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THE EFFECT OF HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS ON 11TH GRADE HISTORY STUDENTS' ABILITY TO THINK HISTORICALLY AND TO THINK WITH HISTORICAL EMPATHY

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative research study evaluates the effect of historical documents on 11th grade history students' ability to think historically and to think with historical empathy. The students were from a moderate income, suburban school district with a predominantly homogenous Caucasian population with little ethnic diversity. The study defines historical thinking and historical empathy as thinking about the past in the historical context from which the person, event, or document came, in order to, in the least, achieve an intellectually enriched understanding of the past derived from a multiplicity of views and perspectives by developing competent interpretations of historical inquiry. The study examines participants' cognitive impressions through written works as they engage in the research and analysis of historical documents (e.g., primary documents: speeches, historical accounts, articles, poetry, lyrics, music, still photographs, art, video; graphs and charts; and secondary sources charged with period quotes). The author details students' engaged responses and activities associated with the promotion and use of historical documents and historical inquiry. The study suggests that students' process of historical inquiry encourages students to make history more meaningful, encourages students to analyze and synthesize historical documents, and encourages students to shape and reshape historical narratives linked to historical documents. Finally, the study questions whether historical documents promote tolerance in a pluralist society regarding the past and present in order to

recognize an intrinsic value and worth in diversity and to quell the effects of racism and prejudice.

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Thomas Jefferson
Letter to George Wythe, Aug. 13, 1786

MAPPING THE COURSE

Every year I conduct informal polls to see which classes students like the best and the least. Invariably, gym is the favorite and social studies, in particular, history, is the least favorite. The negative comments I receive regarding history revolve around common themes: "history is boring;" "it's just a bunch of facts;" or "Why do we need to know about it [history]?" I had little to no understanding of the newly introduced National History Standards Project (1993), its introduction and its difficult reception – the raising of more questions than answers from the various stakeholders. In hindsight it was probably good that I had very little knowledge of the Standards Project. Since then there has been much introspection by researchers to ask questions similar to those posed by my students and by me: "What do we want students to learn from the history? Is it merely content, names and dates, or is there a greater goal achieved from the study of history? And if there are greater goals, what might they be?" In retrospect, these questions were nothing new, for I was asking myself these same questions when I was a student. The journey for answers is complicated and is

longer than a semester research study or a graduate program. It has been a quest. Therefore, I would be remiss not to explain where my personal trek began, where it has gone and why my research question has chosen me.

I recall my own years of "formal education" in secondary school and college from the perspective of a student. Those classes in which I learned the least focused extensively on the dates, places, and names of history. Those classes which I gained so much and comparatively enjoyed included critical thinking and historical documents, although I don't ever recall a teacher saying, "This is a historical document" or, "Now we are all going to think historically." My 8th grade social studies teacher could have told us the Spanish Armada was defeated by the smaller, quicker boats from England and the subject would have ended there, the content to be forgotten shortly after completing a test on the unit. Instead, Mr. W. took time to explain and ask questions of the battle at sea, the little blue and red cutouts of boats representing the English and Spanish. Placing the cutouts on the blackboard, he showed us the tactics used by the quicker English ships to defeat the Spanish by "crossing the 'T.'" Because the English vessels were lighter on the water and thus, quicker than their Spanish counterparts, the English were able to outmaneuver the Spanish; the English, sailing their vessels across the front of the Spanish boats, were able to release a broadside volley at the bow of the Spanish vessel. The bow was the least protected part of the boat, and it allowed the English to shoot out the sails and

masts of the Spanish, leaving it "dead in the water." Not able to turn or maneuver or to flee, the Spanish were left to be sunk, to die in the boarding of the vessel by the English, or to eventually accept defeat. I recall being intrigued, engaged into the learning process; in essence, I lived in history's subtleties and nuances to determine its impact, its change, and/or its new course.

I also recall another teacher who made the social sciences interesting. It was 10th or 11th grade. Mr. C. made the subject live; to be precise, whatever we did in class was made practical or real to our present lives. We had a unit on meteorology (the weather), cloud transformation, the different types of clouds, etc., what many might perceive as boring. Nonetheless, he used pneumonic devices to help us remember information, but they were witty pneumonics attached to contemporary phrases or lyrics. He also gave us long-ago phrases like, "Red at night, sailors delight; grey at night, sailors take flight," which I still use today. After high school, I waited several years before immersing myself in the sea of higher learning (i.e., college), choosing to ski in the winter and landscape in the summer – the proverbial "life of Riley." When I returned to school to gain a higher education, it was those college courses which used historical documents that truly developed my conceptual, chronological, and critical understanding of history, politics, society, and economics. However, they seemed too enjoyable for any real "learning" to take place, although I felt as if I had learned an immense amount of knowledge. In my political science courses we would read from some

of the classical philosophers, and more contemporary philosophers as well, to discuss and to write about our findings. We would interpret the works of Plato, Aristotle, Machiavelli, Locke, Hobbes, Rawls, Galston, and Salkever, to name but a few. In my history courses, we would read the content, get lectured on the content (this was in addition to or in support of the content we read), and then read historical documents which revealed some of the most paramount issues of the time. For example, in an introductory world history course, we were confronted with, and required to write an essay on, the historical works of King James II and the Levelers, amongst others. It was up to us, the student, to interpret, analyze, and synthesize the documents into an essay which reflected the issue(s) and the conflict(s) surrounding those documents. One may attempt to argue that the documents did little to add to one's content knowledge; however, I gained an immense understanding from contextualizing documents, interpreting and analyzing documents, and then synthesizing material into an essay or into a discussion on the subject. Moreover, I believe this is what made it fun and enjoyable. I was learning an immense amount of information, but as a student I was making the documents personal. The material, the textbook, the lecture notes, and the historical documents possessed more meaning and purpose. History and politics were never merely dates, places, and names, but points from which to disembark on to a new journey.

Prior to entering college and while I was completing high school, I also began a journey which would influence my direction in life; I began to instruct skiing, and I continued to instruct during my college days as well. More than anything else it was a way to ski free, receive discounted ski equipment, and apparel, and to still have a few pennies to pay for food, housing, and insurance on a modest vehicle. However, something happened during my skiing experience; I really enjoyed the interaction between teacher and student. Over the years, instructing full-time during the winter months grew into a life-altering affair. There is a personal gratification one attains while instructing; when a student attains a new skill the resulting action and emotion is immediate – that big gleaming smile after learning how to stop or learning how to turn. In skiing, a student may show a physical emotion after acquiring a new skill. However, regardless of whether a student shows any emotion, with skiing the action (e.g., stopping or turning) is the result, the acquisition of a new concept, skill or idea. On the ski slope, if I have a class of beginners I know if they can all stop and turn – it is self-evident, and no amount of hand raising or peer pressure is going to change a student's ability. As a naïve ski instructor I began to realize the rewards of teaching, and not realizing all the challenges inherent in teaching, I changed my college minor to secondary education.

Teaching in the classroom would be, and is, different than teaching on the ski slope – it is . . . vague. Although students both on the ski slope and in the

classroom may give cues of recognition or understanding, the classroom environment does not always reveal acquisition of a new concept, skill, or idea; a student in the classroom may reveal the same emotion as a student on the slope after acquiring a new skill or an understanding of a lesson – a student smiles or nods her head in affirmation. For example, I may think, "Did students understand the cause of the Red Scare during the 1920s and the Marxist theory which perpetuated those frightful and hysterical emotions? I saw a couple of heads nod. I'll ask a question . . . " Yet without students writing on the subject or giving a quiz every few minutes and then stopping to check for correct responses, how do we as educators see the intangible, the cognitive process – what is going on in the mind's of our students? Yes, we may ask a multiplicity of questions to a multitude of students to formatively assess our students' learning, but how do we, as educators, *know* if all students are learning or understanding a lesson without consuming massive amounts of time on administrating any variety of participant checks? I would later be confronted by a question, which I did not perceive in those early years of ski slope success with my head high in clouds, namely, how will students succeed in achieving an understanding of history?

After graduating and obtaining employment as a secondary education teacher, I used historical documents with my students. At first it was not because of any curriculum or administrative mandate. On the contrary, it just seemed like the right thing to do and because working in a new curriculum, I had little other

recourse. I had no formal training or any research knowledge to support or to prove the effects of such teaching on student learning in the "regular" classroom. For all I knew the use of historical documents was, and still is by many, reserved for those in Advanced Placement courses (the documents based question/DBQ). In my first year of teaching, I landed in a fairly sound curriculum which teamed me with an English teacher. I taught European history from the Reformation to the present; the English teacher supported the history with novels (e.g., *A Tale of Two Cities* and *All Quiet on the Western Front*). For my part, I recall giving students excerpts of Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Locke's *Second Treatise* to compare enlightenment philosophers. My second year would throw me headlong into the use of historical documents.

While completing my first year, the school went through a top to bottom curriculum development. The curriculum and scheduling changes would alter class periods from 50 minutes to 90 minutes, block/intensive scheduling. After an entire semester of curriculum development by the powers that be, I was now going to teach 11th grade social studies. As a result of this curriculum development, I was given two themes: Man's Search for Meaning and the American Dream. I received little else: no textbook, no scope and sequence, no list of topics. However, I was told that the course had to be taught one-third Western, one-third non-Western and one-third U.S. history; I was given a room which was on a different floor than my English counterpart; the following year we

shared a room meant for maybe 35 students with over 50 students; if we wanted to break up the class, I could teach in the foyer/entrance to the auditorium; and I could order books on the subjects I was to teach, but I was not to order class sets or make copies of this information due to violations of copyright law. Later, the staff received an in-service on copyright law, to insure the staffs' understanding of the legal ramifications, the penal system and to absolve the administration from any liability. My English counterpart used the same novels he taught in previous courses on American literature or incorporated novels into the course which had been used in years past – actually the same novels used for the past twenty years. I was too busy trying to keep my head above water to worry about my English colleague, too busy gathering information on the day's lesson, and too busy trying not to violate every copyright law on my daily rendezvous with the copy machine. Before I knew it, I was handing out pages upon pages of information to students. My prep period would become a 90 minute conjugal visit with the copy machine, and the students would soon begin to call me "Mr. Packets."

Despite the less than ideal conditions in which I was expected to teach, these circumstances made me think about what I was teaching. Before creating a "packet" I asked myself: "What do I want my students to learn from this packet? Is there a greater goal achieved by studying this packet of information? And if there are greater goals what might they be?" Again, without any research to back my historical aspirations, I recalled those prior educational experiences which

made my education so fruitful, and, in part, I attempted to incorporate the experience of historical documents in those lessons. One of my first endeavors was a unit on the 1920s, in particular a mini-unit on African Americans during the 1920s. Since I had no textbook and since students had little or no prior knowledge of the subject, I first lectured to students about the treatment of African Americans after World War I, the Harlem Renaissance, and the Jazz Age in order to make "the world safe for democracy." I also discussed why African Americans chose, in particular, music and poetry, to express their feelings and emotions because it was, in many cases, the only accepted form of muse. The first "historical document" I gave to students was a secondary source, "A Town Called Rosewood," from Carnes' *Us and Them* (1996), which detailed the ill-treatment and murders of several African Americans and the eventual, obliteration of an African American community at the hands of Whites. They then read pieces from Langston Hughes, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" (1921, 1926), "Song for a Dark Girl" (1927) and "Note on Commercial Theatre" (1947). We talked and discussed the symbolism and the purpose of each piece, the treatment of African Americans, and the perseverance of African Americans despite the ill-treatment, lack of rights, and recognition. The last two historical documents were pieces of music: an original recording of Louis Armstrong's "Ain't Misbehavin'" (1929) and George Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue" (1923, 1993), a contrast in Jazz music and the music which became popular by White composers on Broadway. At the

end of this mini-unit, students were to write a short essay on why Armstrong in this early recording of "Ain't Misbehavin'" improvises a portion of Gershwin's "Rhapsody in Blue." The results were less than compelling, but it seemed like the right thing to offer students a more broad yet focused understanding of history. Broad in the sense of the variety of voices in America's past yet focused in terms of the material, the actual source or historical document. Currently, I still use many of these documents today and I have incorporated many more, although there is no essay. Instead, students write their impressions regarding the treatment of African Americans during this time period and reflect upon the lesson and what they gained from the mini-unit. It seemed to be a better way of determining what knowledge and understanding they garnered.

In my short tenure as a teacher, I have rarely used the same test twice because I am always adding information or at times removing or revising sources. The head of my department likes to remind me (jokingly) that the U.S. history course I teach is supposed to be a survey course and that it is impossible to touch on every aspect in American history, yet I cannot stop feeling as if students are getting more from the class than they would if they did not read historical documents. If I get a student interested in a piece of history, to which he/she can connect, or create a story, is that not the essence of teaching? And eventually my research question began to unfold before me: How do historical documents affect the learning of my Humanities 11 students' ability to think historically and to

think with historical empathy? In many ways, I may have already found the answer to my research question; it may be less complicated than I appear to be making it. Maybe I should not expect to see or be able to account for any grand finding. However, through more research, I expect to grasp a more defined, specific knowledge of students' understanding of history as a living practice, to place history in a context which they can comprehend and explain that history and our beliefs about the past change and evolve. This is, I believe, who we are as a people, changing, and evolving to some higher form – Hegelian, if you will.

In the end, it is my practice which I am investigating, the latest leg of my quest, to research the effect of historical documents on student learning. To this end, I feel as if every day I am learning more and learning more historically from reading historical documents. The question which perplexes me is whether my students are also thinking historically, to chronologically order, contextualize, analyze, and interpret people and events. You see, the research question was always there; it was just a matter of giving it a name.

"Everyone exists in a situation, and situations...We can no more understand ourselves in isolation than we can understand society devoid of individuals. The study of personal narratives of experiences can never, therefore, be a single-minded egocentric study of the individual."

F. M. Connelly and D. J. Clandinin, 1988

HOW I KNOW WHAT I KNOW: A LITERARY JOURNEY

Philosophers and theorists have argued the means for education for millennia. This study is not so presumptuous as to attempt to provide the answers but rather is designed to help draw learned lessons and to raise salient questions about the study of history and in particular the value in U.S. history. Overall, the personal journey of discovery in the research literature to support my work with students was a revelation. It helped to reaffirm my philosophy, my work, and my topic of inquiry. Similar to my personal journey as an educator, my journey through the literature would reveal a history for analysis of what students learn, would reveal what we as educators teach and would ask what we want and why we want students to learn from history.

