.state.ma.us/rec/recidx.htm>

MICHIGAN

Department of History, Arts, and Libraries home page
<http://www.michigan.gov/hal/>

Michigan Historical Center home page
<http://www.michigan.gov/michiganhistory>

Archives of Michigan
<http://www.michigan.gov/archivesofmi>

Archives of Michigan, Services for Government
http://www.michigan.gov/hal/0,1607,7-160-17451_18673_19379---,00.html

Local Government Records Services
http://www.michigan.gov/hal/0,1607,7-160-17451_18673_19379-56095--,00.html

MINNESOTA

Minnesota Historical Society home page
<http://www.mnhs.org/>

State Archives
<http://www.mnhs.org/preserve/records/>

MISSISSIPPI

Department of Archives and History home page
<http://www.mdah.state.ms.us/>

Library and Archives Division
http://www.mdah.state.ms.us/arlib/arlib_index.html

Records Management Division
<http://www.mdah.state.ms.us/recman/recmntxt.php>

Local Government Records Office
<http://www.mdah.state.ms.us/recman/index.php>

MISSOURI

Office of the Secretary of State,
Research and Reference home page
<http://www.sos.mo.gov/>

Missouri State Archives home page
<http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/Default.asp>

Records Management home page
<http://www.sos.mo.gov/records/recmgmt/>

Local Records Preservation Program home page
<http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/localrecs/>

MONTANA

Montana Historical Society home page
<http://www.his.state.mt.us/>

Archives Collections
<http://www.his.state.mt.us/research/library/archcoll.asp#State%20Government%20Records>

Secretary of State, Records and Information Management home page
<http://sos.mt.gov/Records/index.asp>

NEBRASKA

Nebraska State Historical Society home page
<http://www.nebraskahistory.org/>

Library/Archives Division
<http://www.nebraskahistory.org/lib-arch/index.htm>

County records consultations
<http://www.nebraskahistory.org:80/lib-arch/research/public/county.htm>

State records consultations
<http://www.nebraskahistory.org:80/lib-arch/research/public/state.htm>

Secretary of State, Records Management Division home page
<http://www.sos.ne.gov/records-management/>

NEVADA

Nevada State Library and Archives home page
<http://nevadaculture.org/nsla/>

Nevada State Archives
http://nevadaculture.org/nsla/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=579&Itemid=85

Records Management
http://nevadaculture.org/nsla/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=503&Itemid=86

Local Government Records
http://nevadaculture.org/nsla/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=508&Itemid=80

NEW HAMPSHIRE New Hampshire Division of Records Management and Archives home page
<http://www.sos.nh.gov/archives/>

NEW JERSEY New Jersey Division of Archives and Records Management home page
<http://www.njarchives.org/index.html>

State Archives
<http://www.njarchives.org/links/archives.html>

Records Management
<http://www.njarchives.org/links/recman.html>

NEW MEXICO	<p>Commission of Public Records home page, New Mexico State Records Center and Archives http://www.nmcpr.state.nm.us/</p> <p>Archives and Historical Services Division http://www.nmcpr.state.nm.us/archives/archives_hm.htm</p> <p>Records Management Division http://www.nmcpr.state.nm.us/records/records_hm.htm</p>
NEW YORK	<p>New York State Archives home page http://www.archives.nysed.gov/aindex.shtml</p> <p>Records Management for State and Local Agencies http://www.archives.nysed.gov/a/records/index.shtml</p>
NORTH CAROLINA	<p>North Carolina Office of Archives and History home page http://www.ncdcr.gov/</p> <p>North Carolina State Archives http://www.archives.ncdcr.gov/</p> <p>Government Records Branch http://www.records.ncdcr.gov</p>
NORTH DAKOTA	<p>State Historical Society of North Dakota home page http://www.nd.gov/hist/</p> <p>State Archives and Historical Research Library http://history.nd.gov/archives/</p> <p>Information Technology Department home page http://www.nd.gov/itd/</p> <p>Information Services Division, Records Management http://www.nd.gov/itd/records/</p>
OHIO	<p>Ohio Historical Society home page</p>

<http://www.ohiohistory.org/>

OHS, Archives/Library

<http://www.ohiohistory.org/resource/archlib/>

State Archives

<http://www.ohiohistory.org/resource/statearc/>

Department of Administrative Services,

General Services Division, Office of Printing and Mailing Services

Records Management

<http://das.ohio.gov/gsd/printing/records/index.html>

OKLAHOMA

Oklahoma Department of Libraries,

State Archives and Records home page

<http://www.odl.state.ok.us/oar/index.htm>

Records Management

<http://www.odl.state.ok.us/oar/recordsmgt/index.htm>

OREGON

Oregon State Archives home page

<http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/>

Records Management

<http://arcweb.sos.state.or.us/banners/recmgmt.htm>

PENNSYLVANIA

Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission home page

<http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/overview.asp>

Pennsylvania State Archives

<http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/DAM/overview.htm>

Records Management

State Government Services

<http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/RecordsMgnt/>

StateGovernmentServices.asp?secid=43#

StateGovernmentServices

Local Government/Judicial System Services

<http://www.phmc.state.pa.us/bah/RecordsMgnt/>

LocalGovServices.asp?secid=43

PUERTO RICO

Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña
<http://www.icp.gobierno.pr/index.htm>

Archivo General de Puerto Rico
<http://www.icp.gobierno.pr/agp/index.htm>

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island State Archives home page
<http://www.sec.state.ri.us/Archives/>

SOUTH
CAROLINA

South Carolina Department of Archives and History home page
<http://www.state.sc.us/scdah/>

Services to State and Local Governments
<http://arm.scdah.sc.gov/>

SOUTH DAKOTA

South Dakota State Archives home page
<http://www.sdhistory.org/arc/archives.htm>

Bureau of Administration, Records Management home page
<http://www.state.sd.us/boa/records.htm>

TENNESSEE

Tennessee State Library and Archives home page
<http://www.tennessee.gov/tsla/>

Department of General Services, Records Management Division home page
<http://www.state.tn.us/generalserv/ba17r/>

TEXAS

Texas State Library and Archives Commission home page
<http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/>

Texas State Archives
<http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/agency/contact/>

[contactaris.html](#)

State and Local Records Management
<http://www.tsl.state.tx.us/agency/contact/contactsirm.html>

UTAH

Utah State Archives home page
<http://archives.utah.gov/>

VERMONT

Vermont State Archives, Secretary of State home page
<http://vermont-archives.org/>

VIRGIN ISLANDS (U.S.)

Division of Libraries, Archives, and Museums,
U. S. Virgin Islands Public Library System

Territorial Archives
<http://www.virginislandspubliclibraries.org/usvi/archives.asp>

VIRGINIA

Library of Virginia home page
<http://www.lva.lib.va.us/>

Records Management
<http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwedo/records/index.htm>

Archives Research Services
<http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwedo/archives/index.htm>

Virginia Heritage Resource Center
<http://www.lva.lib.va.us/whatwedo/archives/vhrc.htm>

WASHINGTON

Office of the Secretary of State,
Archives and Records Management home page
<http://www.secstate.wa.gov/archives/>

Records Management - State Agencies
<http://www.secstate.wa.gov/archives/>

RecordsManagement/records_state.aspx

WEST VIRGINIA	West Virginia Archives and History home page http://www.wvculture.org/history/archivesindex.aspx
	State Archives http://www.wvculture.org/history/wvsamenu.html
	Records Management and Preservation Board http://www.wvculture.org/history/rmpb/rmpb.html
	West Virginia Office of Technology home page http://www.state.wv.us/ot/
	Records Management http://www.state.wv.us/ot/default.cfm?fuseaction=Recordsmanagement&fs=1
WISCONSIN	Wisconsin Historical Society home page http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/
	Library-Archives http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/libraryarchives/
	Department of Administration, Enterprise Operations
	Public Records Board http://www.doa.state.wi.us/section_detail.asp?linkcatid=231&linkid=49&locid=2
WYOMING	Wyoming State Parks and Cultural Resources home page http://wyospcr.state.wy.us/
	Wyoming State Archives home page http://wyoarchives.state.wy.us/

Those with school specific sites:

Alabama, California, Florida, Idaho, Iowa, Kansas, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Missouri, Montana, New York, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Tennessee, Virginia, and Wisconsin.

Appendix B: Collaborative Digitization Programs in the United States

As compiled by Ken Middleton, Middle Tennessee State University and used as the basis of the collaborative digitization discussion group associated with the American Library Association

Alabama

AlabamaMosaic <http://www.alabamamosaic.org/>

Alaska

Alaska's Digital Archive <http://vilda.alaska.edu/>

Arizona

Arizona Archives Online <http://aao.lib.asu.edu/index.html>

Arizona Memory Project <http://azmemory.lib.az.us/>

California

Online Archive of California <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/>

Colorado

Collaborative Digitization Program <http://www.bcr.org/cdp/>

Connecticut

Connecticut History Online <http://www.cthistoryonline.org/cdm-cho/index.html>

District of Columbia

WRLC Libraries Digital and Special Collections
<http://www.aladin.wrlc.org/dl/>

Florida

PALMM: Publication of Archival, Library & Museum Materials <http://susdl.fcla.edu/>

Georgia

Digital Library of Georgia

<http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/?Welcome>

Idaho

Columbia River Basin Ethnic History Archive
<http://www.vancouver.wsu.edu/crbeha/>

Illinois

Digital Past

<http://www.digitalpast.org/>

Illinois Digital Archives

<http://www.idaillinois.org/>

Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive [Iowa/Illinois border]

<http://www.umvphotoarchive.org/>

Indiana

Hoosier Heritage

<http://www.hoosierheritage.net/>

Iowa

Iowa Heritage Digital Collections

<http://iowaheritage.org/>

Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive [Iowa/Illinois border]

<http://www.umvphotoarchive.org/>

Kansas

Kansas Memory

Kentucky

Kentuckiana Digital Library

<http://kdl.kyvl.org/>

Louisiana

LOUISiana Digital Library

<http://louisdl.louislibraries.org/>

Maine

Maine Memory Network <http://www.mainememory.net/>

Maine Music Box
<http://mainemusicbox.library.umaine.edu/musicbox/>

Windows on Maine [Video On Demand] <http://windowsonmaine.library.umaine.edu/>

Maryland

Maryland Digital Cultural Heritage <http://www.mdch.org/>

Massachusetts

Northeast Massachusetts Digital Library <http://www.nmrls.org/nmdl/>

The Digital Commonwealth <http://www.nmrls.org/digitalcommonwealth/>

Michigan

Making of Modern Michigan <http://mmm.lib.msu.edu/index.html>

Minnesota

Minnesota Digital Library Project <http://www.mndigital.org/>

Mississippi

Mississippi Digital Library <http://www.msdiglib.net/>

Missouri

Missouri Digital Heritage Initiative <http://www.sos.mo.gov/mdh/>

Montana Memory Project

Montana Memories <http://cdm15018.contentdm.oclc.org/>

Nebraska

Nebraska Memories

<http://www.memories.ne.gov/>

Nebraska Western Trails

<http://www.nlc.state.ne.us/westerntrails/>

Nevada

Mountain West Digital Library

<http://www.lib.utah.edu/portal/site/marriottlibrary/menuitem.6dd5061fd3f77585d0f3d010c1e916b9/?vgnextoid=a518be1e7c74c110VgnVCM1000001c9e619bRCRD>

New Jersey

New Jersey Digital Highway

<http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/>

New Mexico

Online Archive of New Mexico

<http://rmoa.unm.edu/>

New York

New York State Digital Collections

<http://www.archives.nysed.gov/d/>

North Carolina

North Carolina ECHO

<http://www.ncecho.org/>

Ohio

Ohio Memory

<http://www.ohiomemory.org/>

Oklahoma

Oklahoma Heritage Online

<http://www.okheritage.org/>

Oregon

Columbia River Basin Ethnic History Archive

<http://www.vancouver.wsu.edu/crbeha/>

Pennsylvania

Access Pennsylvania Digital Repository <http://www.accesspadr.org/>

Historic Pittsburgh <http://digital.library.pitt.edu/pittsburgh/>

Pennsylvania History Online
<http://www.statelibrary.state.pa.us/libraries/cwp/view.asp?a=88&Q=75694>