To begin the journey of discovering what we want students to learn from history I needed to take a step back in time to find the way in which history education has been perceived for the past two centuries in the United States. Foster (1999b) examined the contents and rationalized context of history textbooks from their inception in the early 1800s to the present day. He chose textbooks which were the most widely published and used throughout American

history, identifying several themes relevant to today's society and students. Foremost, he found, textbooks celebrate the nationalist achievements of the American people and revel in middle-class prosperity and values. He explains, "The cult of progress serves to preserve the status quo" (Foster, 1999b, p. 268). Second, they promote the concept of social improvement. For example, textbooks adopt the view that the Civil Rights Movement achieved it goals, equal protection and civil rights for all citizens, despite the conflict, violence, and vehemence of racism. Thus, textbooks tend to avoid controversy and critical investigation. Last, he found, textbooks fail to mention the value and worth of all ethnic groups in creation of a rich and pluralistic society. Ethnic groups are often marginalized and subordinated only to appear in the contributions given to the greater society (e.g., "African Americans gave 'us' jazz"). Or ethnic groups or individuals are mentioned briefly in conjunction with other groups or larger movements. For example, textbooks may note Cesar Chavez and the struggle for migrant workers during the Civil Rights Movement but fail to recognize or address the current struggle for many Chicanos working in US.

Two important points become glaringly clear to me thanks to Foster's work. First, Foster notes the subtle prejudices and racism held by many. Thus, textbooks promote a centrist perspective with a rose colored glasses view of past conflicts between an Anglo society and all others who stand in its path of "progress." Thus, what Foster is arguing is the failure of most history textbooks to

accurately portray the past. Second, because of the previous point, it becomes imperative that as a social studies and history teacher, I need to make students aware that civil rights for many is still a dream, that migrant workers are fighting through protest and in the courts for their rights, and that the comfort of middleclass society is achieved on the backs of the poor, not only those living in some developing nation, but also in our own backyard.

Other authors come to similar conclusions. Zevin (1993) was critical of many world studies programs which attempt to "stuff as many facts" (p. 82) as possible into the minds of students. The end result is most social studies courses tend to lead to knowledge acquisition "rather than deeper understanding and empathy" (p. 83). By covering a vast amount of the globe over a large portion of history, teachers and textbooks fail to provide the subtle nuances of history, the intimate and interesting details of someone's thoughts and feelings. This lack of detail into the subtleties of history tends to, according to Zevin, reinforce social stereotypes and thus, promote beliefs of ethnocentrism. Zevin suggested:

> Most young people find themselves not caring much about those who live in other cultures, times, and places, often reinforcing social stereotypes of others as strange, exotic, and incomprehensible. Thus, world studies as it is currently taught may diminish possible or potential interest in grasping world affairs and inadvertently or directly promote ethnocentrism. (p. 83)

Although Zevin's work focused on the world cultures, his work with textbooks and teachers as promoting a Western one-sided view rather than telling multiple sides of a story is analogous to the promotion of the centrist or unilateral view and marginalization of an individual or groups of peoples in U.S. history.

Other theorists would support the questions and problems posed by this more "one-way" or unilateral view of history. Dewey's (1938/1997) major criticism of a "traditional" education is "The subject matter of education consists of bodies of information and of skills that have been worked out in the past; therefore, the chief business of the school is to transmit them to the new generation" (p.17). He called for "basing education upon personal experience. . . more multiplied and more intimate contacts between the mature [the teacher] and the immature [the student] than ever existed in the traditional school, and consequently more, rather than less, guidance by others" (p. 21). Thus, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, he believed that "The only freedom that is of enduring importance is freedom of intelligence, that is to say, freedom of observation and of judgment exercised in behalf of purposes that are intrinsically worth while" (p. 61). I am reminded of Rousseau (1750/1987) and his discourse on freedom:

> It is a grand and beautiful sight to see man emerge somehow from nothing by his own efforts; dissipate, by the light of his reason, the shadows in which nature had enveloped him; rise above himself; sore by means of his

> mind into the heavenly regions; traverse, like the sun, the vast expanse of the universe with giant steps; and, what is even grander and more difficult, return to himself in order to study man and know his nature, his duties, and his end. (p.3)

Is this not what we as educators want from our students, to learn freely about the past, to identify all individuals and groups of peoples in a democratic society, and with this knowledge, go forth into life with understanding and purpose regarding one's self and humanity? For "Human beings are not built in silence, but in word, in work, in action-reflection" (Freire, 1970/2000, p. 88). As individuals, we would not want to be viewed as the "loser" or find ourselves bound to conform to the status quo, yet history textbooks tend to view the past in the terms of "winners and losers" or those who must adopt or assimilate to the will of the masses, removing human aspects in place of a more simplistic unilateral discourse or the occasional binary footnote. So how is it that we pass an emergent view of history and humanity on to our students?

To find an origin and to set a course for this literary inquiry, we must ask what values we want from the student and what values we offer for the student. Aristotle (circa 330 B.C.E./1984) recognized the differences in individuals, yet the importance of each person to the whole:

> Although sailors are dissimilar in their capacities (one is a rower, another is a pilot, another a lookout, and others have similar sorts of titles), it is

> clear that the most precise account of their virtue will be that peculiar to each sort individually, but that a common account will in a similar way fit all. For the preservation of the ship in its voyage is the work of all of them, and each of the sailors strives for this. (p. 90)

On a ship, with close quarters and the perils of sinking or starving as a daily way of life, reliance on one another, despite differences in physical build, mental capabilities and personality, is essential to the whole. Although his intent of the Greek *poleis* is quite different than present day America, geographically and demographically, Aristotle's metaphor is symbolic of American society. The problem with Aristotle's argument given today's circumstances is in recognition and understanding of each person.

Contemporary theorists offer an answer to the Aristotelian dilemma, and it is no wonder that education is the foundation for the solution to the problem. However, it is not just any education. Dewey, Freire, Rousseau, and others propose a type of education which is reflective and transcends thought into practice. "The aim of liberal education is not so exclusively cognitive; what is sought here is the development of the habit of reflecting about one's desires, of wanting to be able to infuse our desires with critical thought, the desire to live according to what Aristotle calls *prohairesis* [deliberate choice]" (Salkever, 1990, p. 256). For those willing to make an educated choice, Salkever's rationale is effective. But is it realistic? For educators a more poignant question would be

"How do I get my students to recognize the importance of the man on the poop deck if I were the captain?" or a more fashionable question would be "What does a woman working in a sweat shop in Los Angeles for a half a cent for every zipper sewed into a pair of pants have to do with me?" Moreover, these questions can run in either direction of a continuum, from the upper stations of life to the lower stations, as viewed in the previous two examples, or from the marginalized individual or group to the predominant or most privileged class or group in society.

Working in a district which is overwhelmingly middle class, suburban, and homogenous, the theme of a centrist view and the stereotyping of marginalized groups is not uncommon throughout the halls of the school. Therefore, it would appear to be difficult to make students connect to others who are less fortunate or different. Students tend to view the social and economic problems with stereotypical responses: typical comments revolve around groups or peoples marginalized due to a lack of effort and/or are not taking advantage of opportunities afforded them or that the marginalized like living in squalor. Few identify the systemic problems associated with the socio-economic conditions, a lack of opportunity which breeds a panoply of other socio-economic problems. However, there have been several contemporary authors who have dealt with these issues. Goodman (2000) focuses not on why people of privilege *do not* support the rights of the oppressed but why people of privilege *do* support the

rights of the oppressed. Goodman would use education as a means to engage the people from the "dominant social group (e.g., men, whites, heterosexuals)" (p. 1061) in promoting equity through a multicultural education. She identifies three key reasons or themes for why the privileged support the rights of the oppressed: empathy, moral or spiritual values, and self-interest. Her findings give timeless insight into the various ways of engaging young people to the social, economic, and political inequalities. But how do educators inspire, motivate, or stimulate students to think about the past or the social, economic, and political inequities experienced by people in the past?

It may not be enough for students to merely read about the past. Maybe as Goodman suggests, educators need to appeal to students' sense of empathy, moral, and spiritual values, and to their self-interest. By using, not just one reason, but all three reasons, students may be inspired to read, analyze, and write about the past. All three reasons provide avenues for students to write about the past. Thus, educators must appeal to the individual within the classroom, to have students write for him/her self rather than appealing to a generalized theme. Theorists like Goodman are attempting to provide answers to the questions raised after the introduction of the National History Standards and the ensuing controversy as a result of their introduction.

No sooner had the National History Standards been introduced than an argument arose between two main groups. On the one side were individuals who

promoted a more content oriented education where the centrist view prevailed or dominated. On the other side were advocates questioning the content oriented agenda but providing few answers or little "proof" for not advocating the use of content and the centrist view. Those who advocated the rethinking of the content oriented centrist view, focused on the research of educational psychologists and the work of historians. Sexias (1994) argued that there are three premises unique to the study of history:

> First, there is something distinctive about the teaching and learning of history which cannot be known by applying general principles of teaching and learning to issues in history education. Second, educational psychology provides perspectives and methodologies useful for investigating that which is distinctive about learning history. Third, such psychology investigations should be based on a conception of the nature of historical inquiry. (p. 107)

The problem, as he suggests, is that most educational psychologists are not "at home" in investigating the discipline . . . history, and thus, he argues that the investigation of history is more of an interdisciplinary work which must be developed, researched and further reasoned to determine "what it means for students to think in more sophisticated ways, how to promote such thinking, and how to assess it when it happens" (p. 109). Although many contributed to the "political firestorm" caused by the *National Standards for United States History*,

few stakeholders provided proof or reasoned responses for their position. In the decade since Sexias's writing of this piece and the writing of the *Standards* much investigation has been done on the interdisciplinary work needed or to get students to write and to think historically. Sexias's work inspired historians and educational psychologists to ask questions of the practice of teaching history.

One theorist attempted to refocus stakeholder attention by asking who was most important to the learning of history . . . the young people, the students. Epstien (2001) wrote, "social studies research, policies, and practices ought to support the ways in which children's and adolescent's social identities – i.e., their racial, ethnic, gender, and class identities – shape their knowledge of and perspectives on social subjects" (p. 42). Epstein's research examined the differing perspectives and knowledge of African American and White students and the reasons for those differing perspectives and knowledge. Her research included racially mixed (45% African American and 53% White) urban students, grades 5, 8, and 11 asked to identify racial perspectives on social education. She interviewed five Black and five White students from each class at the beginning and end of the year. And "to elicit the students' historical interpretations," she gave the eighth and eleventh graders 50 historical actors and events spanning US history; students had to pick and explain twenty which they felt were most important (p. 43). The fifth graders received 15 pictures and explained each one.

She discovered that differing opinions between Blacks and Whites existed even after receiving similar educations in U.S. history. For example, although both Blacks and Whites were educated on the limits of who had, and who did not have, rights afforded to them at the nation's founding, Whites saw the Constitution as granting people rights. In contrast, none of the African Americans referred to the early national documents or actors as having given people rights (p. 44). Thus, despite the efforts of the teachers (all six teachers in the research were white) to teach African American and White students about many of the injustices of the past, differing perspectives remained. African American students were less likely to trust or put faith in the words of their White teachers. When asked who are and what are the most credible sources, African American students cited family members, black teachers, and documentaries by or about African Americans. In contrast, Epstein's research found that White students cited history books, history teachers, and library books as the most credible sources. This supports the findings of Foster (1999b) as history textbooks as the "official" word on the past. This apparent disparity between the two races goes far in helping educators understand their students and student perspectives and knowledge. Epstein (2001) concludes that educators should explore the disparities and inequalities "between historical myths and historical movements and between political theories and political realities" in order to bridge the knowledge and perspectives young people of different races and ethnicities have learned at home

and in the communities and the knowledge and perspectives presented in classrooms and schools (p. 47). Her work, like the work of Barton, Levstik, Foster, Wineburg, and Yeager to name a few, revolutionized the study of what it means for students to think historically and propelled theorists and researchers to ask "What kind of curriculum might promote historical thinking? And "How might one assess historical thinking?" Asking, or in the least, begging the question, "What should we, as educators, teach, and if one imparts the use historical documents, what do students achieve in the use of these documents?" Or more to the point, what is the purpose or goal of thinking historically?

In one of the early undertakings, Barton and Levstik (1998) collaborated to study gender-based small groups of students in grades 5 through 8 who were to place eight of twenty captioned pictures into a timeline. Students chose the eight pictures which they thought to be most significant. The students within each gender-based small group were asked to explain why they chose those eight pictures and to identify which pictures other people might have chosen or not chosen. Barton and Levstik's question revolved around the process by which young people restructure the past in order to make it usable, in a cognitive sense, for the individual. By dividing the students into small gender-based groups, Barton and Levstik allowed for ethnic minorities to express feelings regarding the importance of the pictures more freely but also allow females and males to express views which stereotyped the other gender. For example, although boys

were as likely (or unlikely) to select women's suffrage for the timeline, boys were convinced that all the girls would select it, and girls were equally sure that none of the boys would. However and more importantly, was the way students expressed events of the past. For example, instead of discussing the treatment of those who supported women's suffrage (beatings, imprisonment, and worse), students remembered the progress gained from the movement. Thus, the significance of history for most students comes not in its pluralistic differences but the promotion of social unity and consensus in the present in which certain people, events, and trends are remembered, emphasized, and even celebrated while others are forgotten, excluded, or deemphasized.

Although the results confirm what most people would perceive to be historically important (e.g., students ranked the Bill of Rights and the American Revolution as most significant, while O.J. Simpson and Elvis Presley were not ranked by any group), students did not express the complexities of the past through stories or alternative, vernacular histories. Moreover, this research supports much of Foster's (1998b) argument regarding the use of textbooks, but Barton and Levstik's work supports the transference of textbook "knowledge" to students (i.e., the celebration of nationalist achievements and the achievement in a common goal, yet the failing to recognize the conflict, violence, controversy, and critical investigation in valuing the worth of all ethnic groups in creation of a rich and pluralistic society). Barton and Levstik's work also exemplifies the need for

history teachers to present a broader approach to history which gives voice to those marginalized groups and individuals. They call for the use of primary documents, to allow students to experience the past, to make critical analysis and connections to history, and to experience the views of the marginalized, which many students view as less than historically significant. The critical analysis, or historical thinking, of these documents promotes students' development in the asking and answering of questions to formulate a framework of making sense of the past.

Later, Barton (2001) endeavored to discern similarities and differences in cross-cultural students' historical representations found in social settings in which children learned about the past and the conclusions students reached about the purpose of historical learning. His research question focused on the ability of middle school children from the U.S. and Northern Ireland to place events chronologically in history and to identify the different modes of thinking those students used to place and to order those events. Barton used two means of gathering information: 1) semi-structured interviews where students arranged pictures from the past and asked to arrange them in chronological order and to explain the reasons for their placements, and 2) extensive classroom observations, listening to and talking with students as they took part in whole-group or small-group discussions. He gathered the former information by interviewing 121 students, ages 6-12, from Northern Ireland and 33 students, ages 9-11, from the

U.S., and he gathered the later information over three months (38 observations lasting 40-50 minutes each) in Northern Ireland and over 90 hours in observations in U.S. classrooms.

Barton's work revealed two important points – one point of similarity and one of difference. Most students' understanding of history, both in the U.S. and Northern Ireland, does not come from educational institutions. He suggests that students garner a large portion of their construction of history from the media, at museums, and historical sites, and through the stories their families tell – their social settings. Thus, before students enter secondary school they "think of themselves as historically conscious individuals" (p. 103). However, Barton suggested the purpose of history is different for those of the U.S. and those of Northern Ireland.

The differences in the purpose of history yields great insight into the focus of educators' lessons and the possible shortcomings of those lessons. For those children in the study from Northern Ireland the purpose of history was to learn about others and how they lived. Barton concluded this because the sensitive nature of the political and social relations was often too controversial to present to students in school or through television programs and literature for young people – most significantly, the ever-present conflict between Protestants and Catholics. For those in the study from the US, Barton concluded that children find history to be important to understand who they are both individually and in the context of

the broader society. The implications of the study may help educators broaden the interest and perspective of students studying history, both in Northern Ireland and the U.S.

Similarly, Barton (2002) researched primary school children from Northern Ireland and the US to identify how young children think historically in order to place events chronologically in history and the cognitive tools they use despite their limited vocabulary and knowledge of historical time. In this study Barton observed and interviewed students organizing twenty photographs from two different sets: Set A: 1783-1997 and Set B: Mesolithic to Modern era. Barton's research concluded that "'understanding historical time' is neither a single cognitive trait nor a developmental property of the mind" (p. 174). On the contrary, understanding historical time was the task in which students employed three non-dependent actions (to group, to sequence and to measure time) and employed their ability to recognize from direct experience the function of tangible and less tangible objects (i.e., procedural rules, problem-solving strategies, or historical narratives) "in order to develop their [students] understanding of historical time rather than waiting for this understanding to 'develop'" (p.177). The understanding of historical time enhances the students' experience in contextualizing the past with "their own experiences or the experiences of people they knew" (p. 177).

According to Barton the challenge for most teachers, and in particular history teachers, is for students to conceptually understand historical documents (whether they be narratives, pictures or other resources), to contextualize where a document "fits" in their knowledge of history. While textbooks, units, and lessons tend to pigeonhole history and thus, fail to provide a more broad representation of the past, Barton reminds us, as history teachers to, metaphorically, step back and view the larger picture to link an event to other time periods, to sequence an event chronologically in the course of history, and to account for how far apart an event is from another event(s) or the present. Both Barton and Levstik's efforts do much to support the cognitive aspects of historical thinking through asking and answering questions of historical documents to conceptualize and contextualize the past. But how does an educator, or how do I, employ historical documents to increase student knowledge and understanding or to have students think historically?

In particular, Drake and Brown (2003) provided a systematic approach for looking at primary sources and for using primary sources in order to encourage students to think historically. The systematic approach is a way for beginning and experienced teachers to engage students in historical thinking, or as Drake and Brown (2003) conclude, "History . . . is to a great extent an investigation. History is a process of interrogating primary and secondary narratives . . . [to] give meaning to their [students'] historical experiences" (p. 471).

Drake and Brown's approach used three "orders" of primary sources. So what are the three orders of documents like, how would one use them, and how do they assist in students' ability to think historically? Drake and Brown describe a First-Order document as one which initiates the historical search. Specifically, it is a primary source which the teacher considers the essential primary source; it is a document the teacher "cannot live without" (p. 467). For example, a first order document for a history or political science teacher might be Madison's *Federalist 10.*

A Second-Order document, as maintained by Drake and Brown, provides the "nuances" of history – the pros and cons of an issue or part of history. Second-Order documents are primary sources (generally, 3-5 sources) which support or challenge the First-Order document (these documents may be textual documents, images or artifacts). An example of a Second-Order document might be Alexis de Tocqueville's Chapter 12: Political Associations in the United States from *Democracy in America* or and an excerpt, or two, from the Anti-Federalists.

According to Drake and Brown, a Third-Order document will be found or uncovered by the student. According to Drake and Brown, by having students search and find a primary source, a student's Third-Order document is actually a First-Order document, because students become engaged and create ownership in the learning and in the historical period or historical issue. This investigation of a Third-Order document initiates the investigation or historical search for the

student. Overall, the Third-Order document provides for the teacher an assessment of a student's ability to communicate the relationship to the First-Order document, but more importantly, the engaged student creates a meaningful connection to history between all three "orders" and between textual historical narratives.

The goals for students, in this historical thinking exercise, are numerous yet the intentions are straightforward. Drake and Brown offer a worksheet for the student to identify, analyze, contextualize, and corroborate his/her primary document. The intent is to motivate students' desire to learn history and more importantly, for "students [to] become engaged in creative scholarship . . . [which] enlarges the capacity to make history meaningful" (p. 479).

Although Drake and Brown limit this exercise to once or twice a semester, its practice would emphasize the "doing" of history. Their systematic approach reinforces the concept of historical thinking and would seem to engage even the marginal student because it allows the student to construct his/her learning through the search and discovery of historical documents. In other words, the student is not given a historical document or several sources and asked to think historically. Rather, the student must think historically in order to find a historical document which relates to a particular historical period or issue.

In order to define historical thinking and to better understand its potentials, I must take time to discuss the limitations of historical thinking and the common

misconceptions about my research question. So far my analysis of the research has promoted the need for the use of historical documents in order for students to think historically. In some cases, attempts are made to engage students or to interest students in discussions which are detrimental to the process of thinking historically. I personally view this every year. A highly respected English teacher in my school, for example, has a favorite lesson after completing Steinbeck's novel, *Of Mice and Men*. In the lesson he has students hold a pseudo modern-day trial of George Milton to determine if he is guilty of murdering Lenny Small. Although well intentioned, this creates a historical faux pas, or as Wineburg (2001) suggests:

> Judging past actors by present standards wrests them from their own context and subjects them to ways of thinking that we, not they, have developed. Presentism, the act of viewing the past through the lens of the present, is a psychological default state that must be overcome before one achieves mature historical understanding. (p. 90)

Thus, when thinking about the past, one must think about the past in the historical context from which the person, event, or document came; to do otherwise does not serve respect of the time when the person, event, or document came nor does it assist students in their ability to think historically, to contextualize the past.

Second, I would like to clear up any misconceptions with my research question. My research question entailed two parts, "to think historically and to think with historical empathy." I purposefully left the use of historical empathy out of my discussion to this point in order to address it by deferring to another theorist, Davis (2001):

> Too commonly, people misunderstand historical "empathy" as sympathy or a kind of appreciative sentiment. To develop empathy, according to this unfortunate notion, is to develop a positive attitude or feeling toward an individual, event, or situation. Such meanings wreak violence not only against empathy, but, also, against the entire sense of history. . . . Empathy characterizes historical thinking that yields enriched understanding within context. For the most part, it is intellectual in nature, but certainly it may include emotional dimensions. It arises or develops from the active engagement in thinking about particular people, events, and situations in their context, and from wonderment about reasonable and possible meanings within, in a time that no one can really know. . . . Historical empathy also represents and end-in-view rather than fulfillment of a destination. It is not a once-and-forever matter. Simply, therefore, individual historians and history students can reach or develop empathy only approximately and always in comparison with the achievement of others. . . . Similarly, it also does not permit deprecation of the efforts of

> younger students. . . . Major qualitative differences in empathy, nevertheless, surely will exist always in the thinking and writing of individuals who study history. This observation surely is true for experienced historians as it is for younger students. Improved thinking, more competent interpretations, and more carefully developed ideas represent serious and reasonably ambitious goals for sustained historical inquiry. (p. 3-4)

Therefore, historical thinking and historical empathy are not mutually exclusive but work together to develop students' perspective and respect of the past by "acknowledge[ing] achievement within the constraints of instructional possibility" (p. 4). Historical thinking is a lesson in tolerance, mutual respect for the knowledge gained from the past.

Despite the growing amount of evidence which supports the promotion and use of historical documents (Barton & Levstik, 1998; Danks, 1996; Davis, 2001; Drake & Brown, 2003; Foster, 1999a; Lincoln, 2001; Staley, 2002; Sexias, 1994; Wineburg, 2000, 2001), many experienced and new teachers do not use or encourage the implementation of historical documents (Barton & Levstik, 2003; Yeager & Wilson, 1997). Instead, many teachers require students to read textbook chapters, listen to lectures, locate answers at the end of a section or chapter, and then have students repeat the information on tests and essays. Nonetheless, Barton and Levstik (2003) note that most reformers agree that students' encounters with

history should center on the process of historical investigation, that students should be involved in the historical investigation, they should analyze and interpret historical documents, and they should construct the historical accounts in words of their own and those of others.

According to Barton and Levstik (2003), teachers who use historical documents "know that knowledge of the past depends on interpretation of evidence, that people disagree over such interpretation, and that history can be understood only by considering perspectives that differ from our own" (p. 358-359). So why is it that many teachers both new and old refuse to use historical documents?

Barton and Levstik suggest that a teacher's use, or non-use, of historical documents conflicts with two primary tasks: class management/"order" and covering the content/curriculum. In the era of high-stakes testing the promotion of content, covering the information, is foremost in importance to many teachers, administrators, and other stakeholders. Moreover, the push for content and high-stakes testing may cause many teachers, both new and old, to succumb to peer pressure.

Barton and Levstik conclude that the promotion and use of primary documents is of national importance. It is grounded in the foundations of our principles as a democratic society. By allowing students to investigate, collaborate, analyze, and evaluate historical narratives we are providing students

with the skills needed for democratic participation. "The inability to distinguish between a myth and a grounded assertion destroys the foundation for democracy, because students will be susceptible to any outrageous story they may be told" (Barton & Levstik, 2003, p. 360). They infer an intellectual disconnect associated with teaching only the "facts" (i.e., lower level thinking). In other words, students not given the opportunity to critically think and question history will likely buy the latest snake-oil. Barton and Levstik would argue that intellectually critical inquiry, analysis, and synthesis (i.e., higher level thinking skills) is the lifeblood of democratic societies. Thus, Barton and Levstik conclude that history teachers need professional development which links instruction to citizenship, rather than pedagogical content knowledge so more teachers will address the needs of social education in a democratic society.

Throughout this literary journey, the literature I found promoted the use of historical documents, although there was a range of reasons, or good attained, by their use. Overall, the literature could be divided into two veins of thought; both veins professed the need for students to think historically, yet neither vein is mutually exclusive of the other. One group of literature focused on the value gained by students engaged in the past (Drake & Brown, 2003; Wineburg, 2001). Through reading, writing, sharing, and discussing historical documents, students were more engaged and able to express more clearly the nuances of the past which textbooks tend to leave out. In particular, this group of thinkers focused on

improving students' historical knowledge and thinking by encouraging students to use, search, analyze, share, and discuss historical documents. Historical thinking and "Being more cognizant of the past" included but should not be limited to periodization (identifying the document), analyzing the document's main idea, audience, bias (motives of author), determining the historical context (other people and narratives), identifying the main theme and narrative represented in the document (constructing an argument and analyzing someone else's argument), and indicate the relationship of the article to the social sciences (Drake & Brown, 2003). Most research reflected in part or whole Wineburg's (2001) four cognitive concepts: sourcing heuristic (what historians do before reading for content comprehension), corroboration heuristic (relating one document to another), contextualization (describing a time frame and conditions locally, nationally and in the world), and comparative thinking (what was happening in other parts of the world) (Drake & Brown, 2003, p. 475). The main purpose of the literature, to engage students to think historically and to think with historical empathy, was for students to be more cognizant of the past in order to make history more meaningful, to encourage problem solving (Wineburg's cognitive concepts), and to shape and reshape historical narratives linked to historical documents.

The other group of literature professed historical thinking as an essential value of a democratic society. As stated previously both groups of literature share a common purpose, to get students to think historically and therefore, are not

mutually exclusive; nonetheless both groups possess a distinct intended goal. The ranges of reasons for asserting the essential value of a democratic society were numerous. Some literature focused on the nature of how history is taught in the United States – students' perception of why history is taught (Boix-Manssilla, 2000; Foster 1999b). Other literature took an opportunity to explore how students, from other countries, perceived why history was taught in their homeland (Barton, 2001, 2002; Yeager, Foster, & Greer, 2002). Other literature aimed to use historical documents as a way for students to identify the problem, and some might say purpose, of textbooks' retelling of the past into a collective narrative where the past wrongs of our nation regarding those marginalized groups is gleaned over for a more united past where a collective "good" prevails into a unilateral perspective of America and American history (Doppen, 2000; Foster 1999b; Levstik, 1981, 1989; Lipscomb, 2002; Penyak, 1999). Similar, other literature fomented the use of historical documents as a means of promoting tolerance in a pluralist society, that the only way to achieve the true nature and spirit of the Framers of this country would be to recognize the value and worth in its diversity and to quelling the effects of ethnocentrism (Epstein, 2001; Davis, 2001; Foster 1999a, 2001; Goodman, 2000; Neuenschwander, 1976; Sapp, 2000; Zevin, 1993).

In the end, all the literature I have examined has helped me to recognize the importance of historical thinking and the importance of getting my students to

think historically and with historical empathy. Although complicated and involved, there is a twofold value in getting students to think historically and to think with historical empathy, for students will develop their learning and knowledge of history and at the same time acquire an understanding of the inherent value of and living in a democratic pluralist society.

"The deepest justification for genuinely liberal toleration is the belief that encouraging those conflicts which inspire deliberation is the best way for each distinct human individual to understand his or her needs and capacities, the better to live a life that is deliberately chosen rather than arbitrarily or willfully determined."