South Carolina

South Carolina Digital Library <http://www.scmemory.org/index.php>

South Dakota

South Dakota Memory <http://sdmemory.library.sd.gov/>

Tennessee

Volunteer Voices <http://volunteervoices.org/>

Texas

Texas Heritage Online <http://www.texasheritageonline.org/>

Texas Tides <http://tides.sfasu.edu/home.html>

Utah

Mountain West Digital Library (Same as Nevada)

Virginia

Virginia Memory <http://www.virginiamemory.com/>

Washington

King County Snapshots <http://www.kcsnapshots.org/>

Washington State Digital Libraries Portal <http://digitalwa.statelib.wa.gov/>

Wisconsin

Wisconsin Heritage Online

<http://wisconsinheritage.org/>

Wyoming

Wyoming Memory

<http://www.wyomingmemory.org/>

Those containing an educators' page: Arizona Memory, Collaborative Digitization Program (Multiple western states), Connecticut History Online, Digital Library of Georgia, Digital Past (Illinois), Kansas Memory, Maine Memory Network, Windows on Maine, Minnesota Digital Library, Missouri Digital Heritage Initiative, Nebraska Memories, Nebraska Western Trails, New Jersey Digital Highway, Oklahoma Heritage Online, Historic Pittsburgh, South Carolina Digital Library, Volunteer Voices, Texas Tides (16 total)

Appendix C: Digitization Projects Funded by the Institute of Museum and Library Services

The following list of digital projects has been compiled by the Digital Collections and Content Registry, which is a collaborative project maintained by the University of Illinois Library, the Graduate School of Library and Information Science (Center for Informatics Research in Science and Scholarship), and the Institute of Museum and Library Services (IMLS). The registry may be found at <http://imlsdcc.grainger.uiuc.edu/>¹⁰³⁶ The items below represent projects funded largely by the IMLS National Leadership Grant Program, although there are some projects funded by Library Services and technology act (LSTA) funds made available by IMLS through state library agencies. There are two hundred and five “collections” listed below. Some of these collections have sub-collections. There is a wide range in the number of individual items in each collection or subcollection. Twenty three of the collections in the list could not be accessed due to broken links in the registry. This could mean that individual projects have ceased to exist on the Web, but more likely means that they have changed URLs, have been merged into other projects, or a bit of both. Eleven of the projects listed below duplicate other projects found in the list of collaborative digitization projects in Appendix B. Eight of the items in the list actually lead to the same Web site as another item in this list. This is because one “portal” might have received several grants to digitize different materials. That leaves 163 individual projects whose links in the registry still work and which are separate from the collaborative digitization projects and those digitization projects maintained by state archives agencies. Of these 163 projects, 24 have a link off of their homepages to some sort of educational resources/contextualization. These 24 are in bold print.

A Collaborative Digital Collections Production Center (NLG ND-10041) (4 collections)

****A Sound Model: Collaborative Infrastructure for Digital Audio (NLG LG-03-04-0067) (1 collection)**

A Testbed of Civil War Era Newspapers (NLG LG-02-03-0082) (1 collection)

A University Goes to War, World War I Women (LSTA 98-8020) (1 collection)

Abraham Lincoln Historical Digitization Project (LSTA 06-3043) (1 collection)

Africa Focus: Sights and Sounds of a Continent (NLG LL-80131) (1 collection)

¹⁰³⁶ This list of projects was taken from the site on October 30, 2009. A direct link to this list may be found at <http://imlsdcc.grainger.uiuc.edu/collections/GEMProject.asp>, which provides a link to only IMLS National Leadership Grant Program-funded digital collections. The alphabetical listing by “t” in the word “the” in this list follows the arrangement of the Registry.

American Journeys: Eyewitness Accounts of No. American Exploration & Settlement (NLG LG-03-02-0112) (1 collection)

**American Missionary Association and the Promise of a Multi-cultural America:1839-1954 (NLG LL-90044) (1 collection)

American Natural Science in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century (NLG LL-90013) (1 collection)

Aquifer American Social History Online (N/A N/A) (1 collection) HEARTH (Home Economics Archive: Research, Tradition, and History)

Arizona - Sonora Documents Online (NLG ND-00024) (1 collection)

*Arizona Memory (LSTA Arizona) (70 collections) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

Arthur, Once upon a time (LSTA 04-3014) (1 collection)

ArtsConnectEd II (NLG LG-24-06-0090) (1 collection)

Atlanta Photojournalists Digital Access Project (NLG LG-05-05-0240-05) (1 collection)

Beauty in Stone : the industrial films of the Georgia Marble Company (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

*Beyond the Shelf: Serving Historic Kentuckiana Through Virtual Access (NLG LG-03-02-0012) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

**Black Swamp Memories (LSTA Ohio) (1 collection)

Blues, Black vaudeville, and the silver screen, 1912-1930s : selections from the records of Macon's Douglass Theatre (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Boston Streets: Mapping Directory Data (NLG LG-02-02-0072) (1 collection)

Bridging the Gap: From Real Art to Virtual Learning (NLG LG-20-02-0184) (1 collection)

Brooklyn Daily Eagle Online (NLG ND-10009) (1 collection)

Building a Digital Cultural Heritage Community (NLG LL-80113) (1 collection)

****Building A Globally Distributed Historical Sheet Map Set (NLG LG-03-04-0889) (1 collection)**

Capturing Their Pasts Veteran Oral Histories (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Centennial Exhibition Digital Collection (NLG LL-90009) (1 collection)

Central Florida Memory (NLG LG-30-04-0225) (1 collection)

Charles Overstreet Collection (LSTA 03-5004) (1 collection)

****Chicago Botanic Garden Plant Evaluation Web Site (NLG NL-10009) (1 collection)**

Civil Rights Digital Library (NLG LG-05-05-0244) (1 collection)

Civil Rights in the Mississippi Digital Archive (NLG ND-10033) (1 collection)

CLIOH - A Cultural Digital Library Indexing Our Heritage (NLG NR-10014) (1 collection)

Coal Mining in Illinois, Machine vs. Man (LSTA 99-9521) (1 collection)

Colorado Digitization Program (NLG LL-90094) (2 collections)

Colorado's Historic Newspaper Collection: A Statewide Model for Digitization (NLG LG-03-03-0126) (1 collection)

Columbus Public Library Association minutes, 1881-1883 (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

***Connecticut History Online (NLG LG-30-02-0256) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)**

*****Connecticut History Online (NLG LL-90087) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project) (Duplicates another item on the list, second grant)**

Connections: Linking Educational Institutions, Libraries and Museums Through Technology (NLG NL-10035-01) (1 collection)

Cornerstone Project: Building the Foundation for Sharing Unique Treasures (NLG ND-10030) (1 collection)

*Creating Communities: Digitizing Denver's Historic Neighborhoods (NLG LG-05-07-0091) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

Crossing Organizational Boundaries (NLG NL-10016) (1 collection)

Cuban Heritage Collection: Digitization and Preservation of Selected Afro-Cuban and Cuban Exile Collections (NLG LL-90160) (1 collection)

Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative — Phase 2 (NLG LG-05-07-0084) (1 collection)

Cylinder Recording Preservation and Digitization Project (NLG LG-03-03-0093) (1 collection)

Cyrus F. Jenkins Civil War diary, 1861-1862 (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Data Fountains: A National, Cooperative Information Utility (NLG LG-02-03-0083) (1 collection)

Daumier Project (NLG ND-10005) (1 collection)

Digital Access for WPA Photographs of TVA Archaeological Projects (NLG LG-03-02-0080) (1 collection)

Digital Archive of 1936-1941 Historical Aerial Photography of the State of Illinois (NLG LG-03-03-0103) (1 collection)

Digital Artists in Residence (NLG NO-00018) (3 collections)

Digital Dress: 200 Years of Urban Style, A Model Web Portal for Library/Museum Collaboration (NLG LG-30-03-0218) (5 collections)

Digital Library of Printable Machines: Models for Collection Building and Educational Outreach (NLG LG-30-04-0204) (1 collection)

Digital Memories: UIS Oral History Collection Digitization Project (LSTA 04-3023) (1 collection)

Digital Past (LSTA 98-8043) (1 collection)

Digital Video Library Toolkit for Museums and Libraries with Limited Resources (NLG LG-03-04-0067) (1 collection)

Digitization and Metadata Aggregation for War Poster Collections (NLG ND-10007) (1 collection)

Digitization and Preservation of WPA Museum Extension Project Artifacts (NLG ND-10010) (1 collection)

Digitization for Access and Preservation: the United States Virgin Islands (NLG ND-00026) (5 collections)

Digitizing and Preserving the Hoagy Carmichael Collection at Indiana University (NLG LL-80068) (1 collection)

****Discover Babylon (NLG LG-30-04-0261) (1 collection)**

Early Walker County papers (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Eastern Illinois University Yearbook - Warbler (LSTA 06-3038) (1 collection)

eFloras.org (NLG LG-24-07-0021) (1 collection)

****Electronic Bolles Archive of the History and Topography of London: Phase II (NLG ND-00015) (1 collection)**

Electronic Resources Learning Center (NLG NO-00021) (2 collections)

Enduring Communities: The Japanese American Experience in Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, Texas, and Utah (NLG LG-23-05-0064) (1 collection)

Engaging the Public with Digital Primary Sources: A Tri-State Online History Database and Learning Center (NLG NL-10032) (1 collection)

****Enoch Pratt Free Library's E-Stories: A Multimedia Celebration of our Multicultural Heritage (NLG ND-10026) (1 collection)**

Exit Art Digital Archive (NLG LG-20-04-0192) (1 collection)

****Exploratorium Digital Asset Management Project (NLG NO-10025) (1 collection)**

Feeding America: the Historic American Cookbooks Project (NLG ND-10042) (1 collection)

Field Trip Earth (NLG NO-00-01-0016-01) (1 collection)

Find-It Illinois (NLG LL-90026) (3 collections)

Flora and Fauna of the Great Lakes Region: A Multimedia Digital Collection (NLG NL-00034) (1 collection)

*Florida Folklife Digitization and Education Project (NLG LG-03-03-0052) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project, Florida Memories)

Folkstreams.net: Digitized Video and the Film of Traditional American Culture (NLG LG-03-04-0057) (1 collection)

***Folkstreams.net: Digitized Video and the Film of Traditional American Culture (NLG LG-05-06-0171) (1 collection) (duplicates another item on list; a second grant)

For our mutual benefit : The Athens Woman's Club and social reform, 1899-1920 (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Franklin Automobile Photograph Collection (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

From Pi Beta Phi to Arrowmont: Bringing Education and Economic Development to the Great Smoky Mountains, 1910-2004 (NLG LG-03-04-0084) (1 collection)

From the Zanzibar Slave Market to Election Campaigning in Pre-Independent Kenya: Digital Access to 100 Years of East African History (NLG LG-05-06-0153-06) (1 collection)

Gatt Archive: 1947-1994 (NLG LG-03-02-0021) (1 collection)

**Geography and History Online: Integrating Digital Geographic Resources For Use in Schools (NLG LG-04-05-0162) (1 collection)

George Edward Anderson Collection (LSTA Utah) (1 collection)

Georgia Legislative Documents Project Phase Two (NLG ND-00030) (1 collection)

Getting the message out: National Political Campaign Materials: 1840-1860 (NLG ND-00016) (1 collection)

Goodspeed Manuscript Collection Project (NLG LG-05-05-0203-05) (1 collection)

Hawaiian / Pacific Digital Archive (NLG LL-80211) (3 collections)

***HEARTH (Home Economics Archive: Research, Tradition, and History) (NLG ND-00002) (1 collection) Aquifer American Social History Online (N/A N/A) (1 collection) (Duplicates another item on list, a second grant)

Illinois Alive! The Heritage and Texture of a Pivotal State during the First Century of Statehood 1818-1918 (NLG LL-80052) (1 collection)

Illinois' First Public University: Celebrating 150 Years of Illinois State (Normal) University (LSTA 05-4007) (1 collection)

Images of Southeast Asia: Western Accounts of the Land and Life of the People in the Premodern and Colonial Eras (NLG LG-03-02-0056) (1 collection)

Imaging Pittsburgh: Creating a Shared Gateway to Digital Image Collections of Pittsburgh (NLG LG-30-02-0251) (1 collection)

Indian Peoples of the Northern Great Plains (NLG LL-80101) (1 collection)

***INFOMINE: Scholarly Internet Resource Collections (NLG unknown) (1 collection) (Duplicates another item on list, second grant: Data Fountains: A National, Cooperative Information Utility (NLG LG-02-03-0083) (1 collection))

Interoperability of Metadata for Thematic Research Collections: (NLG LG-06-05-0101) (1 collection)

Jackson Davis Collection of African American Educational Photographs (NLG LL-80198) (1 collection)

John Bloomfield Jervis Papers (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

John Brown/Boyd B. Stutler Collection Database (NLG LL-80234) (1 collection)

League of Nations Digitization Project (NLG LL-80049) (1 collection)

Linking Florida's Natural Heritage: Science and Citizenry (NLG LL-80016) (1 collection)

Living Museum Online: Preserving and Digitizing the Story of Illinois (LSTA 05-4013) (1 collection)

Local History Photographic Collection (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Long Island Memories (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Louisiana Gumbo: A Recipe for Empowerment (NLG LG-30-04-0230) (2 collections)

Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial: A Heritage Explored (NLG ND-00010) (1 collection)

Making of Modern Michigan (NLG LG-03-02-0121) (1 collection)

Marcel Breuer Architectural Drawings and Sketches (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Mark Twain's Mississippi Project (NLG LG-03-03-0094) (1 collection)

Masterworks for the New Millennium (NLG NO-00002) (1 collection)

****Medieval manuscripts in the Digital Age: New Paths to Old Books in the Free Library of Philadelphia (NLG LG-03-04-0067) (1 collection)**

Mining and Mother Jones in Mount Olive (LSTA 04-3003) (1 collection)

****Minnesota Immigrant Oral Histories Online (NLG LG-05-08-0124) (1 collection)**

MOAC (NLG LL-90130) (27 collections)

***Montana Memory Project (LSTA Montana) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)**

Museum without Walls - WOW (NLG NO-00006) (1 collection)

National Collection of Endangered Plants WebSite (NLG NL-00072) (1 collection)

Native American Collection - McLean County Museum of History and ISU (LSTA 06-3015) (1 collection)

New Methods for Management and Use of an Internationally Important Plant Collection (NLG LG-22-03-0281) (1 collection)

NJVid: New Jersey Video Portal (NLG LG-05-07-0167) (1 collection)

North Carolina in Black and White: Beginnings to 1940 (NLG ND-00031) (2 collections)

Oak Ridge Cemetery Interment Records (LSTA 04-3000) (1 collection)

*****Oak Ridge Cemetery Interment Records (LSTA 05-4005) (1 collection) (Duplicates another item on the list; second grant)**

*****Oak Ridge Cemetery Interment Records (LSTA 07-6038) (1 collection) (Duplicates another item on the list; second grant)**

Oklahoma Image: 100 Years of Statehood (NLG LG-04-05-0187-05) (9 collections)

Olympic Peninsula Virtual Community Museum (NLG LG-30-03-0209) (1 collection)

On with the Show: Access to the World's Performing Arts through Museums and Libraries (NLG LG-30-02-0235) (1 collection)

Oral Histories of the American South (NLG LG-05-05-0204-05) (1 collection)

Oral History of Illinois Agriculture (NLG LG-24-07-0047) (1 collection)

Our Americas Archive Partnership (OAAP) (NLG LG-05-07-0041-07) (1 collection)

Park Forest - An Illinois Planned Community (LSTA 99-9508) (1 collection)

PhotOhio.org (LSTA Ohio) (1 collection)

PHOTOMUSE: Integrating Photography Collections Using Distributed Query Processing (NLG LG-20-03-0189) (1 collection)

Picture Collection Online (NLG ND-00020) (1 collection)

Picturing Augusta: historic postcards from the collection of the East Central Georgia Regional Library System (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

PlantCollections(TM): A Community Solution (NLG LG-24-05-0018-05) (1 collection)

Preservation and Digitization of Political Americana (NLG ND-10037) (1 collection)

Preservation and Digitization of the Ten O'Clock News (NLG ND-10004) (1 collection)

Preserving and Digitizing Plant Images: Linking Plant Images and Databases for Public Access (NLG LL-80066) (1 collection)

Public Art in the Bronx on the World Wide Web (NLG NO-00017) (1 collection)

Publishers' Bindings Online, 1815-1930: The Art of Books (PBO) (NLG LG-03-04-0044) (1 collection)

Pullman Digital Archive (LSTA 05-4022) (1 collection)

Remembering the Houses of Western Springs (LSTA 05-4004) (1 collection)

**Revolutionary City: Developing a Virtual Reality Model of Williamsburg in 1776 (NLG LG-24-08-0104) (1 collection)

**Rochester Images (NLG LL-90067) (1 collection)

Rome-Turney Radiator Company Records Collection (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Ronald G. Becker Collection of Charles Eisenmann Photographs (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Samuel Hugh Hawkins diary, January-July 1877 (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Sanborn fire insurance maps for Georgia towns and cities, 1884-1922 (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

**Scientific Literature Indexing on Networked Computers (SciLINC) (NLG LG-05-05-0211-05) (1 collection)

Seeing the color of America: Digitizing the Charles Cushman Collection (NLG ND-00022) (1 collection)

Shipler Photograph Collection (LSTA Utah) (1 collection)

Ships for victory: J. A. Jones Construction Company and Liberty ships in Brunswick, Georgia (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Shuffle Along: A Digital Library of Eubie Blake (NLG ND-10031) (1 collection)

Smart Web Exhibits: Delivering Enhanced Library and Museum Collections Online, On Target and On Time (NLG LL-90080) (1 collection)

Southeastern Native American Documents, 1730-1842 (NLG ND-00017) (1 collection)

***Southeastern Native American Documents, 1763-1842 (NLG LL-90019) (1 collection) (Duplicates another item on the list; a second grant)

Southern Homefront: 1861-1865 (NLG LL-80202) (1 collection)

Southern Oregon History Collection (LSTA Oregon) (1 collection)

Springfield Aviation Company Collection (LSTA 04-3003) (1 collection)

Street and Smith Publishers' Archive and Dime Novel Cover Art (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

***Teaching with Digital Content - Describing, Finding, and Using Digital Cultural Heritage Materials (NLG NL-00003) (1 collection) (Duplication of another item on the list: Building a Digital Cultural Heritage Community (NLG LL-80113))

Tennessee Documentary History, 1796-1850 (NLG ND-10020) (1 collection)

Territorial Kansas Online (NLG LL-90069) (1 collection)

Testbed for the Redlining Archives of California's Exclusionary Spaces (T-Races) (NLG LG-05-06-0158) (1 collection)

**Texas Heritage Digitization Initiative: Bringing Texas History and Culture to the Desktop (NLG LG-05-05-0246-05) (1 collection)

*Texas Tides Digital Learning Consortium (NLG LG-04-05-0157) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

The 1936 Gainesville tornado: disaster and recovery (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

The Arizona Electronic Atlas Project (NLG ND-10043) (1 collection)

**The Arts Network: The Arts Broadcasting System (TABS) (NLG LG-24-07-0008) (1 collection)

The Erie Railroad Glass Plate Negative Collection (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

The Gerrit Smith Broadside and Pamphlet Collection (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

The HistoryMakers (NLG LG-03-03-0048) (1 collection)

*The Maine Memory Network (NLG LG-20-02-0187) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

*The Maine Music Box: Partnering to Build a Digital Learning Community (NLG LG-03-02-0116) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

The Many Stories of 1704 (NLG LG-20-03-0191) (1 collection)

*The New Jersey Digital Highway: Where Culture, History, and Learning Merge (NLG LG-30-03-0269) (1 collection) (reviewed as a collaborative digitization project)

The North American Indian by Edward S. Curtis: the digital text (NLG ND-10035) (1 collection)

The Object of History: Behind the Scenes with the Curators of the National Museum of American History (NLG LG-24-05-0061) (1 collection)

The Oneida Community Collection in the Syracuse University Library (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

The Quilt Index: Online Tools and Ephemera Expansion (NLG LG-24-07-0127) (1 collection)

The Texas ETD Repository: Promoting our Scholarship and Preserving our Legacy (NLG LG-05-07-0095) (1 collection)

The Urban Beat: The Detroit News Collection 1900-1980 (NLG LG-03-02-0068) (1 collection)

Travelers in the Middle East Archive (TIMEA) (NLG LG-03-04-0066) (1 collection)

Upper Mississippi Valley Digital Image Archive (LSTA 03-5006) (1 collection)

Utah Digital Newspapers (NLG LG-03-03-0111) (1 collection)

Vachel Lindsay Collection (LSTA 04-3003) (1 collection)

Vanishing Georgia (LSTA DLG) (1 collection)

Virtual Archive of Whitman's Manuscripts (NLG LG-02-02-0063) (1 collection)

Visual Index to the Virtual Archives of the Skyscraper Museum (NLG NO-10003) (1 collection)

Voices of the Colorado Plateau (NLG NL-00011) (1 collection)

vPlants Plus: Enhancing the Chicago Region Virtual Herbarium (NLG LG-20-03-0181) (1 collection)

***vPlants: The Chicago Regional Virtual Herbarium as a model multi-institutional plant data resource (NLG NO-00022) (1 collection) (Duplicates another project on the list; a second grant)

WebERA (NLG LG-25-07-0070) (1 collection)

Western New York Suffragists: Winning the Vote (LSTA New York) (1 collection)

Western Soundscape Archive (NLG LG-05-07-0156) (1 collection)

**Western Trails: A Museum/Library Collaborative in Western States (NLG NL-10024) (1 collection)

Western Waters Digital Library (NLG LG-03-03-0113) (1 collection)

WGBH Media Library and Archives Digital Library (NLG LG-05-05-0220-05) (1 collection)

Wiki for Expertise in the Evaluation of Photographs (NLG LG-24-07-0060) (1 collection)

William Gedney: Photographs and Writings (NLG LL-80230) (1 collection)

William Hayes Collection, 1820-1860 (LSTA 99-9504) (1 collection)

Worklore: Brooklyn Workers Speak (NLG NL-10006) (1 collection)

World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 (LSTA 03-5023) (1 collection)

YMCA Historical Image Collection (NLG ND-10015) (7 collections)

Bold type indicates those collections that have a link to educational resources from their homepages.

*Duplicates a collaborative digitization project.

**Link in the registry no longer works

***Duplicates another project listed in the registry; indicates a second grant

Appendix D: Concept Analysis Instrument

State Archives:

Schools/children designator:

Nature of site:

Element	Appears As . . .	Does Not Appear
Ties to Specific Curricula		
Age or Grade Appropriateness		
Nature of Historical Process		
Nature of Sources		

Observations about lessons by elements

Significance	
Epistemology and Evidence	
Continuity and Change	
Progress and Decline	
Empathy and Moral Judgment	
Historical Agency	

Narrative Building	
--------------------	--

PURPOSES of history noted:

Notes on FORM of Primary Sources:

BRIDGING to Narrative:

GENERAL notes:

Metadiscourse:

Creator comments about why materials were chosen?

Creator comments about what the site is attempting to do?

Nature of tone (authoritative/interpretive)?

While some believe . . . may have . . . could perhaps be . . . may never know. . . .

Manner of Citing the sources used?