William Salkever, 1990

METHODS AND ANALYSIS: DEFINING THE MEANS

My school district lies on the far suburban fringes of Philadelphia. Much of the remaining open space is being quickly subdivided into large housing developments. The high school of 952 students includes grades 9 – 12. The majority of the students come from moderate income, white-collar employment or blue-collar families. By today's standards the population served by the school might best be classified as middleclass not wealthy enough to be upper middleclass but not low enough to be considered a lower middleclass community. The school district receives $100,000 per year in Title One funding to subsidize the K-8th grade lunch program. And the overwhelming majority of families have at least one computer with Internet access and email, in order to access the school's online grading system. Overall, the school district's population is largely homogenous, with few ethnic groups represented other than Caucasian. For example, of those in the study group, only one student out of 53 could be accurately described as belonging to a racial minority. Stereotypes regarding other races and ethnic groups are common. I designed my qualitative research study to examine the effects of historical documents on students' ability to think

historically and think with historical empathy. In order to triangulate data and to add trustworthiness and credibility to my study I used a variety of research methods.

Trustworthiness

From the beginning of my research I employed several modes to promote credibility and trustworthiness. Through the use of these modes, I was able to build trustworthiness by supporting my research through literature, by confirming the safety and well-being of the participants, by opening avenues of communication and commitment with my students, parents, and the administration, and by use of the data and analysis to support this study.

Before, during and after the study I read a considerable amount of literature on historical thinking: the history of history as taught in the United States and taught in other countries, the research advocating the use of historical documents in the teaching of history, and the research explaining the reasons and rationales for teaching history with historical documents.

The summer before my study was to start I proposed and was eventually approved by Moravian College's Human Subjects Internal Review Board (see Appendix A). The College confirms my proposal insures the safety and well-being of the participants in my study.

I used two differing letters of consent to gain trustworthiness: one letter was written for my high school principal (see Appendix B) and another letter was

copied and distributed to students for parent's to sign and return (see Appendix C) and I also took the opportunity at the school's open house in September to share and explain the consent form and my research to parents. My intent was to "encourage the full participation of those who will be affected by the study" (Arhar, Holly, & Kasten, 2001, p. 171), for within the letter of consent and during the school's open house, I ensured confidentiality, used pseudonyms for students to ensure anonymity, and informed parents and students of their rights to withdraw from the study (p. 171). By informing students and parents of my study, I established and displayed to students and parents that the classroom was not one in which the path of learning was not, to use a cliché, a one-way street, providing students and parents with my school phone number and email address.

I also made my study more credible by using a variety of means to collect and analyze data: Participant observations, student work, analytic memos, a shadow log, and semi-structured interviews. The field log recorded my impressions, thoughts and feelings, but more importantly, the students' discourse (interactions, comments and questions) and the students' work gave voice to my study.

The Field Log

My field log served as an avenue to record the dual direction of learning in my classroom. My field log served as "the written record of the data as shaped through the researchers eyes, with all that this implies about the way individuals

see the world, how they interpret what they see both explicitly, and implicitly, and why" (Ely, Vinz, Anzul, & Downing, 1997, p. 17). Thus, my field log also served two purposes: one for data collection and the other for analysis.

Data

Field Notes. On days when I conducted exercises and lessons using historical documents, I made comments on a note pad. The engagement of students through directed questions, student comments, and student interactions is an integral part in developing historical thinking (Wineburg, 2001). After class or later in the day during my preparation period, I developed the anecdotal information into a dialogue, students' comments, questions, and interactions. Thus, I documented questions made by the students and me, the comments by students and me, and the interactions between the students (Ely, Anzul, Friedman, Garner, & Steinmetz, 1991).

In writing the initial anecdotal information I developed observer comments. The observer comments were my impressions of the lessons and my thoughts and feelings regarding those lessons (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 161). I distinguished my observer comments (i.e., my feelings and impressions of student's behaviors and reactions) by bracketing those sentences and remarks in the field log. Periodically, at least once a week throughout the study, I also took time to reflect upon my field log "to distill categories and…to keep hold of the large picture" (Ely et al., 1991, p. 87). These were important thoughts, key

elements, or developing questions regarding my research. The comments were written and dated in abbreviations or codes. The codes helped to uncover the meaningful parts of my study. I compiled a list of codes that I used later as way to analyze my research.

Shadow Log. On one occasion during the study I used a shadow log; a shadow log is a form of participant observation. I wanted to monitor students as they shared, read, analyzed, and interpreted documents they discovered. This form of participant observation and the anecdotal information gathered from the student or students was important to understanding how students interacted cooperatively through direct observation. Thus, it was my intent to observe and write down the interactions between students as they went on a historical journey, sharing pieces of history which they researched to discover and found to be important.

Student Work. At various times while conducting the study, students received or researched historical documents. Students analyzed historical documents as well as wrote their impressions of these historical documents. This student work served as a measure to gauge if students were engaged in the assignment and to determine if students perceived an assignment adding to their overall learning experience. In particular, I planned to use student impressions developed from reading several historical documents from the Reconstruction Era, student researched historical documents and an accompanying analysis worksheet (Drake & Brown, 2003) from the Populist and Progressive eras,

students' impressions on a wide variety of historical documents from the Dust Bowl Era, and students' impressions from "Foreigners in their Native Land" which detailed the annexation of the American southwest.

Semi-structured Interviews. I conducted pre and post semi-structured interviews to determine the effect of historical documents on students (see Appendix D & E, respectively). The three interviewees were from three different academic, socio-economic, and demographic backgrounds. In an effort to get students comfortable with the questions and the process of answering questions and talking to me, the pre interview questions focused on the students' interests, the courses and classes they enjoyed and because these students were juniors in an academic high school class, the college and/or profession they intended to pursue in the not so distant future. By giving students the voice in the interview process, I followed Seidman's (1998) recommendation of "listening more, talk[ing] less" as one of the various "techniques and skills of interviewing" (p. 63).

The post-interview questions revolved around the students' use of historical documents, the effect, or lack of effect, of those documents on students' ability to think historically and to think with historical empathy, the historical documents effect on students' learning or knowledge and the meaning, or lack of purpose, of those documents to their lives today. During the post-interview the questions were obviously more focused and open "to allow them to give voice to

their own interpretations and thoughts rather than rely solely on our adult interpretations of their lives" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p. 181).

Analysis

The analysis of my data was not a one shot deal. Even now at the time of this particular writing, I find myself going back through all the material I collected and reflecting to find new insights from my study and my students. I am confident that in future years, if I should desire to go back and look through the material, I will find more connections to yield additional insights. Thus, the analysis of data was, and for the most part still is, an ongoing process. From the beginning of my analysis, I knew there were several features which would serve my study well. Overall, the analysis helped to reaffirm my research question, my methods, and my plan for analysis. However, the analysis grounded me in the process of the research, to study my students and their learning.

Before discussing the information obtained from my students, I must mention the importance of reading and then writing reflective memos from influential educational theorists. Throughout the data collection process, I read the works of Dewey, Friere, Vygotsky, Wineburg and others. These individuals reiterated and affirmed many of my beliefs regarding education, my philosophy, and my study.

As stated previously, my field log helped me to record my students' thinking and view of history. I returned to my field log entries at least once a

week to code the work, as I proceeded to discover common themes throughout the work (Ely et al., 1991). I examined these themes in the context of the research presented in my literature review and also in light of my research stance. The more I worked within my study, the more I realized the interconnectedness between my research and my personal philosophy. My field log was an outgrowth of those two pieces.

Analytic Memos from Student Work. Analytic memos were a way for me to reflect and analyze students' work to "see emerging . . . *patterns of behavior, words, key ideas, events*" (Arhar et al., 2001, p. 187). The sources for those memos came from students' writing impressions of historical documents and from a worksheet which students completed on a historical document they researched and analyzed. Dewey (1938/1997) wrote, "Education in order to accomplish its ends both for the individual learner and for society must be based upon experience – which is always the actual life-experience of some individual" (p. 89). Students' work or "actual life-experience" with a historical document helped me to draw out my students' impressions and my students' meaning of those documents. Thus, the analytic memos became an outgrowth of my students' work or became, according to Arhar et al. (2001), "personal field notes to ourselves, helping us to notice things that we did not notice before...to look carefully at our data" (p. 189). Therefore, the analytic memos provided insight into my research question to determine students' ability to think historically and to think with

historical empathy. I wanted to determine if students' engaging in higher order thinking is the same type of thinking Wineburg (2001) noted about historians, who engage in analyzing, interpreting and asking questions of historical documents, in order to grasp a more conceptual understanding and less myopic view of the past for the present.

Figurative Language Analytic Memo. Freire (1973/2003) sought to transform the educational system or process of learning, for he saw education as "motionless, static, compartmentalized, and predictable . . . contents which are detached from reality, disconnected from the totality that engendered them and could give them significance. Words are emptied of their concreteness and become a hollow, alienated, and alienating verbosity" (p. 70). One way I sought to give students a voice in my study was to conduct an analysis of figurative language. I took time to reflect upon what I had written in my field log and what contributions students made to my study by analyzing metaphorical statements (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The metaphors from this figurative language analysis helped to identify the ways I felt about a particular lesson or class. Moreover, these metaphors assisted me in determining the various ways students "make sense" of historical documents, history, the present, and the class.

Semi-Structured Interview. Analogous to my figurative analysis, the semi-structured interviews gave my students a voice from the study and allowed me to better understand the perspective of my students (see Appendix D & E). As

Vygotsky (1978) saw the growth of young people as "embryonic; buds to flowers" I watched over the course of roughly one semester my students blossom personally and academically (p. 86). As I took notes during the study on computer, I later developed those participant observations by bracketing my comments, questions, and/or impressions and student behaviors. I allowed each of the students in the interviews to read the work created from those interviews as a participant check. It was a means to allow students to correct or make changes to their particular story and to affirm what I had written. Fortunately, the only changes were grammatical or spelling errors, which did not substantively affect the content of what I had written. Later, the semi-structured interviews provided material for me to code and analyze. The analysis of the information would help to create themes from these codes.

Theme Statement Memo. As stated previously, the codes were common themes which appeared and reappeared throughout my field log. After reviewing the codes, both during and after the study, I developed an index of codes. To help further analyze the work I created a graphic organizer, grouping the codes with their respective "partners" (Ely et al., 1997). This allowed me to conceptualize the work by defining an overall relationship between each common code and their respective "partners" through the creation of bins and visualizing the relationship of those bins to all the bins in the graphic organizer.

Through reflection of those bins and the graphic organizer, I was able to develop an analytic memo. The analytic memo details emergent themes and theme statements from those bins, demonstrating patterns from my collected data. The theme statement memo was a method of developing "important meanings, essential to understanding what is perceived as the heart of the culture or experience being studied" (Ely et al., 1997, p. 206).

Overall, the analysis of the data defined the means which students learn and develop their understanding of the importance of history and their individual attachment, perspective and/or relevance in creating history. Moreover, the analysis of data is a reflection of my research stance, to continually learn more about my students, to grow in my profession as a teacher and to evolve as person.

"These are Faults from which Humane Affairs can perhaps scarce ever be perfectly freed; but yet such as no body will bear the plain Imputation of, without covering them with some specious Colour; and so pretend to Commendation, whilst they are carried away by their own irregular Passions."

John Locke, A Letter Concerning Toleration

FINDING THE MEANING IN HISTORY: THE VOYAGE

I need to preface my story by discussing the unique curriculum I teach. All classes are 90 minutes in length, also known as block scheduling. Additionally, the English and social studies classes are integrated into what is commonly referred to as Humanities. With the exception of transfer students, all students are familiar with the system. By the time students get to the 11^{th} grade, they have already experienced Humanities 9 and Humanities 10, which works on the same principle. Therefore, all Humanities courses are designed to contain both subject areas: the social sciences (history or world cultures) and English. To help with facilitating this integration many classrooms have the privilege of using a large room which accommodates all (50-60) students and also have a moveable wall section to divide the room into two smaller rooms when either teacher wishes to conduct a lesson to a smaller group. My English counterpart, however, taught in one wing of the building, while I taught social studies in another. Thus, we split the class into two groups: "Group A" and "Group B." Overall, we determined the number of days to complete a unit. Students would then spend "X" days with one of us before switching classes. In this case the separation would be 19 days before

I would see one half of the class again. After a total of 38 days groups were redefined and divided to go on a daily rotation or what we call an "A/B schedule," one day with my counterpart and then one day with me. The A/B schedule continued to the end of the second marking period. On particular occasions, for example when the class read *Of Mice and Men*, all students were "combined" into one classroom to read the novel and watch the movie. For readability and to avoid repetition, my discussions of how my students made meaning of history will incorporate both groups into one treatment, explaining differentiations between classes when applicable.

The Consent of the Willing

It was the first day of school, and after gathering all 53 students into the room, we divided the class into Group A and Group B. Noticing that males and females throughout the alphabet were evenly distributed, my partner and I divided the class into a group of students from the upper portion of the alphabet and a lower portion of the alphabet. The upper portion would stay with my partner and the lower portion or bottom half of the alphabet would come with me. Therefore, I only met the upper portion of the alphabet for about five minutes before departing. I instructed my half of the class where to go and followed them to my room.

Upon reaching the classroom with Group A, I wanted to establish a dialogue with the students to help them understand the importance of their junior

year and to ease first day anxiety. More importantly, the asking and answering of questions is integral to the process of historical thinking (Wineburg, 2001). I said, "I know every teacher before this year in the school has told you that 'This year is the most important year.' However, your junior year, this year, is the most important year of your entire academic career. I continued by asking, "What makes this school year so important?" After a "pregnant pause" a student raised his hand.

I said and pointed with open palm, "Yes, your name first."

He stated, "Tyler."

I then looked at him and nodded.

"PSAT tests."

"Yes!" I stated. "What else?"

Another hand rose, and I said, "Your name please first. You see, it will take several days, maybe even weeks, till I get to know everybody's name." I went back to the student and nodded as I had done with Tyler.

"Pat," he said, "Our grades?"

"Yes!" I said, "Very good." I went on to explain how for many their college transcripts would be sent out before the end of the first marking period in their senior year and thus, this course would appear as their last academic course grade for English and the social sciences.

I went on to physically show them on the white board the two types of grades colleges are looking to see from one's transcripts: the ever increasing grades, and the consistent grades. I then asked students why colleges did not want to see a decreasing grades or grades which went up and down.

A student raised her hand and responded, "Schools want to see you doing better and not to be inconsistent."

"Great!" I said, "Now what's your name."

The class chuckled, and she responded, "April."

"Thanks." I said.

After a discussion of why testing, and in particular this high stakes testing was not the best assessment for students and was not the only way to assess students' learning, I asked them who they should get mad at if they did not like the test. Several students suggested that it was my fault to which I laughed. "No." I said, "I only administer the test. Who tells me that you have to take the test?"