Teacher-specific materials:

Lessons “Quantitative”

Total Number of Lessons (with sources and without):

Lessons by *primary* element

Element		
Significance		
Epistemology and Evidence		
Continuity and Change		
Progress and Decline		
Empathy and Moral Judgment		
Historical Agency		
Narrative Building		
Unaligned		
	Grand Total	

Lessons about Everyday Life (non-political, non-military):		
---	--	--

Lessons by Era

Pre-Colonial		
Colonial		
Revolutionary War		

Antebellum		
Civil War		
Reconstruction		
Post-Civil War industrial		
WWI		
Roaring 20s		
Great Depression		
WWII		
Cold War		
Civil Rights		
Women's Rights Suffrage ERA		
Not aligned by era		
Other (specify)		
	Grand Total	

Biography-Centered Lesson (heroes):		
--	--	--

Primary Sources by era (oral histories are marked for era discussed; not when recorded)

Pre-Colonial		
Colonial		
Revolutionary War		

Antebellum		
Civil War		
Reconstruction		
Post-Civil War industrial		
WWI		
Roaring 20s		
Great Depression		
WWII		
Cold War		
Civil Rights		
Women's Rights Suffrage ERA		
Not aligned by era		
Other		
	Grand Total	

Minorities Present in Primary Sources

Women		
African American Slave Non- slave		
Native American In conflict Non- conflict		

Latino		
Asian		
Other/more specific		
	TOTAL	

Children reflected in primary sources: (oral histories marked here if childhood is being remembered)

Children		
----------	--	--

Primary Sources By Type

Manuscript letters		
Manuscript Diaries		
Manuscript Memorandum Bk		
Manuscript 1 st person Reminiscence		
Business record		
Church/religious body record		
Official Govt. Reports, forms, laws, etc.		
Census Record		
Photographs		
Non-photographic images/posters		
Maps		
Images of 3-D museum objects		
Oral History transcript		
Oral History Audio		
Oral history video		
Audio-other		
Video		
Contemporary newspaper/magazine		

account/pamphlet		
Political Cartoon		
Other		

Appendix E: Online History Teaching Sites Analyzed

Collaborative Digitization Program Web Sites:

- 1) Collaborative Digitization Program (originally Colorado, but it came to include multiple western states)

“Teacher Toolbox:” <http://www.bcr.org/dps/cdp/archive/teachertb/index.html>

- 2) Connecticut History Online

“Classroom:”

<http://www.cthistoryonline.org/cdm-cho/cho/classrooms/classroom.html>

- 3) Digital Library of Georgia

“Educator Resources:” <http://dlg.galileo.usg.edu/EducatorResources/>

- 4) Digital Past (Illinois)

“For Educators:” <http://www.digitalpast.org/b/for-educators/>

- 5) Maine Memory Network

“Schools:” <http://www.mainememory.net/schools/>

- 6) Minnesota Digital Library

“For Educators:” <http://www.mndigital.org/educators/>

- 7) Missouri Digital Initiatives (which was linked to by the Missouri State Archives Web site).

“Education:” <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/>

- 8) Nebraska Western Trails

“Lesson Plans:” <http://www.nlc.state.ne.us/westerntrails/lessonplans.html>

- 9) Nebraska Memories

“Lesson Plans:” <http://www.memories.ne.gov/cdm4/lessonplans.php>

- 10) New Jersey Digital Highway

“Educators:” <http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/educators.php>

- 11) South Carolina Digital Library

“Teaching Resources:” <http://www.scmemory.org/education/index.php>

- 12) Texas Tides

“For Teachers:” <http://tides.sfasu.edu/Teachers/Tides/docs/index.html>

- 13) Volunteer Voices (Tennessee)

“For Educators:” <http://www.volunteervoices.org/educators/index.html>

State Archives Web Sites:

- 1) Alabama Dept. of Archives and History
“Education.” <http://www.archives.alabama.gov/ts.html>
- 2) California State Archives
“Educational Resources.” <http://www.sos.ca.gov/archives/ed-resources/> (which then linked to Learn California.org)
- 3) Florida State Archives (which linked to Florida Memory)
“Educators.” <http://www.floridamemory.com/> (And this site has an “Online Classroom” at <http://www.floridamemory.com/OnlineClassroom/>)
- 4) Idaho State Archives
“For Educators.” <http://www.idahohistory.net/education.html>
- 5) Iowa State Archives
“Education and Outreach.” <http://www.iowahistory.org/education/index.html>
- 6) Montana Historical Society
“Outreach and Interpretation.” <http://www.his.state.mt.us/education/default.asp>
- 7) North Dakota
“Education.” <http://history.nd.gov/educators.html>

8) Ohio Historical Society

“Education Resources:” <http://www.ohiohistory.org/portal/education.html> (And off this site, the Ohio History Teachers link: <http://www.ohiohistoryteachers.org/index.html>)

9) South Dakota State Archives

“For Teachers and Students:” http://www.sdhistory.org/arc/teacher/arc_clas.htm

10) Library of Virginia (which includes the State Archives) (This site links directly to

<http://www.VirginiaMemory.org>)

“Online Classroom:” http://www.virginiamemory.com/online_classroom/

11) Wisconsin State Archives

“Teachers and Students:” <http://www.wisconsinhistory.org/>

***Appendix F: National Archives and Records Administration's
Written Document Analysis Worksheet¹⁰³⁷***

Written Document Analysis Worksheet

1. TYPE OF DOCUMENT (Check one):

Newspaper

Map

Advertisement

Letter

Telegram

Congressional Record

Patent

Press Release

Census Report

Memorandum

Report

Other

2. UNIQUE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENT (Check one or more):

Interesting Letterhead

Notations

Handwritten

¹⁰³⁷ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/written_document_analysis_worksheet.pdf

"RECEIVED" stamp

Other

Typed

Seals

3. DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT:
4. AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT:
POSITION (TITLE):
5. FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN?
6. DOCUMENT INFORMATION (There are many possible ways to answer A-E.)
 - A. List three things the author said that you think are important:
 - B. Why do you think this document was written?
 - C. What evidence in the document helps you know why it was written? Quote from the document.
 - D. List two things the document tells you about life in the United States at the time it was written.
 - E. Write a question to the author that is left unanswered by the document:

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***Appendix G: National Archives and Records Administration
Artifact Analysis Worksheet¹⁰³⁸***

Artifact Analysis Worksheet

1. TYPE OF ARTIFACT Describe the material from which it was made: bone, pottery, metal, wood, stone, leather, glass, paper, cardboard, cotton, plastic, other material.
2. SPECIAL QUALITIES OF THE ARTIFACT Describe how it looks and feels: shape, color, texture, size, weight, movable parts, anything printed, stamped or written on it.
3. USES OF THE ARTIFACT
 - A. What might it have been used for?
 - B. Who might have used it?
 - C. Where might it have been used?
 - D. When might it have been used?
4. WHAT DOES THE ARTIFACT TELL US?
 - A. What does it tell us about technology of the time in which it was made and used?
 - B. What does it tell us about the life and times of the people who made it and used it?
 - C. Can you name a similar item today?
5. BRING A SKETCH, A PHOTOGRAPH, OR THE ARTIFACT LISTED IN 4C ABOVE TO CLASS.

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¹⁰³⁸ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/artifact_analysis_worksheet.pdf

***Appendix H: National Archives and Records Administration
Cartoon Analysis Worksheet¹⁰³⁹***

Level 1.

Visuals

1. List the objects or people you see in the cartoon.

Words (not all cartoons include words)

1. Identify the cartoon caption and/or title.
2. Locate three words or phrases used by the cartoonist to identify objects or people within the cartoon.
3. Record any important dates or numbers that appear in the cartoon.

Level 2.

Visuals

1. Which of the objects on your list are symbols?
2. What do you think each symbol means?

Words

1. Which words or phrases in the cartoon appear to be the most significant? Why do you think so?
2. List adjectives that describe the emotions portrayed in the cartoon.

Level 3.

1. Describe the action taking place in the cartoon.
2. Explain how the words in the cartoon clarify the symbols.
3. Explain the message of the cartoon.
4. What special interest groups would agree/disagree with the cartoon's message? Why?

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¹⁰³⁹ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/cartoon_analysis_worksheet.pdf

***Appendix I: National Archives and Records Administration
Map Analysis Worksheet¹⁰⁴⁰***

1. TYPE OF MAP

Bird's-eye map
Raised Relief map
Topographic map
Artifact map
Political map
Satellite photograph/mosaic
Contour-line map
Pictograph
Natural resource map
Weather map
Military map
Other

2. UNIQUE PHYSICAL QUALITIES OF THE MAP (Check one or more):

Compass
Name of mapmaker
Handwritten
Title
Legend (key)
Date
Notations
Scale
Other

3. DATE OF MAP:

4. CREATOR OF THE MAP:

5. WHERE WAS THE MAP PRODUCED?

6. MAP INFORMATION

¹⁰⁴⁰ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at
http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/map_analysis_worksheet.pdf

- A. List three things in this map that you think are important (Limit response to each question to a single line of text.)
- B. Why do you think this map was drawn?
- C. What evidence in the map suggests why this map was drawn?
- D. What information does this map add to the textbook's account of this event?
- E. Does the information in this map support or contradict information that you have received about this event? Explain.
- F. Write a question to the mapmaker that is left unanswered by this map.

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*Appendix J: National Archives and Records Administration
Motion Picture Analysis Worksheet¹⁰⁴¹*

Step 1. Pre-viewing

A. Title of Film:

Record Group Source:

B. What do you think you will see in this motion picture? List Three concepts or ideas that you might expect to see based on the title of the film. List some people you might expect to see based on the title of the film.

Concepts/Ideas

People

Step 2. Viewing

A. Type of motion picture (check where applicable):

Animated Cartoon
Theatrical short subject
Documentary Film
Training film
Newsreel
Combat film
Propaganda Film
Other

B. Physical qualities of the motion picture (check where applicable):

Music
Live action
Narration
Background noise
Special effects
Color
Animation

¹⁰⁴¹ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/motion_picture_analysis_worksheet.pdf

Dramatizations

- C. Note how camera angles, lighting, music, narration, and/or editing contribute to creating an atmosphere in this film. What is the mood or tone of the film?

Step 3. Post-viewing (or repeated viewing)

- A. Circle the things that you listed in the previewing activity that were validated by your viewing of the motion picture.
- B. What is the central message(s) of this motion picture?
- C. Consider the effectiveness of the film in communicating its message. As a tool of communication, what are its strengths and weaknesses?
- D. How do you think the filmmakers wanted the audience to respond?
- E. Does this film appeal to the viewer's reason or emotion? How does it make you feel?
- F. List two things this motion picture tells you about life in the United States at the time it was made
- G. Write a question to the filmmaker that is left unanswered by the motion picture.
- H. What information do you gain about this event that would not be conveyed by a written source? Be specific.

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***Appendix K: National Archives and Records Administration
Photo Analysis Worksheet¹⁰⁴²***

Step 1. Observation

- A. Study the photograph for 2 minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items. Next, divide the photo into quadrants and study each section to see what new details become visible.

- B. Use the chart below to list people, objects, and activities in the photograph.

Activities

People

Objects

Step 2. Inference

Based on what you have observed above, list three things you might infer from this photograph.

Step 3. Questions

- A. What questions does this photograph raise in your mind?
- B. Where could you find answers to them?

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¹⁰⁴² Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at
http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/photo_analysis_worksheet.pdf

***Appendix L: National Archives and Records Administration
Poster Analysis Worksheet¹⁰⁴³***

1. What are the main colors used in the poster?
2. What symbols (if any) are used in the poster?
3. If a symbol is used, is it
 - a. clear (easy to interpret)?
 - b. memorable?
 - c. dramatic?
4. Are the messages in the poster primarily visual, verbal, or both?
5. Who do you think is the intended audience for the poster?
6. What does the Government hope the audience will do?
7. What Government purpose(s) is served by the poster?
8. The most effective posters use symbols that are unusual, simple, and direct. Is this an effective poster?

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¹⁰⁴³ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at
http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/poster_analysis_worksheet.pdf

***Appendix M: National Archives and Records Administration
Sound Recording Analysis Worksheet¹⁰⁴⁴***

Step 1. Pre-listening

- A. Whose voices will you hear on this recording?
- B. What is the date of the recording?
- C. Where was this recording made?

Step 2. Listening

- A. Type of sound recording (check one):

Policy Speech

Convention proceedings

Congressional Testimony

Campaign speech

News report

Arguments before a court

Interview

Panel discussion

Entertainment broadcast

Press conference

Other

¹⁰⁴⁴ Original format and design has not been maintained. The National Archives and Records Administration makes this information available at http://www.archives.gov/education/lessons/worksheets/sound_recording_analysis_worksheet.pdf

B. Unique Physical Qualities of the recording

Music

Live broadcast

Narrated

Special sound effects

Background sounds

C. What is the tone or mood of this recording?

Step 3. Post-listening (or repeated listening)

- A. List three things in this sound recording that you think are important:
- B. Why do you think the original broadcast was made and for what audience?
- C. What evidence in the recording helps you to know why it was made?
- D. List two things this sound recording tells you about life in the United States at the time it was made:
- E. Write a question to the broadcaster that is left unanswered by this sound recording.
- F. What information do you gain about this event that would not be conveyed by a written transcript? Be specific.

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Appendix N: Connecticut History Online's Primary Source Explanation¹⁰⁴⁵

What is a primary source?

A primary source is a record of an event or time period that is of that time. It may be a document of some sort, such as The Declaration of Independence, or a letter written by Thomas Jefferson. The list of potential primary sources is long, and includes, but is not limited to: diaries, newspaper and magazine articles, tape recordings, movies, as well as visual materials such as paintings, maps and photographs. Historians and others study primary sources to gain understanding of the past; their published works (including textbooks used in classrooms) are called secondary sources.

Where can I find primary sources?

Some primary sources can be found in published sources such as collections of historical documents that are available in most libraries. Many, however, had never been transcribed or reproduced and published in any form; to study them, researchers must go to libraries, archives or historical societies. In some cases, only a small number of scholars are given access to these materials in order to protect them from damage or deterioration. Though that is still true for the physical documents themselves, technology has allowed us to make many such sources -- such as the images in Connecticut History Online -- available in digital form on the Web.

How can a historical image help me understand the past?

Just as a letter or newspaper article is a source of information, so are images. By looking closely and carefully at an image, we can gather this information and gain greater

¹⁰⁴⁵ Connecticut History Online, "How to Use Primary Sources," viewed March 10, 2010 at http://www.cthistoryonline.org/cdm-cho/cho/classrooms/classrm_primsources.html

knowledge of how people lived and what their world was like. Pictures are often more effective than words in helping us understand the past, but it is important to remember that an image of an event, person or place is only one of many possible sources, and needs to be balanced with others. And it is important to study each image carefully to unlock the doorway to the past it provides. Take a closer look at the ways in which pictures can be used to gain historical information.

Appendix O: Volunteer Voices' Primary Source Explanation

Teaching with Primary Resources

What are Primary Sources?

Primary sources are original historical items that have survived from a previous time period. Examples include historical maps, letters, diaries, pictures, paintings, material culture (such as clothing, furniture, toys, etc.), public documents, audio and video (oral histories), historical music scores, etc.

These should not be confused with secondary sources which are sources written about or in response to something from a particular time period. Secondary sources interpret the evidence of primary sources. Examples of these would be reference books, encyclopedias, magazines, articles, textbooks, etc.

Why Should I use Primary Sources?

- They make history come alive in our classrooms.
- Primary sources increase students' interest and awareness of historical events and time periods.
- They improve students' ability to analyze literature and documents.
- Using primary sources helps students to develop critical thinking skills—compare/contrast; find contradictions, understand point of view, etc.
- They help students personally relate to historical events and people.

- Students become researchers and historians.
- Students develop pride in their own historical heritage.
- You can use primary sources to address the formal process standards in the Tennessee social studies curriculum.

*Appendix P: Example of Guided Discussion Questions from
Missouri Digitization Initiative¹⁰⁴⁶*

1837 and 1847 Missouri Slave Laws

1. What was going on in Missouri and the United States during this time? What changes occurred in Missouri and the U.S. over the next fifty years?
 - Refer students to the Missouri State Archives Timeline of African American History and the Timeline of Missouri History.
2. What is an abolitionist? Why would there be a law prohibiting abolition?
3. Why were “slaves, free negroes, and mulattoes” prohibited from going to school? Why would Missouri 's elected officials fear “negroes and mulattoes” being taught to read or write?
4. The 1847 law forbade “negroes or mulattoes” the right to assemble for religious worship if services were conducted by “negroes or mulattoes,” unless an officer of the law was in attendance. Can you think of reasons why the legislature enacted a law like this? What effect would this have on an “enslaved African” or “free black” in Missouri?
5. Number 6 in the 1847 slave law references the fact that “free negroes and mulattoes” in Missouri had to carry a pass or “license” stating their freedom. What impact would a regulation like this have on “free blacks” in Missouri ? Can you think of other episodes in U.S. or World History where these types of discriminatory regulations were placed on people?

¹⁰⁴⁶ From the Missouri Digitization Initiative, “Guided Discussion Questions,” from the Missouri’s Early Slave Laws lesson viewed on March 23, 2010 at <http://www.sos.mo.gov/archives/education/aahi/earlyslavelaws/discussion.asp> The Missouri Digitization Initiative changed its name to Missouri Digital Heritage while this dissertation research was underway. For consistency’s sake, the original name has been maintained throughout this document.

**Appendix Q: Example of Guided Discussion Questions from
New Jersey Digital Highway¹⁰⁴⁷**

Suggested Activities/Procedures:

Activity 1: Begin with a group discussion: Ask students to define the word tradition, and ask if they have any traditions in their families.

Are there any traditions in their neighborhoods or communities (such as a block party, parade, town celebration)? Why do people have traditions?

(Since the definition of tradition states that it is unwritten, it is important to continue them so that future generations will remember the culture of their ancestors) Tell them that they will be thinking more about traditions and why and how they might continue in a community, and why and how they might change over time. Show students Photograph #1, the photograph of the people seated indoors.

Ask them:

What do you see in the photograph? (Answers will vary. People seated, a deer head, photos on the wall, lights, an American flag, glasses of wine, a little boy, etc)

Was the photo taken inside or outside? How can you tell? (pictures on walls, light fixtures)

Was the photo taken long ago or recently? How can you tell? (by clothing of people)

What do the people seem to be doing in the picture? (Posing, and some are raising glasses for a toast)

Why do you think all these people are gathered together inside this room? (For a meeting or dinner, because of long table with tablecloth)

These people all belong to a club. What is a club? (A group of people that get together for a common purpose).

What kind of club do they belong to? How can you tell? (A hunting club, because of stuffed deer in front)

What do you notice about the people? (They are all men)

Why do you think this is so? (The club admitted only men)

Why do you think no women were allowed? (Hunting is not usually a sport that

¹⁰⁴⁷ New Jersey Digital Highway, "Continuing Traditions Adapting to Changes Lesson," viewed on March 10, 2010 at http://www.njdigitalhighway.org/documents/continuing_tra_trenton_.pdf

women do.)

Point out to students the caption written directly on the photograph, “Banquet of the Italian-American Sportsman’s Ass’n, Nov 28th, 1926, Trenton NJ” if they have not seen it already.

What activities do you think the club has besides the banquet? (Hunting, maybe fishing, other sports).

Now show students the primary source document, the Italian American Sportsmen’s Club placemat. Working in pairs or groups, ask students to get more information about the club and its buildings/facilities, and activities from the writing and the pictures on the placemat. Have each group share one thing that they found out with the rest of the class.

What are some changes that the group made in their membership and activities?

(Membership grown; changed buildings; bought new building; built ballroom; added pool; allowed family members to come in; provided activity for families; dining room and bar open to public so not just for club members; old hunting lodge burned, new one built)

What does this suggest about changes in the club’s purpose? (Not just for hunting anymore, since have pool; have new membership structure since families allowed; focus of club shifted from a place to be with those from your hometown to assimilation.)

Why do you think some of these changes were made? (Community changed and grew so needed new facility and activities to accommodate changing population and membership.)

What does this suggest about traditions, change, and continuity in the Italian American community in Trenton?

Show students Photograph #2, the photograph of the man standing to the left of the small table.

What do you see in the photograph? (Answers will vary. A man next to a table, candles, statues, food, flowers, tablecloth, window shutters, etc)

Was the photo taken inside or outside? How can you tell? (window shutters, wallpaper)

Who do you think the statue represents? (Jesus, Mary, and Joseph)

What is the round thing to the left of the statue? (Bread made in the shape of a circle)

Why do you think there is so much food on the table? (many people will be eating it)

What clues suggest this is not for sit down eating? (There are no chairs or place settings.)

Why is the man standing near the table? (He is the owner/creator of the table.)

Explain to students that this is a “tavola di San Guiseppe, or St. Joseph’s table. Tell them some of the background information (see above) about the tradition. Point out the bread and explain its meaning. This photograph was taken in Trenton, NJ in 1946 at the home of the man in the photo.

Why do you think Italians in New Jersey set up a St. Joseph’s table? (They were carrying on a tradition.)

Now show students Photograph #3, showing 2 people behind a long table. Ask students (they may work in pairs or groups) to list similarities and differences between the two photographs. You might suggest they set up a chart or Venn diagram to record their answers. (Answers include, but are not limited to: Similarities: Food, candles, bread, man near table, indoors; Differences: Less variety of food, younger man standing with older man, table longer).

Review the answers of the groups.

Is this a “tavola di San Giuseppe? How could you tell? (Food, bread, candles) Why is this different from the other photo of the “tavola?” Why do you think there is such a long table? (more people to feed) Why is there less variety in the food? (the food is more symbolic than meant to be eaten as part of a balanced meal.)

This photograph was taken in Trenton in 1982 at St. James Church.

How do you account for these changes in the “tavola” and the location almost 40 years later? (The tavola is for the community as opposed to being done by individuals in their home. This suggests that fewer people were doing the tavola in their homes, and the church, in trying to keep up traditions, set up a “communal table” for the parishioners.)

What does this suggest about traditions, change, and continuity in the Italian American community in Trenton?

For present day, what other adaptations might the club or the “tavola” make to accommodate changes in lifestyles while still linking to a tradition? (Answers will vary)

Ask students to “redesign” the Italian American Sportsmen’s Club or plan a “tavola di San Giuseppe” for the 21st century. Students should design a brochure or placemat, or a 30 second radio or TV commercial, which explains the “redesigned” club’s mission, who

is welcome to join as a member, activities, facilities, and other pertinent information; or write a newspaper article or stage a photograph that explains the “tavola.”

What images will you use to convey the information you are putting into words?

Wrap-up:

What is the consequence of a club where the membership is not diversified and/or the facilities and activities do not change? How can traditions be preserved when populations and times change? Is adaptation and cultural assimilation important to survival or is it better to preserve old customs so they will not be lost?

Appendix R: Assessment Rubric Example from Nebraska Western Trails

Achievement Level	Required Elements	Labels	Graphics - Relevance	Attractiveness	Grammar
4	The billboard includes all required elements as well as additional information	All items of importance on the billboard are clearly labeled with labels that can be read from at least 3 feet away	- creates a planning tool to organize work - meets all deadlines and allows time to deal with unexpected glitches	- combines formats or creates an original appropriate for audience - understands and can explain format criteria - understands format needs and considers all factors (personal skills, talents, needs, support, timelines) independently	- meticulous planning includes contingency arrangements for unexpected equipment breakdowns and other glitches - practices or previews for others and makes necessary changes, rehearses again - prearranges and tests setup
3	All required elements are included on the billboard	All items of importance are on the billboard but it is not clearly seen from a distance	- uses a planning tool to realistically chunk work - meets all deadlines	- considers formats, selects one appropriate for audience - understands format criteria - considers list of factors to select format - decides on format based on above criteria	- plans carefully, arranges for materials and equipment required - rehearses, practices makes some adjustments - prearranges set up
2	All but one of the required elements are included on the billboard	- little evidence note making techniques - needs assistance to select an organizer - data collections lack organization - some data unsuitable	- little evidence of advanced planning - meets some deadlines	- considers formats but makes inappropriate selection - somewhat confused about format criteria - finds list of factors to guide selection confusing	- incomplete planning, scrambles for materials and or equipment at last minute - practices, makes no changes - does last minute setup
1	Several required elements were missing	- no evidence of use of note making techniques - no evidence of use of organizers - data collected not useable for final product; - too much or too little data	- no evidence of advanced planning - doesn't recognize and or adhere to timelines, requires reminders	- randomly selects format for sharing - no evidence of understanding of criteria - little or no evidence of understanding of factors to guide format selection	- little evidence of organized and thoughtful planning - no evidence of practice - set up not preplanned

*Appendix S: Example of “[Student] Background Information”
from Learn California¹⁰⁴⁸*

Labor Camps

During the Depression, many programs were started to aid the situation of the migrant workers and the other unemployed. Some programs dealt with housing and work for single men, others worked with families. The combination of all these programs was still not enough to house all the needy people in California. Many facilities were simply over run by the number of people needing service or a place to live. Farmers sometimes allowed people to camp while they were harvesting the crops. This practice often led to “squatter camps” where people simply began living next to rivers or streams in thrown together shacks or trailers. These squatter camps usually had no sanitary facilities like toilets or showers. Most washing was done in the creek or perhaps an irrigation ditch. This was also likely to be the source of the water for the family.