A student in the back raised her hand and commented, "The politicians make us take it."

"Ah!" I stated. I then stood on top of the chair I had in the front of the room. "And why do those politicians vote for this testing, even though we [pointing to the students] know it's not a good way to assess your knowledge and learning?" There was a brief pause. I then asked, "How did the politicians get into office?"

Junior exclaimed, "Dumb people voted for him?" The class guffawed at the remark. Over the short time I have been teaching I knew there would at least one student or two students who could not resist speaking their mind about the doubts they have regarding the government and the political system; it was like waving a carrot in front of a hungry rabbit. They quickly calmed down, and I said as I looked at them with an intent stare and an outstretched arm pointing at all, "And if you want to get mad at someone, who *are* the people that vote?"

Another student, Alice, stated, I would learn her name at the end of class, "Our parents."

With a look of surprise and amazement I said, "Therefore, if you don't like the test and you know how a test like this is not the best way to "test" students, you need to activate your parents and make them change the system, or when you become old enough, vote to make the change." I said, "In terms of this class there will be several different forms of assessment."

I then passed out the course requirements and let the students quietly peruse the sheet. It was a way for students to identify all the different ways we, my English counterpart and I, assess students to determine a combined grade from both subject areas. I also made a point for them to write down my phone number and extension here at school and my email address in case of an absence or extended leave.

I tried to ease any of their anxiety by telling them that I am also a student. I introduced the students to my research study, which would unfold over the next five months. I handed out the consent forms and read with them the participant consent form (see Appendix C). I paused during the third paragraph to explain to students what encompasses "historical documents" and offered several examples which they would see and read during the coming semester. Moreover, I explained that there would be several ways for acquiring historical documents; many of the documents would be given to the students, but the students would also conduct research to acquire, analyze, and interpret historical documents. I told them that the use of historical documents in the learning of history is an ongoing and contemporary study and that there were several theorists in academic institutions around the country who support the use and integration of historical documents in the curriculum. To give credence to my statement, I offered several theorists' names and mentioned the colleges and universities where they teach.

When I finished reading the third paragraph, several questions arose which centered on the idea that if a student participated in the study it required more work than a student who did not opt to participate. I told them that all students were required to complete the work per course requirements and that this was not "extra" work; however, the inclusion of what they say or work completed for the course was dependent upon the participant consent being completed in the affirmative. I then read to them the fourth paragraph of the participant consent

form which reiterated what I just stated regarding the class activities, assignments and the inclusion of student work. However, I also made them aware of the right to withdraw from study at any time during my research. I proceeded by reading the segment of the fourth paragraph regarding confidentiality; I explained to the students that when my research was published and placed in Reeves Library at Moravian College, they may recognize a quote they made in class or a work they submitted to the class, but pseudonyms would be used in place of their actual names. I asked if they ever viewed a show based on a true story which stated that the names of individuals were changed or altered. I used the example of the television show "Law and Order" and that at the end of every show a disclaimer is shown. Students nodded their head in the affirmative. I also offered a worst case scenario that if an estranged parent would want to find them, the child, or their estranged spouse, it was necessary to protect the student's identity, the faculty, and the school from placing them in possible harms way. Thus, I would use pseudonyms, a fake name, for all students, staff, and the institution. Upon reading the fifth paragraph, I told the students that the principal, assistant superintendent, and the superintendent were all aware and approved of this study as well, and I then asked them if they or their parents had any questions regarding the curriculum, the research, or any part of the letter which they do not understand, they could contact me, Dr. Joseph Shosh at Moravian College, or the principal. I told them that the first homework assignment was for them to have their parents

and guardians complete the consent form and return it to me as soon as possible. I also told them that if they chose not to participate I needed the form returned but that they instruct their parents or guardians to state they "do not consent" to participation. I then asked if students had any questions, to which there was no response.

Within a week, all but two students from Group A returned the consent forms. After 19 days when my partner and I switched classes, Group B returned all of the consent forms. In the end, 51 of the 53 students and parents consented to participating in the study. Overall, there was only a slight difference between the first group of students, Group A and the second group, Group B, upon switching groups with my partner. Students, in Group B, appeared more eager, interested, asked questions and were more communicable. Several reasons may account for this behavior: students felt more comfortable after 19 days as 11^{th} grade students; students were aware of our respective expectations; students communicated with students their peers in Group A and had already heard some of the details of my teaching research; or the difference may have resulted from the overall and mere makeup of the two groups. Regardless, by posing questions to students and opening an avenue for comments and questions, I established an essential base from which to develop further comments and questions in future lessons.

Thinking like a Historian: "With Malice Toward None"

In order to initiate students to the idea of thinking historically, I did not want to provide a definition of historical thinking or to offer a preconceived notion, possibly causing students to believe "I can't do this;" rather I wanted students to grasp the concept of thinking like a historian (Wineburg, 2001). Thus, I instructed the students that the day's objective was to check the homework, to review some of the questions, and to explain how to read a historical document.

The homework consisted of five questions related to three sections of one chapter from the textbook:

1. Define the term "Reconstruction."

2. Explain Lincoln's plan for Reconstruction. Explain the Wade-Davis plan for Reconstruction and how it differed from Lincoln's plan.

3. List and explain why Andrew Johnson was chosen as Lincoln's vice-president? Give several reasons to explain why Johnson had difficulty implementing his plan.

4. List the contrasting views of the Moderate and Radical Republicans.

5. Explain the differences between Congress and President Johnson, and list the resulting positive and negative effects of Reconstruction in the South.

Overall, I was pleased to see every student completed the assignment with the exception of two students who had been absent the previous day and missed receiving the assignment. The questions students answered from the textbook

reading were not the textbook's questions; thus, students were unable to find the answers in bold text; rather they were required to develop responses from the reading. Moreover, the answers to the questions helped to establish a historical base to build the day's lesson. Students were not instructed to glean out the evidence to support answers to the questions, but the basic knowledge acquired from answering those questions would allow for the students to answer questions regarding the historical document and assist in thinking historically.

The first two questions were meant to draw out Lincoln's ideal for reuniting the union at the conclusion of the Civil War. The ideal was easily identified, yet here is where students balked. I needed to draw the reasons for Lincoln's ideal, and it would require me to guide them in building the history. I asked, "Would you say that this was an easy or generous plan for reunification?" Many students answered with a nod of the head in affirmation, but I wanted to hear it; I wanted for all students to hear they were all on the right track, a confidence builder. I asked Steve the question.

He responded, "Yes, easier."

"Okay," I said, "Tell me why? Why would Lincoln, after going through the bloodiest battle in the nation's history, one which touches on human loss in almost every family, want an easy plan to let the southern states rejoin the Union?" I wish I could write about how wonderful all students were, how they had all come to class with bright shiny faces, but that was not the case. There was

a long pause and silence. I asked, "Shouldn't he want to punish the South? You know, 'To the winners go the…'" I let the students answer.

Several students spoke out, "Spoils."

I then asked, "In other words punish the South, right? So why forgive?" I then listed three key words on the board: *Political*, *Social* and *Economic*. Students immediately began to raise their hands. Over the past few days I had begun to learn several names but had not learned nearly all, so I kept my class "seating chart" open on the desk in front of me, containing pictures of all students. I called out, "Kelly?"

She responded, "Lincoln's plan encouraged Southerners to abandon the Confederacy."

"Very good," I said, "Why?" Kelly's response was directly from the textbook pages; I wanted to know if she and presumably many of her fellow classmates understood what they wrote. Blank stares appeared across the classroom – no one had a response. I then said, "Okay, if Lincoln was to 'rightfully' punish the South, how would you feel if you were a Southerner?"

Ryan said, "Mad angry."

"Would you be likely to want to rejoin the Union?" I asked.

"No," he said.

I then asked, "You would be more than likely to do what in the future?"

Ryan again stated, "Have another civil war."

"Excellent!" I said, "Would this also follow socially?"

"Yes," several students responded.

I then asked "How?" After conferring with my seating chart, I asked Dillon to respond. Although several students had their hand raised, I wanted to hear other students who had not spoken up/out before. Dillon transferred into the class on the second day. His gothic dress, punk hairstyle and outward personality contrasted with the other students. Dillon stated, "Um, some people may still be mad, but the people can get back to business?"

I said, "Ah, and what about those 'people'? How was this war different than WWI, WWII, Korea, Vietnam or the war in Iraq?" What is distinguishing about a *civil* war?"

Junior stated, "It's a war between the same people."

"Yes," I said, "this was a war which pitted brother against brother. Doesn't it make sense to try to bring the nation back together?" After I saw many students nodding their heads in agreement and none shaking their head in disagreement, I continued into the next point…Economics.

"Why would Lincoln want to welcome the South back into the Union economically?" After a brief pause with no response I asked, "Do you need help?" Heads shook in affirmation. "Alright, one of the reasons the North won the war was because of its strong industrial base. What resource did the South have

which we wanted, even needed, to support that industrial base?" I deferred to the seating chart and then asked, "Willow?" who had her hand raised.

"Cotton?" she said with a hint of uncertainty.

"Yes!" I stated with exuberance, in hopes of building her confidence. I then made a statement consolidating the reasons for uniting the Union.

I told students that we would now read Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address* (see Resources) and passed out the copy of the speech. In part, I wanted students to understand the long history of slavery and tensions which were facing the nation. More importantly, I wanted them to be able to gain an understanding of how historians read documents, that reading historical documents requires a significant amount of commenting, questioning and thinking (Wineburg, 2001). Thus, in going over the document, I modeled how to read a historical document by making comments, by paraphrasing what I just read, and by asking questions of the text I had just read. My questions came forth quickly:

"This doesn't sound like the address of a person who just won a second term?"

"What is this 'great contest'?"

"Ah, he must be talking about the civil war [for it mentioned it in the text]."

"Why doesn't he blame those who started the war?"

"What does he mean by 'constituted a peculiar and powerful interest'?"

"Slavery was the cause of the war?"

"What does he mean by 'insurgents' and 'to restrict territorial enlargement'?"

At every question I paused for students to answer or comment on the question I raised. The later question deserved much attention.

I wanted students to think about the history prior to the War, how it was that we came to war, the major decision which led us to war. I rolled down the U.S. map in the front of the class. I discussed issues of slave states and free states and discussed the ramifications of the *Dred Scot* v. *Sanford* (1857) case to the issue of states being "free." After completing this segment I ventured back to Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address*, asking questions of the document and allowing students to respond or make comments.

Upon completing the lesson with both groups, I wanted students to recall the way I read the document.

Ray's response sums up the discussion from both classes. Ray responded, "You asked questions about the document. . . . Questions about the author's meaning or questions about history you didn't know. . . . In order to better understand the time when it was written."

"Exactly," I said, "Making comments, paraphrasing the text, and asking questions are the same methods you will need to employ in order to better

understand the document you will be finding and researching." I purposefully stayed away from using the term "historical thinking." I did not want students to possibly associate it with my research but rather to use these methods as a means to study historical documents.

Ah. Historical thinking. I instructed both classes that they would employ the same methods to investigate further historical documents.

In contrast to Group A, I first modeled the methods of commenting, paraphrasing, and asking questions of Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address* to the second group, Group B; after the reading, the students in Group B then tried to work out the political, economic, and social reasons for unifying the nation. Overall, students from the second group, Group B, made more contributions to class discussions and possessed a greater understanding of the material by contextualizing and integrating what they read from the textbook and what they read in Lincoln's speech. Overall, there was less pause and fewer refinement or simplification of questions.

There are several possible reasons for greater contribution, discussion, and understanding from students in Group B. The contrasting results may have revolved around my approach to the lesson itself, completing the reading and then determining the political, economic, and social factors allowed students to absorb, understand, and reflect a more conceptual understanding of history. Or the contrast may have resulted from the differences and the makeup of the two

classes. Six of the students in Group B were AP Biology students; only one student in Group A was taking AP Biology; thus, academic expectations were probably higher from Group B's students which possibly affected the class milieu. Or students in Group B may have discussed with their peers in Group A my teaching style, and thus, conveyed the academic expectation of students' contributions toward lessons. Or after spending 19 days together before seeing this group, students in Group B may have felt more comfortable as a class, expressing a willingness to discuss and ask questions. Or the sheer *makeup* of the students in the classes may have resulted in contrasting results.

Segregated, Oppressed, and Disenfranchised

I continued with the purpose of my study by reinforcing the practice students had already begun, asking questions of the content information in order for students to contextualize the information they gathered from the homework assignment. I led the discussion. Although many would consider this form of discussion a lecture, I lean toward asking a series of questions and comments which are intended to draw out the knowledge students obtained from the homework. Thus, my lectures are not a one way discourse, but rather a dialogue intended to scaffold and build knowledge, which parallels my philosophy and perhaps, more importantly, my research question. As for the content objective for the day, students were to identify the ways minorities, in particular African Americans, were treated as inferior and second-class citizens during the period of

Reconstruction. I wanted students to comprehend the plight of African Americans and to think historically or think with historical empathy. I started by asking a general question, "Although African Americans received their freedom thanks to the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments, what did white society create to keep African Americans from enjoying those freedoms?" From the previous homework check (the five questions discussed in the previous topic), I gathered that most students had read and answered the questions. Moreover, students even came across the terms in today's discussion through the reading of the textbook (e.g., black codes, sharecropping, poll tax, literacy test, and the Ku Klux Klan); however, I wanted to see if students not only read and outlined the previous homework but if they made connections among the terms. After a brief pause and no response, I asked students, "Should I list the areas we are to discuss?"

There was a consensus of nods, "Yes."

I said, "Despite the amendments to the Constitution, Southern states socially segregated, economically oppressed, and politically disenfranchised African Americans." I turned to the white board and wrote the three words on the board: *economically*, *socially*, and *politically*. I turned back to the students and asked, "How did whites economically limit the rights of blacks?" This was more difficult than I thought. I perceived a forthcoming response, but it did not happen. I paused and waited. I suggested that they look through their notes. There was still a pause. Augh! I thought. Slowly a hand raised. I said, "Yes."

Rhonda added with a hint of a question trailing from her statement, "Black Codes."

"O.K., good," I said. I wrote the word *Black Codes* on the white board.

"What did the black codes do?"

Another student, Junior raised his hand. "They placed curfews on blacks."

I added *curfews* to the board and asked, "What else?"

Tom said, "They needed permits."

"Permits for what?" I asked.

"To travel," he said.