Forestry Camps/Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camps

In 1931 and 1932, the California State Department of Forestry set up camps for single men who would normally receive relief from local counties. The men were sent to the camps where they worked 6 hours per day and were given food, shelter and tobacco. The men created fire breaks and worked on roads in the national forest and on some private lumber company locations. They were also given up to \$10 a month for personal expenses or for sending back to their families. None of the camps operated longer than 6 months at a time so men only stayed there during times of low employment, usually fall winter. These camps were replaced by CCC camps in 1934

Farm Camps

Some farmers tried to provide housing for their more permanent workers. They would build small houses for their employees to live with their families. Usually, these houses would be insufficient to house large number of workers during the harvest. The extra workers sometimes commuted from town or stayed in squatter camps nearby.

Jungles

During the 1920s, men who rode the railroad cars from place to place were called hoboes. They often camped together near a river or near a railyard. They often tried to hide the camps so the police or sheriff would not run them out. During the depression, these hobo “jungles” grew to include destitute families who were waiting for work in agriculture. These areas eventually came to be known as “Hooverilles” named after President Hoover who was president when the depression started. Some were later called Roosevelt Roosts, after President Roosevelt. Most of these camps had no running water or any sewage facilities. Buildings were generally made from materials found nearby. Few real houses were found in these Hooverilles.

Government Camps

¹⁰⁴⁸ Learn California, “[Student] Background Information,” from California in the Great Depression Lesson, viewed March 23, 2010 at <http://www.learncalifornia.org/doc.asp?id=1812>

The federal government created two camps in California for migrant workers. These were to set an example for other camps. The camps were run by the people living there-they made their own rules and enforced them. Many facilities were available-washing machines, hot showers, sewing rooms, adequate housing for a family. There was always a group waiting to be part of these camps, but not many other camps were created to follow the example.

Destruction of Camps

The presence of a number of unemployed people in one area, especially with little prospect for getting money, made many townspeople nervous. They were eager to get rid of the squatter camps near them. Because of the lack of sanitation, diseases could easily spread through the camps. Often pressure was brought on the authorities to eliminate or burn the squatter camps.

Relief

In California, relief workers tried to get people to go back to where they had someone to help them- perhaps their home state or county. If they had not lived in California for 3 years or more, they were not eligible for State relief. Often people worked in fields for as much of the year as they could, then they received relief for the balance of the year. Some farmers believed that this would cause the workers to not want to work on farms if the government paid them a relief stipend. Since some wages were extremely low (15 cents per hour when the prevailing wage was supposed to be 25 cents.) some people on relief did refuse the jobs. This led to much confusion about the relief program. It also led some farmers to avoid hiring people receiving relief because they believed the people on relief would not be as eager to work as the migrant workers.

Appendix T: An Introduction to Primary and Secondary Sources¹⁰⁴⁹

What if you had the SCRAP OF PAPER on which J.K. Rowling wrote the beginnings of *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*?

Subject: Social Studies

Sunshine State Standards SS.A.1.2.2 - knows the difference between primary and

SS.A.1.3.2 secondary sources

Overview

In this lesson, students will pretend that they are doing research for a biography of the author J.K. Rowling. They will examine examples of sources of information and decide which are primary and which are secondary sources. This will give students an introduction to primary and secondary sources in a familiar context, and prepare them for further study.

Objectives

1. Students will read a definition of primary and secondary source materials.
2. Students will work in small groups to sort cards with examples of primary and secondary sources (based on J.K. Rowling).
3. Students will discuss how they classified the examples and why they decided on those classifications.

Materials and Preparation

1. Definitions of primary and secondary sources.
2. A copy of J.K. Rowling's book *Harry Potter and the Sorcerer's Stone*.
3. Example cards.
4. Scissors

¹⁰⁴⁹ Florida Memory, "Online Classroom," from the Mary McLeod Bethune Lesson. Since being copied to the author's notes, this lesson has been removed from the Florida Memory Web site. Florida Memory's Online Classroom materials about Mary McLeod Bethune (minus this lesson) may be found at <http://www.floridamemory.com/OnlineClassroom/MaryBethune/index.cfm>

Procedure

- 1) Give students definitions of primary and secondary source materials.
 - a. Read the definition out loud.
 - b. Help students distinguish between the words by pointing out that the word primary is related to the word prime, as in "prime time". The primary source is the best source. It is the first source.
 - c. Point out that the word "secondary" is related to the word "second" as in "second-hand information." This is information that has been repeated.
- 2) Have students work in pairs to cut and sort the examples of primary and secondary sources on J.K. Rowling.
- 3) Write the examples on the blackboard or overhead.
- 4) When students are finished, ask each pair how they classified each example.
- 5) Record their answers.
- 6) Discuss any differences in how the pairs classified the examples.

Then they turn to the sources presented:

1. Students will hear a summary of the life of Mary Bethune.
2. Students will read or listen to an excerpt from an interview with Mary Bethune where she describes wanting to learn to read.
3. Students will compare the transcript (primary source) with a draft of the biography that Daniel Williams intended to publish (secondary source).
4. Students will discuss the differences between the transcript and the draft of the biography.

Appendix U: Teaching with Primary Sources Timeline

Early 19 th Century	Leopold von Ranke and the Rise of Scientific History
Mid-19 th Century	American students study in Germany, experience seminar method of teaching <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Andrew Dickson White (Michigan) • Charles Kendall Adams (Michigan)
1870s	Mary Downing Sheldon Barnes (Wellesley, Oswego, Stanford) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History attempting to emulate laboratory work of Naturalists
1890s	Fred Morrow Fling and Howard Caldwell (The Nebraska method)
1890s-1900s	Rise of Sourcebooks
1892	History Ten of Committee of Ten (NEA) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National Standards for History (helping college entrance and school transfer <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Expand beyond military and political history Deemphasized Classics Supported primary source work
1896	Committee of Seven (AHA and NEA Committee on College Entrance) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gave birth to modern history in schools <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Treatment of role of primary sources in teaching most controversial aspect of report. Ratified “proper” use of sources: as illustration
1910s	Primary Sources as Illustrations to lessons hold Sway. Example: James Harvey Robinson
1900s	Need for standardized assessment (College entrance; objective measurement, efficiency) leads to testing that does not measure skills but subject knowledge. Example: Lucy Maynard Salmon.
	MEASUREMENT
1913	Standardized testing for objectivity and efficiency. Daniel Starch and Edward Elliott question objectivity of essay tests. Found wide range in grading.
1917	J. Carleton Bell and David McCollum identify various aspects of historic sense but measures only one: subject knowledge because it is easiest to do. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Large-scale testing of factual knowledge in history (5th, 7th, high school, college) results shabby

1917	Garry Myers Studied wrong answers. Noticed not a total lack of knowledge but were facts wrongly connected. Suggested a better method of memorization.
1930	Fred Gorman and DeWitt Morgan show that essay writing makes students do worse on standardized testing.
1931	Robert Weaver and Arthur Traxler compare “objective tests” to essay tests. Found they have equal merit and “objective tests” are easier to construct and take less time. (But still measuring subject knowledge not history skills)
	RISE OF SOCIAL STUDIES—Less Time for History
1910s	Rise of Progressive Education (proto-constructivist reforms) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Emphasized issues and methods that would have favored development of skill building, but also emphasized more “useful learning,” which placed History among several subjects within Social Studies.
1910s	David Snedden and “Social Efficiency” <ul style="list-style-type: none"> History with the history left out
1918	<i>Cardinal Principles</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Purpose of high school no longer the development of intellectual powers but shaping students to fit the needs of democratic life
1910s	Thomas Jesse Jones replaces history at Hampton Institute with something more useful
1916	American Political Association, American Economic Association, and American Sociological Association begin to influence high school curricula
1928-1934	AHA Commission on Social Studies sponsored by Carnegie Corporation Leads to social sciences amalgamated approach to Social Studies with History as unifying subject
1934	AHA turned over its <i>Historical Outlook</i> to the National Council on Social Studies, changed name to <i>The Social Studies</i>
1937	Institute for Propaganda Analysis pushes study of primary sources largely in response to rise of totalitarian states
1943	New York Times tests 7,000 college students in American history.

	They bomb the test.
	RISE OF BEHAVIORISM
1913	John B. Watson, Behaviorist Manifesto <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Psychology is the science of behavior not of the mind; human behavior formed by externalities (Pavlov, etc.)
1938	B.F. Skinner's <i>The Behavior of Organisms</i>
	Cognitive Revolution—Rise of Constructivism
1920s	Piaget <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ages and Stages
1956	George Miller, Magical Number of Seven, Plus or Minus Two <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Limited capacity to process information, somehow related to mental structures Bloom's taxonomy of Educational Objectives
1959	Noam Chomsky's review of B.F. Skinner's Verbal Behavior <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Language innate
1959	Largely in response to Sputnik, Woods Hole conference on pre-collegiate science education <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Jerome Bruner's <i>The Process of Education</i>
	RISE OF NEW SOCIAL STUDIES
1959	Amherst History project Begins with teachers and professors collaborating <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Begin creating materials like Fling and Barnes created to support those types of lessons
1959?	Ted Fenton at Carnegie Institute of Technology begins to explore new ways of teaching history. (Post-holing)
1960	Shirley Engle <i>Decision-Making the Heart of Social Studies</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Translates the abstract ideas of Woods Hole to classroom activities Two kinds of decision-making: 1) in research, analysis, and presentation and 2) in deciding policy.
1961	Charles Keller's call for revolution in Social Studies teaching
1963	Project Social Studies becomes a major initiative of federal government

1966	Foxfire magazine in Rabun, Georgia debuts
1969	AHA turns its attention to elementary and secondary history teaching again
Late 1960s through 1970s	Hey-day of “school media” to support constructivist teaching practices of New Social Studies, New Math, etc.
1974	National History Day begins
1976	Bicentennial of the United States Huge influence on constructivist practices in history classrooms Last hurrah for New Social Studies
1981	Beginning of “Back to Basics” movement in Education
1987-1988	Bradley Commission on History in the Schools William Bennett, <i>James Madison High School; A Curriculum for American Students</i> Shared body of knowledge and skills; common language of ideas; common moral and intellectual discipline “Old Social Studies with a heavy layer of cosmetics”
	MEANWHILE ACROSS THE POND IN THE UK
1971	John Fines and Jeanette Coltham, Educational Objectives for the Study of History Bloom-like taxonomy—but in affective domain (not cognitive)
1972	Schools Council 13-16 Project was born Emphasized the nature and processes of doing history while learning subject matter
1982	18% of students preparing for examinations taught by Schools Council 13-16 methodologies
1988	20%-25% of all students standing for external exams had taken Schools Council 13-16 approach to history
1988	Thatcher government curtailed spread of project, afraid that children were not being steeped in the national story Schools council project left impact on history teaching
	RISE OF DOMAIN-SPECIFIC COGNITION
	Intellectual disconnect: large number of educators promoted teaching of history on constructivist grounds while basic premise of cognitive

	development theory was the belief that children don't develop the ability to think in abstract manner required to "do history" until they are ready to go to college.
1956	Edwin Peel's <i>Psychological Basis of Education</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ties curriculum design to Piaget's ages and stages • Posited different cognitive structures for those subjects more oriented to the use of languages than math and science (not grasping facts but understanding cause and effect, etc.)
1960	Edwin Peel 's <i>The Pupil's Thinking</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identifies "describer thinking"
1966	Roy Hallam extends ages and stages understanding to history cognition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Higher order thinking develops later in history than in math or science • Waste of time to develop history analytical skills below the age of 16
1975	Martin Sleeper explores methods of accelerating development of history thinking skills <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Teach students how to analyze historically, a number can pick it up early and others do it better once they are more mature thinkers • Role in identity-making (making personal connections to past important)
1978	Michael Zaccaria tests acceleration in classroom and finds it works
1980	Martin Booth challenges Piaget-Peel-Hallam ages and stages in history model <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • History a different form of cognition than science and math; adductive, not deductive; no correct, testable answer. • Sparks huge number of researchers in domain specific cognition
1996	Peter Seixas provides a organization to the huge amount of research in domain-specific history cognition (history thinking): <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Significance • Epistemology and Evidence • Continuity and Change • Progress and Decline • Empathy and Moral Judgment • Historical Agency

Appendix V: Definitions of Media Formats/Types of Primary Sources

Media Format/Type of Primary Source	Definitions
Manuscript letters	Written correspondence, whether in an individual's handwriting or typewritten. Each individual letter is counted. Transcriptions of letters, whether edited or not, are counted.
Manuscript diaries	Diaries, journals, etc., that record events thoughts, feelings contemporaneously in a regular record (as opposed to correspondence) and not as a memoir some time after the fact. Can be in handwriting or typescript, and can be transcribed and edited. Blogs and other electronic, diary-type materials do not fit this category.
Manuscript Memorandum Book	Bound, handwritten collection of miscellaneous information often containing recipes, business notations, quotations from literary sources, lists of things to accomplish, etc. A personal memory tool. Can be transcribes and/or edited.
Manuscript 1 st person reminiscence	A personal remembrance of some event, era, place, etc. in handwriting or typescript, published or unpublished, that is created at some point more than a few days after an event (to distinguish from a diary or journal). Can be transcribed and/or edited.
Business Record	A receipt, ledger, bill or similar record for created by a business establishment. Business correspondence would be considered manuscript letter, not a business record. An advertisement would not be considered a business record. Can be transcribed and/or edited.
Church/religious body record	Baptismal record, cemetery list, minutes of church proceedings, etc. A pastor's personal correspondence, diary, etc., would not be considered a church record. Photos/videotapes of gravestones, churches, etc. would be considered a photograph or video, depending, not a church record. An audio recording of a hymn or church service would be considered an audio record, not a church record. Could be transcribes and/or edited.

Media Format/Type of Primary Source	Definitions
Official government reports, forms, etc.	Printed or handwritten record of the affairs of any level of government: military reports, legislation, tax form, pardons, reports of study commissions, trial transcripts, etc. Could be transcribed and/or edited.
Census record	Any subset of the United States federal census that is taken every ten years. Could be transcribed and/or edited.
Photographs	Any example of various types of still photographic processes such as ambrotypes, daguerreotypes, tintypes, Polaroids, etc. Images appearing alongside articles as a part of a publication such as a newspaper or magazine would not be considered here but in the contemporary newspaper/magazine category.
Non-photographic images/posters	Contemporaneous drawings, posters, etc., not created by photographic means such as war propaganda posters. Images appearing alongside articles as a part of a publication such as a newspaper or magazine would not be considered here but in the contemporary newspaper/magazine category.
Maps	Contemporaneous representations of physical features of the earth or the geographic relationship between manmade or natural features. This would include maps showing political boundaries. Current maps describing features of the past would not be counted as they are secondary sources on that past.
Images of 3D museum objects	Non-video images of any three-dimensional objects from the past to include archeological artifacts. Costumes, tools, items related transportation, etc.
Manuscript speech	A handwritten or typed copy of a speech. A contemporary publication of a speech. Would be counted here as opposed to the “contemporary newspaper/magazine” category. Could be transcribed and/or edited.
Oral history transcript	The transcribed record of an oral history interview. If the transcription accompanies an audiovisual representation of the interview, it is not counted in this category. Instead it is represented in either the oral history audio or the video

Media Format/Type of Primary Source	Definitions
	category, depending upon the mode of documentation.
Oral history audio	The audio-taped record of an oral history interview.
Audio-other	Any sound recording (song, speech, etc.) other than an audio-taped oral history interview.
Video	A contemporaneous moving image record (film or videotape) of any event in the past whether with accompanying sound or not. Also includes any video record of an oral history interview.
Contemporary Newspaper/magazine account	A representation of any contemporaneous newspaper or magazine account of an event whether in whole or in part (just the article, a page of the publication, or a single issue of a publication).
Political Cartoon	A contemporaneous illustration or comic strip containing a political or social message.
Other	Any primary source that does not meet the criteria for inclusion of the categories above.

Appendix W: Determining the Population to be Studied

The population of Web sites investigated in this research includes 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites that specifically have a link on their homepage indicating that they have school-related resources and that among these school-related resources are history teaching activities that incorporate the use of digital reproductions of primary sources. Specifics for how these 24 sites were determined:

Web sites of state archives in the United States as determined by the Council of State Archives	54
Number of state archives sites specifically for schools	20
Number of state archives sites specifically for schools with primary source activities	11
Statewide, collaborative digitization programs as determined by a directory maintained by Middle Tennessee State University	55
Number of collaborative digitization program sites specifically for schools	18
Number of collaborative digitization program sites specifically for schools with primary sources activities	13
Total number of sites specifically for schools	20 state archives + 18 collaboratives = 38
Total number of sites specifically for schools with primary source activities	11 state archives + 13 collaboratives = 24

Appendix X: Abstract of Findings

1) Number of primary source-based lessons across the 24 sites investigated:

The 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites investigated had 596 lessons that used primary sources. The number of primary-source related lessons per site ranged from one site which held only one primary source to a site that held 153.

More than two-thirds of the sites presented contained less than 20 lessons that used primary sources. Six sites (or a quarter of those investigated) represent a little more than 69% of the primary-source-related lessons. In other words, 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites contain lessons that use primary sources, and only six of those present the lion's share of those lessons to the public.

2) Number of primary source-based lessons that seek to develop history thinking skills:

Of the 596 lessons that used primary sources, 328 included activities that would help develop in students one of Seixas's six historical thinking skills, plus narrative building. This is 55% of the primary source lessons on the 24 sites under investigation. Primary sources were used in slightly less than half the lessons primarily for non-history-thinking, illustrative purposes. The outlier site, which included 153 primary-source-related lessons made up a great many of these primary-sources-as-illustration-related lessons, as 34 lessons found on its site used primary sources in this manner (most intended for use in elementary classrooms). Only 24 of the 99 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites provide 596 lessons associated with primary sources, and 328 of those lessons are designed to teach history thinking skills with just six of the 24 sites holding the lion's share of such lessons. Only a little more than half of the primary source lessons on these sites are designed to develop the analytical and critical thinking skills inherent in the "doing of history."

3) Beyond the numbers:

Epistemology and Evidence

- Except in a few instances, the dissection of sources was never shown to be one important part of how history is written, how it is made. Instead, the lessons seem to present these activities as a form of exercise with their own intrinsic benefit.
- The sites almost never ask students to work with multiple pieces of evidence of the same type—and even more rarely with multiple pieces of evidence of different types—to determine what occurred in the past.

Instead, they almost always ask their students to analyze single, individual pieces of evidence.

- There is almost no explanation of the role of evidence in the construction of history and the role of the historian in interpreting the evidence associated with these lessons.
- Almost no lessons on the sites investigated ask students a question about the past, provides scaffolds to help them answer that question through historical research, and then “gets out of the way.”
- Devoid of contextualization that explains the nature of history, and the fact that we know about the past through the interpretation of multiple pieces of often conflicting evidence, many of these activities could be seen to be only a bit more edifying than the previously mentioned “seek-n-find.”

Empathy and Moral Judgment:

- While these empathy and moral judgment lessons do a good job of connecting students to the past in a memorable way (what was often called by previous history teachers, “making the past come alive”), and while they are fine tools in building empathy with actors from the past, they are not that effective in teaching students how to see the past on its own terms. (Few lessons ask questions such as, “Why was it considered by the majority of people in the past okay for restaurants to reserve ‘businessmen’s tables’ or have gentlemen’s sections? What cultural attitudes and norms would have led to such facilities being created?”)
- There is little to no explanation for why this particular ability would be important to possess.
- There is little modeling for this kind of thinking (something that might begin along the lines of, “thinking like a colonial-era devout, middle-aged male . . .”) and there is little to no scaffolding presented by these sites to help students build this particular skill.
- There did not seem to be any exercise presented that asked students to take and defend a belief or attitude from history (using the language and reasoning of the past) that might be questionable, unpopular, or even morally repugnant by today’s standards.
- This is a formula for teaching presentism—not empathy and moral judgment as a form of history thinking.

Continuity and Change

- Most of were basic, “spot the differences in the pictures” types of exercises.
- There are precious few lessons that seek to analyze the change in thought, social customs, etc: roles of women, foodways, etc., and there are almost

no lessons that ask students to look at continuity—beyond the Venn diagram “what-is-similar/different activities.”

- There are almost no lessons found on the sites in question that benefit from appropriate scaffolding designed to lead the students from identification of “change and continuity” to the formation of “why” and “how” questions—beginning historical hypotheses . . .

Narrative Building

- An array of good, beginning exercises to introduce students to searching sources for scraps of information and then patching that information into their own quilts.
- Very few of these exercises, however, require students to pull information from multiple sources, and almost none of them ask students to work with conflicting sources of information. The task that many of these activities seem to encourage is a slightly advanced form of cut and paste.
- Most of the activities do not stress the relationship between the primary sources (the evidence) and the resulting narrative. Here, history has no footnotes. They are rarely asked to make specific links between sources and the resulting works, and when they are asked to do so, it is in a fashion not all that different from how they might consult a secondary source for a paper.
- They are rarely provided with conflicting evidence, and they are almost never instructed to factor in the point of view or bias of the creator of that evidence.
- There are only a few instances on these sites when students are presented the opportunity to see how different students can come up with different narratives while using the same evidence.
- None of the sites provided a clear curricular spiral leading students from more modest narrative building activities to the more robust.

“Other” History Thinking Skills: Significance, Historical Agency, Progress and Decline

- Rarely presented by the sites under investigation. (These thinking skills attempt to address the “whys” of history.)
- The lack of lessons in these areas might be due to the fact that these particular skills require more in the way of historical content than do some of the other elements of history thinking.
- Easy to imagine that developers of history teaching sites—if not also the teachers who use these sites—might be wary about exploring topics such as significance, progress and decline, and historical agency.
- Could be the practical consideration that these skills take more class time to develop.

4) Lessons by subject era

For this research, American history was divided into fifteen different “subject eras.” There was some chronological overlap in a few of these eras, such as the post-Civil War Industrial and Reconstruction time periods. This list of fifteen eras was based upon an initial subject era list compiled by the author using his experience with school history.

- “Coverage” has been a central concern in the teaching of American history since it first entered the curriculum. But this concern for “coverage” does not seem to extend to the online sites.
- Only eight sites had lessons that touched upon more than seven of the identified fifteen different eras. Nine of the sites had lessons that dealt with two or more subject eras and four of these sites had lessons that were associated with no subject eras. Only three sites provided wide “coverage,” by providing lessons with primary source activities that ranged from pre-Colonial through the 1960s civil rights era. Four sites devoted lessons to none of the subject eras identified by the concept analysis instrument, while two sites covered twelve of the identified subject areas. Only in a few instances, does it seem that sites were concerned with providing primary-source-related lessons across a wide range of their states’ past.
- The number of lessons on any one site dedicated to a certain subject era varied widely—and often not in any way that seemed to align with an individual state’s own history.

5) The Primary Sources used in the lessons

- There were approximately 1,691 primary sources directly aligned with lessons seeking to build history thinking skills in students. (This does not represent all of the primary sources found on the 24 sites being investigated. A great many primary sources were related to lessons which used primary sources for illustrative purposes only.)
- Across the 24 sites being analyzed, every subject era can claim at least one primary source.
- Research has shown, individuals are more likely to develop history thinking skills, if they can make a connection with individuals from the past. They are more likely to make a connection with that past if they can “find themselves” in that past.
- Of the 1,691 primary sources associated with the 328 history thinking skills lessons located on the 24 state archives and collaborative digitization program Web sites that were investigated, 561 included women, children,

and ethnic minorities. This number appears larger than the actual representation of women, ethnic minorities, and children among the primary sources, however, because an African-American female child could have accounted for three “tick marks” on the concept analysis instrument: one for being African American, another for being a female, and yet a third for being a child.