"Excellent." I wrote the word *permits* as the second item underneath *curfews* on the board. "The black codes were nothing more than, in many cases, the old slave codes – ways to limit African Americans' newfound freedom. When the slavery was abolished by the 13th amendment, in some cases, I think it was Alabama, they literally took the old slave codes, crossed out the word slave, and wrote above it *Freedmen*. I guess they were too lazy to rewrite the document. There were other ways in which blacks' rights were limited that is mentioned only later in your textbook."

I turned and wrote *Jim Crow laws* on the white board as the next major heading after *Black Codes*. These laws segregated, or separated, whites from blacks. I used the word segregated, and defined it in hopes of not having to pause and ask aloud for the definition. I also wanted to see if students had any prior

knowledge to the ways in which African Americans were segregated. "How were blacks segregated?"

Tom blurted out, "Busses."

"Yes," I said, "but busses were not yet developed during the mid to late 19th century."

Ray, with hand raised added, "Railways."

"Yes," I said, "there were segregated railcars."

Dillon was next with a hand raised and stated, "Schools."

"Yes. How else?" After a brief pause when no one spoke or raised a hand, I said, "How about restaurants?" I continued by stating that every facet of life was segregated; there were black communities and white communities; there were segregated court rooms, jails, swimming pools, laws which prohibited interracial marriages known as miscegenation laws and even segregated graveyards. I wrote the term *miscegenation* on the board. I then asked about the ways Freedmen were economically oppressed by the Black Codes. There was no response. I asked, "Could not owning a gun limit one economically?"

I asked, Rosemary to explain.

"They would not be able to hunt for food."

"Very good." I said, "What about limiting one's ability to travel, requiring permits?"

Jim said, "They can't sell stuff when they want."

"Do you mean they were unable to bring the goods they produced to market?"

"Yes," he said.

"Did you know African Americans were also limited to the jobs they could hold?" There were many blank stares. "What was the occupation of most of these Freedmen?"

Kelsey said, "They were farmers."

"Yes, in particular they were sharecroppers." Again I wanted to check for prior knowledge or to see if they could figure out/define the word.

Jon said, "They took a share of the crop."

"O.K." I said, "Who got the rest?" There was a pause of about five to ten seconds, or at least it felt like it. I stated that after slavery many Freedmen continued working on the plantations where they were previously slaves because they could not read or write, they had no money, and they had no means to travel. I wanted students to begin to take ownership of the boat they sailed, to begin to understand their responsibility for learning, but there were, at times, some places which required me to fill in the gaps of learning, because of time constraints or maybe due to a lack of students' prior knowledge. I continued to explain the concept and constraints of sharecropping that some sharecroppers would receive a shack and a mule and plow from the plantation owner in return for ½ of the harvested crop; the Freedman would get a job and shelter and the plantation

owner, unable to work the entire plantation by or for himself, received a return for renting the land. I then asked, "But how does a newly freedman get the seed and the tools to farm that land?" After a brief pause with no response, I said, "Well you institute what was known as the credit-lien system. What happens to the Freedmen if there is a drought?"

Junior said, "They can't pay their debts."

"Exactly," I said "But what happens if there is booming crop?"

Rosemary said, "They'll make more money."

"Really?" I asked. "What happens to the price of the crop if there is more of it?"

Zeke stated, "The price goes down."

"Correct" I said, "And if you are a store owner and a plantation owner with business sense, what crop are you going to have the Freedmen grow?" There was another pause.

Tom suggested, "The one that makes the most money." Some of the students laughed.

I chuckled too, but asked, "Which crop would that be? What was the most prevalent crop in the South?"

A couple of students at the same time suggested cotton.

"What happens to these Freedmen if they can't pay their debts to the plantation owner or to the store owner?"

There was another set of blank stares.

"If they can't pay their crops, they were put in jail and forced to repay their debt through labor contracts. Those who were jailed were sold off to work for, usually, a plantation owner. Do you get it? What has the system created? What is this like?"

Nancy said, "Slavery."

I nodded my head in confirmation of her remark, and I went on to the third term and pointed at the board.

"Now how were Freedmen politically disenfranchised?" I paused, looked at the class for an answer and then wrote the terms *disenfranchised* and *disfranchised* on the board, explaining that the words meant the same thing – to take away basic rights; in this case, the right to vote.

Wendy said, "They charged them money to vote."

"Yes," I said, "a poll tax, although the amount was only change or a dollar at the most. What didn't Freedmen have?"

Several students said, "Money."

I then asked, "How else were the Freedmen kept from voting?" I went on to ask and explain the literacy test, the ballot boxes and the grandfather clause and further discussed the Ku Klux Klan's influence over elections, registration and keeping African Americans off of the voting roles and effectively out of the court room, making the guilt of African Americans assured. The class period neared its

end; I reminded students that they would see the question of how African Americans were socially segregated, economically oppressed, and politically disenfranchised in the future, and I previewed the next day's lesson regarding the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Civil War amendments further limiting the freedoms of African Americans *and* other minorities.

Metaphorically, students' created a background scene to a landscape picture, answers to the questions from the outline on Reconstruction. Students began to fill in the background where the sky meets the earth, clouds, mountains, and trees (i.e., creating connections between the social segregation, economic oppression, and political disenfranchisement). Overall, the discussion displayed abilities to analyze and synthesize historical information by taking the knowledge they possessed and constructing a background scene, filling in the frame by making logical assumptions of Reconstruction in order for a focal point/an image to emerge from the work. This frame would offer the basic background for students to think historically or to think with historical empathy regarding this era. In an upcoming lesson, students would need to apply this basic knowledge to allow for this focal point or image to emerge by defining Reconstruction and redefining Reconstruction after reading several historical documents.

Reconstructing Reconstruction

To provide a working background of Reconstruction, I engaged students in a lecture/discussion of the Supreme Court's interpretation of the Civil War

amendments. During the second part of the lesson, I asked students to revise the definition of Reconstruction they had created for an earlier homework assignment and then, after reading several historical documents, redefine Reconstruction, adding a statement explaining how the historical documents added or did not add to their understanding of Reconstruction. First, students wrote down a variety of court cases which limited the effects of the Civil War amendments.

On the white board appeared each case, without any further explication; I have annotated cases here briefly to support the reader's understanding of the material explored during this part of the lesson. I required students to write these cases in their notes and to save space for a definition to be added later.

Ex parte Milligan v. *U.S.* (1866) – a military court trial reaffirming the Supreme Court's federal/national influence; since the Civil War and the Civil War amendments refuted much of the Court's power and influence considering the Dred Scot decision.

Bradwell v. *Illinois* (1873) – a female attorney denied the right to practice law under the "privileges and immunities" clause; the Court made note of "women's traditional role."

The Slaughter House Cases (1873) – privileges and immunities against monopoly; the Court recognizes a difference between state and national citizenship; therefore, national citizenship involves only travel between states or on navigable waters.

U.S. v. *Cruikshank* (1876) – whites attacked blacks who were meeting; the Court ruled that the 14th amendment did not empower the federal government to redress the misdeeds of private individuals against other citizens; only discrimination by the States.

U.S. v. *Reese* (1876) – The Court ruled that there was NO *guarantee* for the right to vote in the 15th amendment only certain impermissible grounds for denying the right to vote.

Civil Rights Cases (1883) – the Court struck down the 1875 act which prohibited segregation on the grounds that it protected a particular class/group of people (African Americans).

Plessy v. *Ferguson* (1896) – the Court upheld the doctrine of "separate but equal."

Cumming v. *County Board of Education* (1899) – "separate but equal" applies to schools.

I explained to students that the majority of these cases restricted the effects of the Civil War amendments. I asked the class, "What is the job of the judicial branch?"

Jay said, "To interpret the law."

"Excellent," I asked students to recall our previous discussion of the Dred Scot case and asked if they could recall how the Supreme Court had interpreted the case. Several voices responded, "Narrowly."

I then explained that the character of the Court changes as a result of new justices coming onto the bench and justices leaving (resigning or dying). We discussed the term of a federal justice, the names of the current justices, and the way to remove a justice or federal judge. As I wrote each justice's name on the white board, I placed them in one of three categories. I recalled the earlier discussion of the Dred Scot case, and I asked students to recall the term given to a person, or in this case a justice who interprets the Constitution narrowly.

Alice said, "A strict constructionist."

"Yes," I said. "And on political scale with conservative on one side and liberal on the other where would you associate a strict constructionist?"

Alice confidently said, "Conservative."

I went on to explain the columns or rows I created on the white board with the present justices, that some of the justices were conservative while others were liberal. I then pointed out two justices in between the two groups and asked, "What term would we associate with them?"

Wendy, who does not often speak in class, questioned, "Moderate?"

"Very good," I said. In particular, I noted that the interpretation of the 14th amendment is still being played out today, "the right to privacy," a woman's right to choose, gay marriage, and the right to die if one is terminally ill. Moreover, I suggested that the long reaching effect of the justices, because they are appointed for life, holds great importance, especially with the upcoming election and that the

present justices have outlived the terms of the presidents who nominated them. I then provided students with the background and the outcome of each case which I had written on the board, and after each case I asked how the Court interpreted the Constitution, narrowly or broadly. Each time students recognized the Court consecutively ruled narrowly on each case.

I then added that the Jim Crow laws of the South would only begin to be overturned in the 1950s.

"Brown versus education was the case," responded Nancy.

"Right! Brown versus the Board of Education Topeka, Kansas, 1954." I added it to the white board and continued writing down other cases, which, over time, would overturn many of the Jim Crow laws or laws which treated African Americans, in particular, as less than equal:

Baltimore v. *Dawson* (1955) – pools and recreational facilities

Gayle v. *Browder* (1956) – local transportation

Lee v. *Washington* (1968) – jails

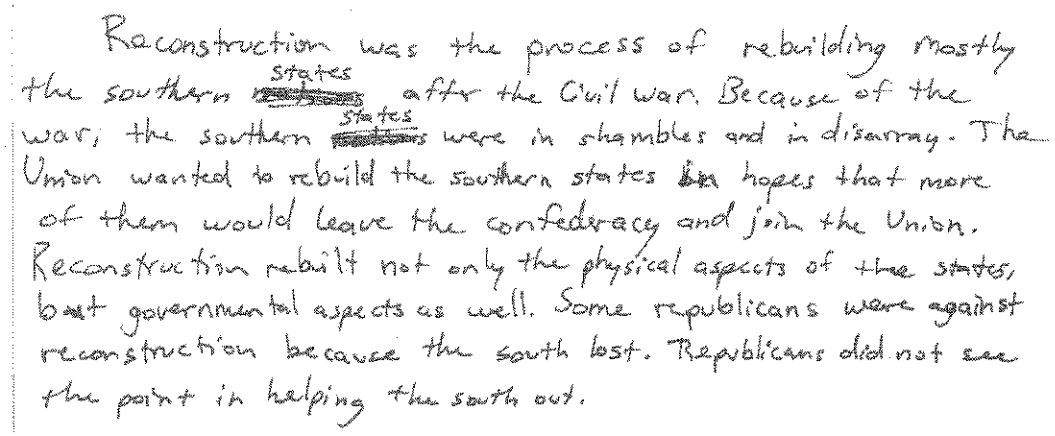
Loving v. *Virginia* (1967) – state miscegenation laws

Palmore v. *Sidoti* (1984) – child custody

I finished this portion of class by stating that we would come back to many of the cases when we discuss the Civil Rights movement in the second semester, but for now I wanted to venture back and get their conceptual understanding of Reconstruction. I asked students to write a new definition of Reconstruction in

light of our discussion to date. Their previous definition had come directly from the textbook: Reconstruction was the plan "for rebuilding the Confederate states and reuniting the nation" (Boyer, 1998, p. 395). Specifically, I stated, "We have looked at Reconstruction since the start of this class. Your first homework question from the textbook was to define the term 'Reconstruction.' With your present knowledge, I want you to again write a definition for this term. Be specific and provide examples. You have five minutes." In contrast to the brief definition provided by the textbook, student offerings were, as I hoped, more involved. For example, Dan wrote that the destruction of the southern states necessitated rebuilding of the political and social infrastructure and the ensuing political conflict over Reconstruction (see Figure 1). Gary noted the differences between Lincoln's plan and the social and economic environment of the South after Lincoln's assassination (see Figure 2). Samantha had a more positive note, detailing the importance of forgiveness (presidential pardon for some southerners) and granting rights to the newly freed slaves (see Figure 3). Alice completed a full discussion on Reconstruction (see Figure 4). And in contrast, Chelsey noted the apparent disconnect between what was passed by law or amendment and what occurred in reality (see Figure 5).

Figure 1



Reconstruction was the process of rebuilding mostly the southern ~~states~~ states after the Civil war. Because of the war, the southern ~~states~~ states were in shambles and in disarray. The Union wanted to rebuild the southern states in hopes that more of them would leave the confederacy and join the Union. Reconstruction rebuilt not only the physical aspects of the states, but governmental aspects as well. Some republicans were against reconstruction because the south lost. Republicans did not see the point in helping the south out.