- Women and ethnic minorities do appear frequently and prominently in the illustrations surrounding lessons and on home pages of the sites. They are not so well represented, however, in the primary sources that are directly associated with the history thinking exercises. And, when they do appear in these sources, they are not acting as historical agents, but are being “acted upon” by other individuals or forces from history.

Women

- Women appeared in 232 primary sources associated with the 328 history thinking exercises located on 16 of the 24 sites investigated. Females were represented primarily in materials dealing with suffrage and ERA, as well as activities related to the homefront during World War II.
- Most of the representation of women in the primary sources associated with the history thinking lessons, however, takes place through photographs and images. There the women appear often as a part of family groups or as a part of street scenes, etc. They were not, necessarily, the “reason” for the source.
- These primary sources only rarely show women acting as historical agents; individuals “doing” something, making change, rather than simply “being” in the past.

African Americans

- African Americans appeared 241 times in primary sources associated with history thinking skills lessons found on 13 of the 24 sites investigated.
- Sixty six of these appearances were in primary sources associated slavery, and most of these sources do not show African Americans as active historical agents. Instead, they tend to represent past African Americans as individuals who are being acted upon by others rather than working to shape their own lives.
- One hundred and seventy five of the other appearances of African Americans were in sources that were not related to slavery. Almost all of these were associated with the Civil Rights movement.

Native Americans

- Of the 1,691 primary sources associated with history thinking skills lessons, Native Americans appear in 113 located on fourteen of the 24 sites investigated.
- Forty of these primary sources concern Native Americans in conflict with European settlers/pioneers (wars, broken treaties, etc.), while 173 deal with issues related to Native American customs, foods, homes, etc. A large percentage of the latter were dedicated to a lesson with a series of activities concerning Native American mounds (approximately 65 images) and an activity designed to teach the reading of evidence in historical imagery.
- A person would be hard-pressed to find any Native Americans appearing in the primary sources in these exercises after their “tepee years.”

Other Ethnic Minorities

- Appear in only 60 of the 1,691 primary sources associated with history thinking skills located on the 24 sites investigated.
- Twenty six primary sources have Asians represented, two Latino, and 32 “others.” (Hmong, Vietnamese, Irish, Italian, German, Norwegian)
- By far and away, most of the Asians shown in the primary sources on these sites are Japanese, and they appear in sources associated with their “relocation” during World War II.
- No mention of Chinese in America.
- Only two primary sources appeared on two sites that included Latinos. There is nothing about the Spanish explorers, even on the fairly robust Florida Memory site—despite the sunshine state’s Spanish colonial heritage and present Latino population.

Children

- Anecdotal evidence shared by history teachers suggests that students, especially younger students, more readily engage with the past when they can make a connection with a story about a child or children from that past. Writers of young adult and children’s literature acknowledge this. Protagonists in young adult and children’s historical fiction are almost always children.
- Children appear in 90 primary sources on 10 of the 24 sites investigated.
- Most of the 90 primary sources representing children on the sites under investigation were noted because they included an image of a child in a photograph. Usually, these children were not the central focus of the image.
- Children are almost never presented as historical agents.

By Format

- There were 1,732 primary sources that were analyzed by format. This represents a slight variation from the number of primary sources analyzed previously in the history thinking skill and ethnic minority sections, which found a total of 1,691 primary sources. This is a difference of 41 primary sources.
- Images, photographs and non-photographs taken together, represent 876 primary sources, or 50.57% of all of the primary sources associated with history thinking lessons on the 24 sites investigated.
- All non-image, originally paper-based records account for 694 primary sources or 40% of the primary sources associated with history thinking lessons found on the sites investigated. These sources include diaries, maps, business and church records, memoranda books, reminiscences, contemporary newspaper and magazine accounts, oral history transcripts, and official government publications.
- Only 9 sites included any audiovisual materials as primary sources in the history teaching lessons on the 24 sites investigated. There are only 39 audiovisual primary sources presented on the 24 sites investigated, or 2.2% of the sources associated with history thinking lessons. This represents 22 audiotapes (being mainly oral histories) and 17 videos on nine different sites.
- Almost all of the sites used images in their history teaching exercises, but a surprising few used reproductions of museum objects, an area ripe for greater exploration.
- When there were other “paper-based” originals being presented as a part of these exercises, they tended to be single items, lacking even single exchanges of letters.

6) Contextualizing Practices

While inquiry-driven, project-based lessons are the heart of “history thinking” instruction, and primary sources are the lifeblood of that form of pedagogy, the contextualizing practices of those lessons, in a way, supply “the body” of the instruction, a support structure that make these source-based lessons more effective.

Curriculum Indicators

- Of the 24 history teaching sites investigated, eleven tied their primary source-based lessons to standard courses of study.
- Where the sites do not link the lessons to specific standard courses of study, they often specify age designations. In some instances, these age designations are rather broad or vague.
- These designations do beg the question: is it the historical subject matter that makes the content appropriate for a certain age group or is it the

cognitive development required to perform the activities assigned to the lesson, or is it—most likely—a bit of both?

- The online history teaching activities investigated by this research do not seem to be organized in any way that would suggest that the sites expect teachers to search for and actually select and use the lessons presented based upon these sets of learning standards—no matter how finely crafted they might have been. For example, no site investigated provided a mechanism to search by curricular standards.
- There was no indication on any of the sites investigated which history thinking skill or skills might be emphasized by which particular lessons.
- Lessons on the sites investigated tended to be arranged by topic or chronologically. Once one of these topically or chronologically arranged lessons is “clicked upon,” or “opened,” the standard or standards appear at the top of the page or lesson. All of this seems to suggest that the sites are designed to convey historical content (the narrative), and that the “primary source activities” are adjuncts.

Explanatory Materials

- All of the sites offered some form of this type of contextualizing material, but they ranged greatly in number, type, and depth of materials.

Primary and Secondary Source Explanation

- As a simple, foundational measure of contextualization for educators, each of the 24 sites was investigated to determine, if they provide some sort of guidance to teachers concerning the difference between primary and secondary sources. (Such an explanation could be thought of as a form of “contextualizing canary” in the pedagogical mines.) Six of the 24 sites investigated carried this kind of explanatory material, however, there was quite a range in the content provided by these six presentations even on this one topic.
- A number of sites do not provide their own resources to help explain the use of primary sources in the classroom. They do, however, draw the attention of their users to these types of resources that have been created by other institutions.

Support of Socratic Dialogue

- Nine of the 24 sites investigated provide some form of “guided discussion questions” to help teachers lead their classrooms in thinking about a specific historic event or issue. These resources are wide-ranging.
- Oddly enough, there were no examples of discussion questions on the sites investigated that led the students into an exploration of the historical enterprise, itself.

Aid in Assessment

- Put simply, assessment is a challenge for those seeking to teach history beyond the memorization of names and dates.
- Eleven of the 24 sites investigated offered some sort of assessment guidance to teachers, although individual assessment tools/resources often did not accompany each and every lesson on the 24 sites.
- Few, if any of the suggested assessment methods that did appear on the sites seemed to be designed to measure history thinking. Instead, they were more often assessments of clear and complete writing, the ability to follow directions, and organizational skill, as well as the ability to remember subject data. In more than a few instances, the objectives for a lesson might include “analysis of historical evidence,” or some other history thinking-related skill, but the assessment methodology was not designed so that it could actually evaluate to what extent a student had developed this particular skill.

Contextualizing Tools: Timelines, Glossaries, Brief Background Essays

- Timelines tended to be relegated within individual lessons. Few of the sites investigated used timelines to link together the individual lessons found on a site with an “over-riding” or “umbrella” timeline covering all of the lessons on the site.
- None of the sites provide a timeline that connected events or topics of local, state, or American history with a broader representation of the past.
- Only a few sites carry glossaries, and then only for specific lessons, not the entire site.
- Only a few sites contain well done brief, background essays.

Relationship to Textbooks as “Contextualizers”

- Online materials are textbook “companions” on four sites.
- Where there is not a specific textbook mentioned on the sites, there often appears to be an implicit understanding that there is a textbook in use somewhere. For example, none of the sites attempt to present an “overriding,” comprehensive historical narrative for one state or one subject.
- Whether they are explicitly tied to a published textbook or not, it is clear that the online history teaching sites investigated are understood by their creators and users to be supplemental to other teaching resources and strategies.

Treatment of “Nature of History”

One of the most important things an educator can do to effectively teach history thinking skills is to instill in the students an understanding of history as a way of knowing as opposed to simply being a bundle of facts.

- Not one single site explored by this research attempts to explain to the student why one might want to do history, what history is for, or the nature of the historical process. (Interestingly enough, a number of sites include a “Let’s be an archeologist”-type lesson. These archeologist lessons do

demonstrate inquiry into archeological artifacts, as well as the processes used by archeologists, and come close to the kind of beginning explanations one would expect to see for history and historians.

- Even those sites that teach about the nature of sources, etc. don't take the next step to explain why it might be useful to build these kinds of skills. They don't show how they can be linked together and employed in the doing of history.
- The creators these sites may expect teachers to make these sorts of connections between the lessons and then present the nature of history as a part of their own contextualization of the lessons.

Metadiscourse

One of the best ways to impart the nature of history is to drop its omniscient, third-person delivery and to replace those all-knowing pronouncements with a narrative that shows the author making decisions about the analysis of evidence, what "stories" to tell, what to leave out, and how these decisions might be part of an on-going "conversation" with other individuals attempting to craft similar creations.

- There was no phrasing in the contextualizing material that suggested any doubt on the part of those presenting the lessons. There were no "may have been," "thought to be," or "may never know."
- Across all of the sites, the tone was in the third person, and they were as omniscient as any pronouncement raining down from on high.
- Only one instance on any of the 24 sites where a historian or an educator is said to have a "perspective" on some issue of the past, rather than simply imparting what happened in the past.¹⁰⁵⁰ It is interesting to note that this "perspective" is identified with a minority educator presenting the past from a non-hegemonic perspective.
- The use of citations was explored across the 24 sites to determine a "base level" of metadiscourse. In their most standard use, citations illustrate the relationship between the evidence and the conclusions drawn from that evidence. This is, arguably, the most basic form of historical metadiscourse.
- Only one site, Florida Memory, provided citations in the contextualizing essays.
- Six other online history teaching sites provided citations for the primary sources used in their lessons. But this latter use of reference citations is of a different sort than that used to comment upon historical narratives. This latter use of citation seems to be more of a "location designator" (like a "call" or "accession number") rather than as an indicator of evidence for some narrative being presented.
- These sites use the tone of history textbooks.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Montana Historical Society, "Beaver, Bison, and Black Robes: Montana's Fur Trade 1800-1860" lesson, viewed on April 15, 2010 at <http://montanahistoricalsociety.org/education/textbook/Chapter5/Chapter5.asp>

7) Cultural institutions have provided a great service to users

- Never before has there been such access to the locked storage rooms of the world's cultural repositories
- The 24 online history teaching sites investigated by this research are, essentially, first steps in repurposing archival and special collection materials for the schools
- Many of these sites were probably created as one-time projects and not as a part of any on-going program of development.
- All of the sites recognize the power of primary source-based history lessons, and a number have a strong grasp of how to teach at least the "epistemology and evidence" lessons.
- Whether they involve tasks that help develop history thinking skills or not, the sites are replete with lesson plans that are student-centered and project-based—good constructivist practices.
- It is obvious that a conscious effort was made to make these sites as inclusive as possible. Unfortunately, this level of inclusion did not always seem to make it into the primary source lessons, themselves.
- The sources with which the lessons are populated are uniformly interesting and instructive.
- Still, these sites have done yeoman's work by breaking the pedagogical ground for archives and special collection libraries as they seek to better serve an important constituency, the future.

It is perhaps time to till this new ground one more time, to develop a second generation of archives and special collection library-based online history teaching sites.

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History is life; he who has not lived, or has lived only enough to write a doctoral dissertation, is too inexperienced with life to write good history.

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