Figure 2

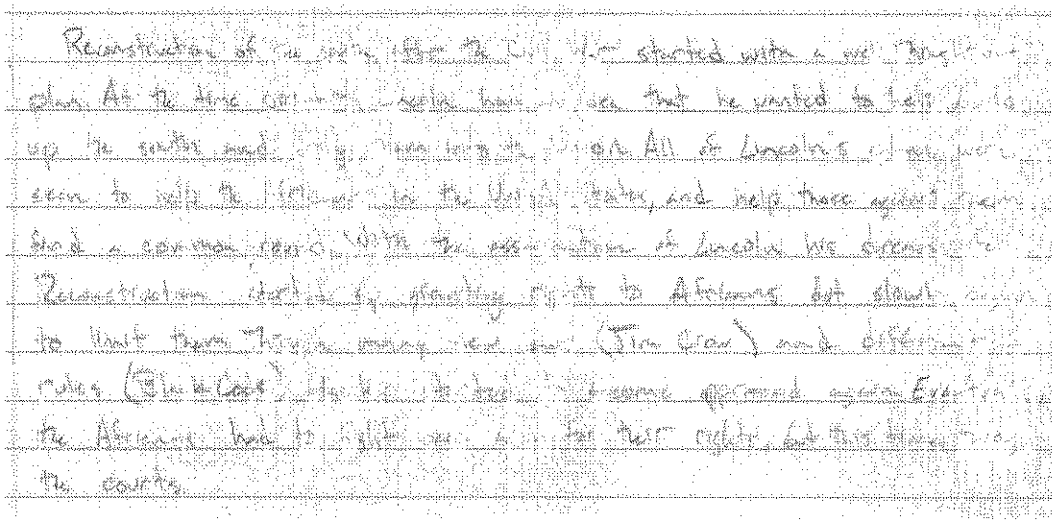
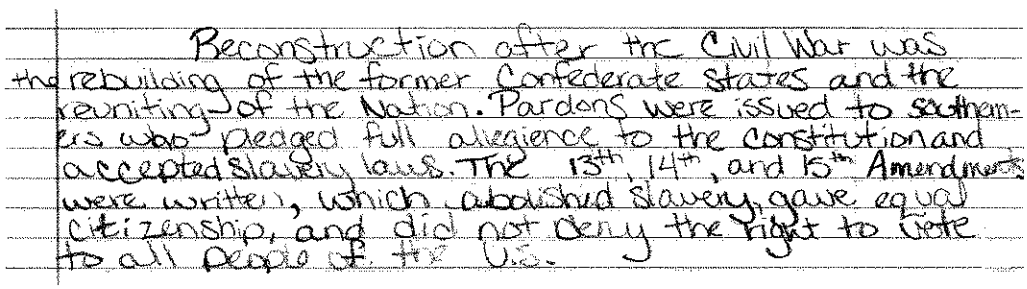
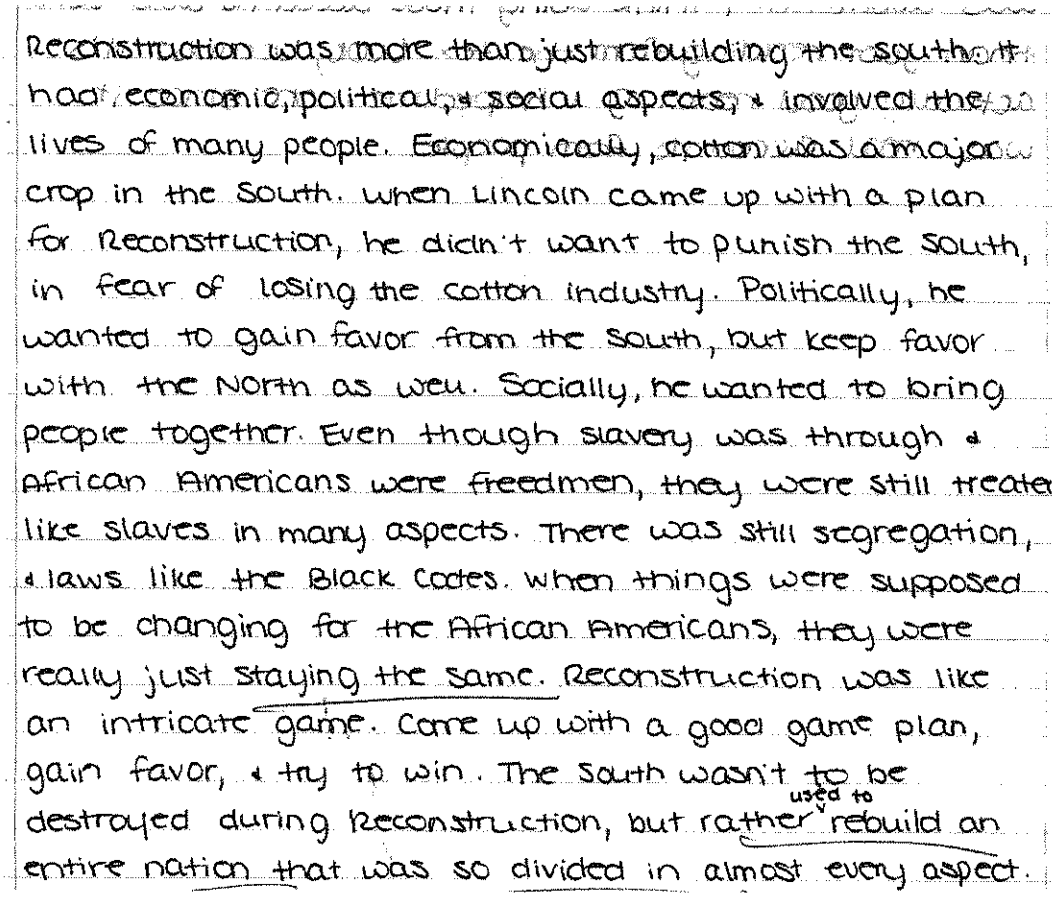


Figure 3



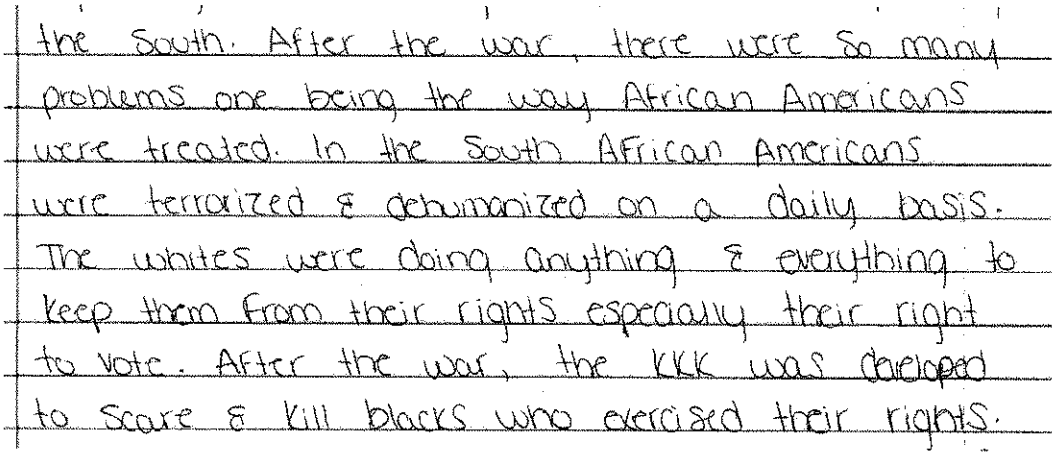
Reconstruction after the Civil War was the rebuilding of the former Confederate States and the reuniting of the Nation. Pardons were issued to southerners who pledged full allegiance to the constitution and accepted slavery laws. The 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments were written, which abolished slavery, gave equal citizenship, and did not deny the right to vote to all people of the U.S.

Figure 4



Reconstruction was more than just rebuilding the south. It had economic, political, & social aspects, & involved the lives of many people. Economically, cotton was a major crop in the South. When Lincoln came up with a plan for Reconstruction, he didn't want to punish the South, in fear of losing the cotton industry. Politically, he wanted to gain favor from the South, but keep favor with the North as well. Socially, he wanted to bring people together. Even though slavery was through & African Americans were freedmen, they were still treated like slaves in many aspects. There was still segregation, & laws like the Black Codes. When things were supposed to be changing for the African Americans, they were really just staying the same. Reconstruction was like an intricate game. Come up with a good game plan, gain favor, & try to win. The South wasn't to be destroyed during Reconstruction, but rather used to rebuild an entire nation that was so divided in almost every aspect.

Figure 5



the South. After the war, there were so many problems one being the way African Americans were treated. In the South African Americans were terrorized & dehumanized on a daily basis. The whites were doing anything & everything to keep them from their rights especially their right to vote. After the war, the KKK was developed to scare & kill blacks who exercised their rights.

I then handed out a packet containing several personal accounts of Reconstruction, from Freedman and plantation owners to Southern racists and Freedman's Bureau officers (see Resources: Litwack, 1980; Sterling,1976). I read the first account and then students volunteered to read subsequent accounts. Following the readings, I asked students to define Reconstruction for a third time. All students added the personal accounts to their new definition of Reconstruction. Because the five students' definitions encapsulate and exemplify the varying views of Reconstruction, I am also including excerpts of their revised definitions to provide the reader an understanding of the students' progression of thought. With the exception of Chelsey, who noted the realities of Reconstruction in her first definition, students modified there responses. Dan noted the unfair treatment of the Freedmen (see Figure 6). Gary recognized he omitted important aspects about life in the South after the Civil War and the turmoil brought to both slave and slave owner as a result of the abolishment of slavery (see Figure 7). Samantha recognized her disconnect regarding policy and practice (see Figure 8). Alice felt the readings helped to enhance her definition of Reconstruction (see Figure 9). Chelsey's, as stated previously, did not alter her definition; however, she used this time to reaffirm and further explicate her perceptions (see Figure 10).

Figure 6

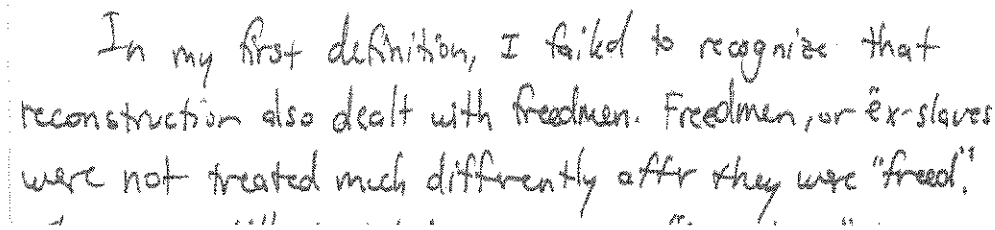


Figure 7

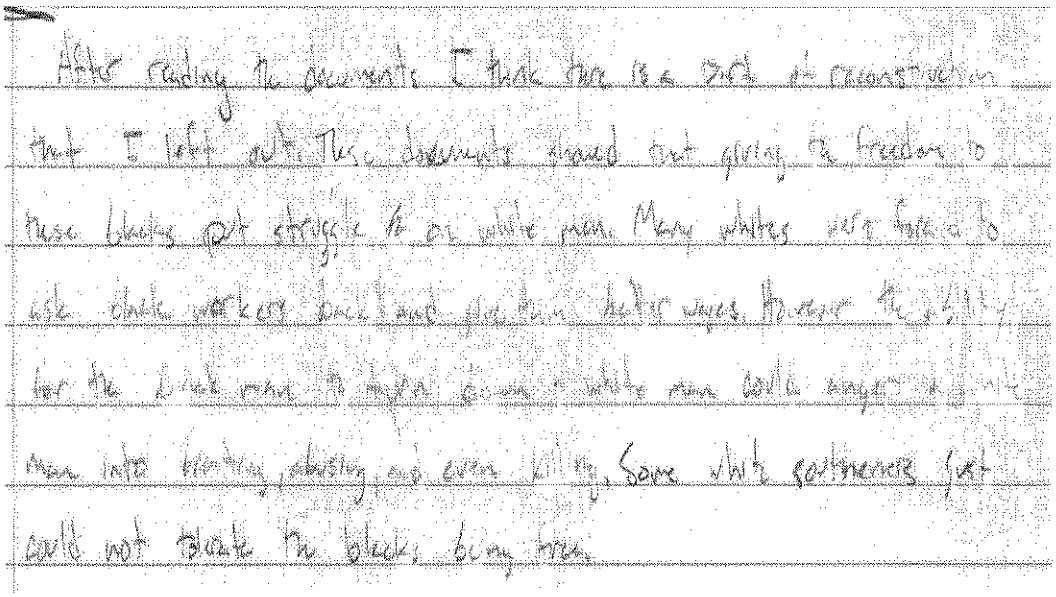


Figure 8

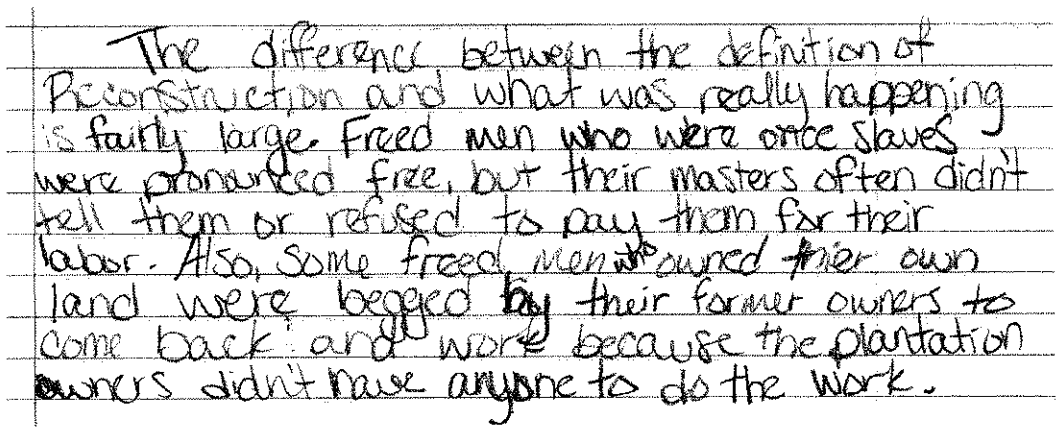


Figure 9

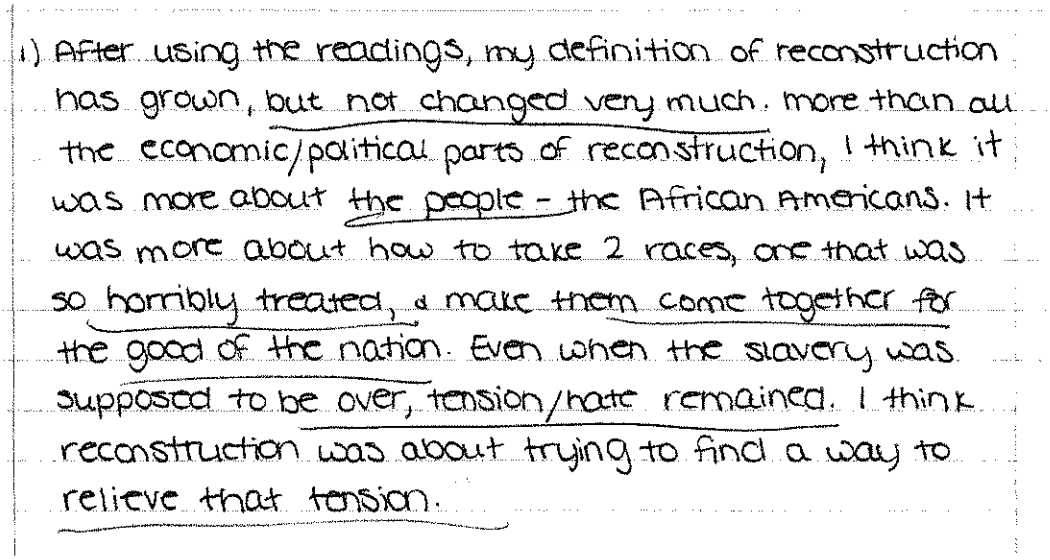
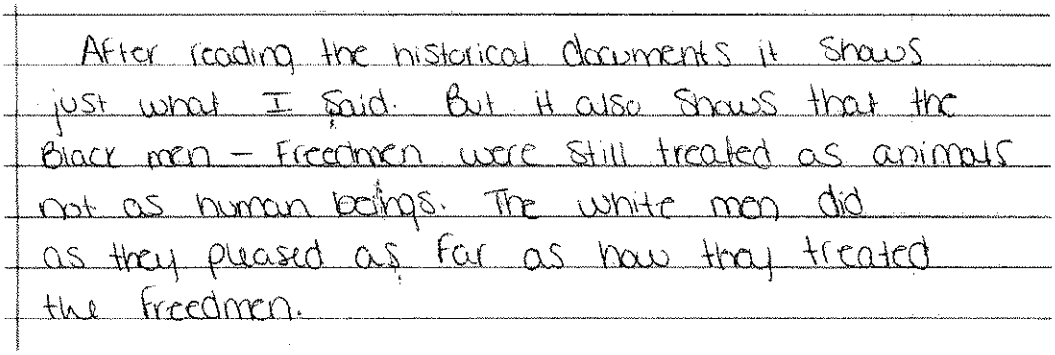

1) After using the readings, my definition of reconstruction has grown, but not changed very much. more than all the economic/political parts of reconstruction, I think it was more about the people - the African Americans. It was more about how to take 2 races, one that was so horribly treated, & make them come together for the good of the nation. Even when the slavery was supposed to be over, tension/hate remained. I think reconstruction was about trying to find a way to relieve that tension.

Figure 10


After reading the historical documents it shows just what I said. But it also shows that the Black men - Freedmen were still treated as animals not as human beings. The white men did as they pleased as far as how they treated the freedmen.

Last I asked, "What have the historical documents done for your learning or understanding of Reconstruction; how have they helped you understand this period of history? Please, be specific in answering this question." Overall, students believed the readings added to their understanding of the time period, preferred it to the textbook's account of the period and enjoyed the personal insights from the historical documents (see Figure 11, 12, & 13).

Figure 11

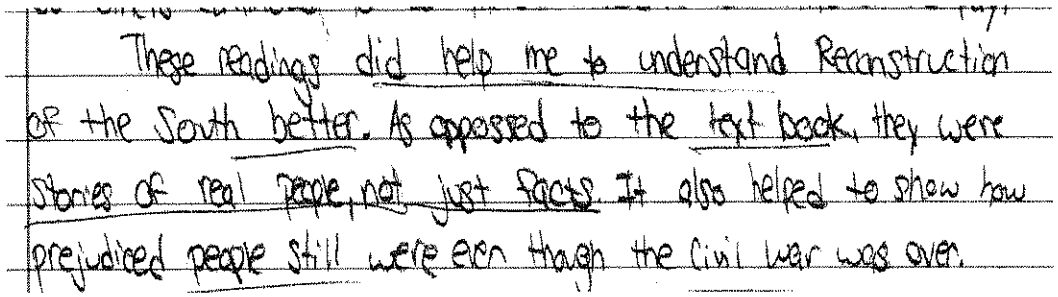

These readings did help me to understand Reconstruction of the South better. As opposed to the text book, they were stories of real people, not just facts. It also helped to show how prejudiced people still were even though the Civil War was over.

Figure 12

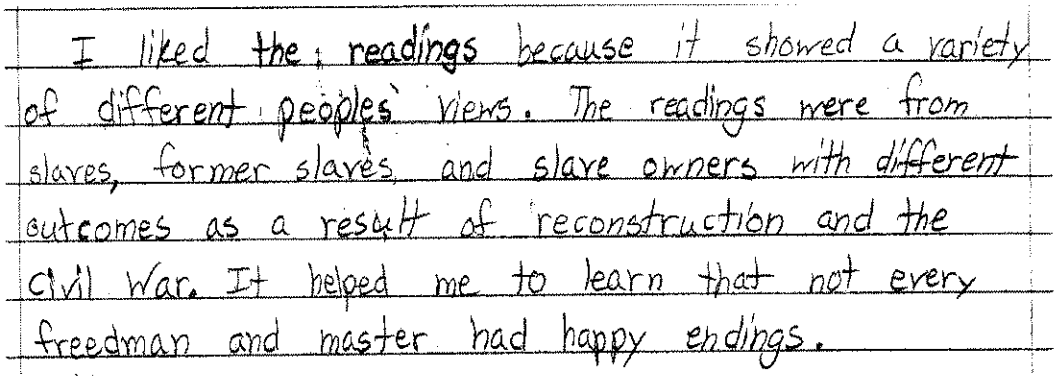
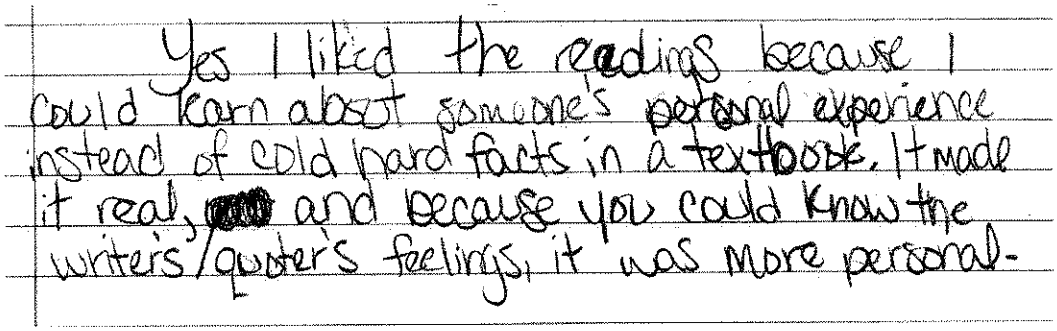

I liked the readings because it showed a variety of different peoples' views. The readings were from slaves, former slaves, and slave owners with different outcomes as a result of reconstruction and the Civil War. It helped me to learn that not every freedman and master had happy endings.

Figure 13


Yes I liked the readings because I could learn about someone's personal experience instead of cold hard facts in a textbook. It made it real, and because you could know the writers/quoter's feelings, it was more personal-

The Grabers

Students would soon begin the search for and the interpretation and analysis of a historical document relating to the Populist and Progressive eras.

However, before beginning this endeavor, I wanted to provide them with one more historical document whereby I would again model the way a historian might read a historical account if confronted by a piece like this for the first time. Thus, I handed out a two page document which included three excerpts from a genealogy (see Appendix G).

Similar to the way I read Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address*, I read a section and then paused to make generalizations, to paraphrase statements or more importantly, to ask questions about the contents of the document. The document begins, "Peter, the sixth child, was born in South Russia."

"Wow!" I said, "I wonder how many children there are?" As I made my question, I noticed students did not have their notebooks open; I paused and told students to open their notebooks, to write their own questions or comments. I said, "Obviously, this is a course in U.S. history; therefore, you should expect that this family history is taking place in the U.S., but I wonder where in the U.S. the setting is for this historical document; moreover, why did this family emigrate from South Russia?" I continued to read. "Four died in a blizzard in 1888." I looked up from my reading and asked, "How is that possible? Didn't these people have any warning of the coming storm?" Students began to respond.

"They didn't have all the sophisticated stuff we have today," responded Junior.

"Correct," I said, "There was certainly no weather channel or local meteorologist." I continued to read and ask questions. The students began to quicken with response. "I wonder why they left the shelter of the school?"

Zeke said, "Maybe they needed to."

"Why?" I asked.

He replied, "Maybe they didn't have any wood for a fire."

"Very good," I said. "Any other possible reasons for leaving?"

Kelsey said, "Maybe the teacher wanted to get the children home to the parents."

"Excellent." I said, "The exact reason for the leave is very unclear. We really don't know why they left, but it raises an interesting question." Again, I continued to read, modeling questions. "I wonder why Andrew thought as if he was getting warmer?"

Wendy suggested, "He was freezing."

"Why did one of the Goertzen boys walk around the trees on the north side of the house?"

Ron suggested, "I'll bet the young boy had to go pee."

"Sure, that is an excellent possibility, or maybe there is an outhouse in that direction; again we really don't know," I said. I continued to read. "Wow, I wonder how they thawed out the bodies?"

Jared suggested that they had put them in the barn.

"What can we tell of these people from the phrase 'they are now resting till that great Resurrection Day?'"

Annie said, "They were religious."

"Yes," I said, "What religion? Can we tell from the reading?"

Ron asked, "Catholic?"

"No." I said, "They aren't Catholic, but that's because I know more about the reading than you. What faith are they."

Lisa suggested, "Christian."

"Very good." I said, "Why?"

Lisa stated, "Because it says Resurrection."

"And?" I asked.

Lisa continued, "Christians believe in the second coming of Christ will allow all those who were believers to be resurrected."

I said, "Excellent. In fact, I can tell you these people before emigrating from South Russia lived in France and Switzerland, but because of religious persecution they left to come to the U.S. If we continue reading we should be able to find out more about their religious beliefs." I continued to read. "Wow! Two thousand people died in a blizzard. How many people died on 9/11?" My point was to show them that we take death and casualty figures in relation to other events; in this case, a lot of people died in an event which today we would

consider a major catastrophe. I continued to read the next excerpts, again, modeling the questioning process.

It was not until the last excerpt where we could analyze the religious faith. It took some work for the students to figure out that these were Anabaptists; in particular, I told them that they were Mennonites. Originally they were granted land in Russia by Catherine the Great because of their good farming abilities; they succumbed to religious persecution under Czar Nicholas I; and eventually, they left for the cheap and fertile lands of the Dakota Territory in the U.S. We then finished reading the third excerpt.

I explained how I wanted them to be inspired by what they read in the textbook and the questions to a worksheet for the reading. Moreover, individually students would conduct a historical investigation of a document, to find a historical document from this period of U.S. history.

I then shared with them greater details of the excerpt by showing them a picture from a book of the father of those in the story and the person from whose name the excerpt receives its title . . . Peter O. Graber. I said, "This is a picture of Peter O. Graber and this is a picture of his second wife, Suzanna, aged and in a wheel chair." Students in the back were squinting to see. I said that I would pass the book around at the end of class. I showed them another picture, "This is a picture of Peter and Suzanna's sod home which is described in the excerpt." I pointed out Chris C. from that picture as one of the individuals who recounts the

history of the blizzard and is quoted heavily in the excerpts. I then showed the students another picture of Chris C., older in age and explained, "This is Chris C. with his snow white hair which was made mention of in the excerpt." I pointed out from that family picture the second daughter Linda. I flipped to the next page to show a picture of Linda with her husband, adding, "This is Chris C.'s second daughter Linda with her husband, John D. Voth." Students' eyes began to widen as they took note of the last name of the man I just mentioned. I pointed to the adjoining picture which shows fourteen of John D. and Linda Voth's fifteen children, and pointing to the one person, I said, "This person is my father."

Students began to comment, "No way."

"Cool."

"Hey, can I get a better look."

"How did you get this information?"

"Did you find it all out?"

"Are you really related to the people in this story?"

It is amazing to see their interest pique, but I am unsure exactly why *my* connection arouses *their* interest. Is it because they find my life and the life of all teachers a bit of a mystery? Thus, when they get an opportunity to see a part of it they are intrigued. Or is it that they see teachers as alien beings and are surprised to see us as…human? Or is it because many of them know so little about their own history? Thus, when confronted with a history of someone they know (i.e.,

my history), they are intrigued, interested, and engaged. For whatever the reason, I wanted to use this interest to spur students to find a historical document to which they could relate, that we are all immigrants to the land we call the United States and that even those new to this country can find an aspect of U.S. history which stimulates interest.

Investigating History

It was now time to allow the students to conduct research for and on a historical document. I explained that they would need to select an historical account from roughly the same time period we were studying (1865-1914). With the LCD projector, I instructed them that a good place to start would be one of the websites which contains several links to historical documents. I discussed the difference between a primary document and historical documents (e.g., primary documents: speeches, historical accounts, articles, poetry, lyrics, music, still photographs, art, and video; graphs and charts; and secondary sources charged with period quotes). I told them that they needed to confine their research to primary documents for this lesson. I told them that for now all they needed to do was to find and read a primary document. I showed students several links from my web-pages to begin their search and used the class period as a way to help students who may not have an understood or who might have trouble finding a document. The purpose of the lesson was to use the work of Drake and Brown (2003) for students to interpret and analyze historical documents, to determine the

ways students come to understand a piece of history. Moreover, because students would be divided into groups of three to read each others' documents, students would read other primary documents and help each other complete the analysis and interpretation of each document. There were two interesting moments during the research for a primary document and during the analysis and interpretation of the document which I care to share.

First, students immediately got to work, busily organizing groups to cooperatively "cheat" on the chapter worksheet I had also assigned and to find a document on the six computers, which sit next to a chest height wall paralleling the outside wall to the classroom entrance. I use the term cooperatively "cheat" with them because I explained that there is a clear difference between the work they completed for the chapter questions and the work they will be conducting in their groups come Monday with the historical document they each find. Personally, I feel like this distinction needs to be made for two reasons: students know to budget time and efforts in a group setting – delegating work among themselves and their partners, and more importantly, students begin to understand the power of the group and the upper level thinking which may result from that group power.

I sat down at the desk in the front of the room which faces the students and began to watch the students get to work. I eventually made my way to Dan who was sitting at the computer closest to the classroom entrance. "How's it going?"

Dan, in a formal and articulate manner, responded, "Very well; I came across this," an article on the free coinage of silver. He stated it with interest but also a tone of concern.

I said, "Cool. Where did you get it?"

He paged back through a screen or two on the tool bar which helped me determine that the article was written in response to the article against the free coinage of silver for economic reasons.

I asked, "Do you like economics?"

He nodded in affirmation.

I said, "This is great because you get both views, contrasting opinions."

"Yea," he said.

"I know you were only supposed to read one historical document for the assignment, but you would really gain a better insight into the argument by reading both."

"Yes."

I went on to explain that this issue of free coinage is a difficult one to understand; I said that there were even some history teachers who shy away from explaining it because of its complexity but that if he was willing to give it a try, I would be there if he needed help understanding the material. Overall, I was moved at how interested Dan became in the historical investigation, that he found

an area of history which piqued his interest, and that the investigation spurred greater investigation than was required by the assignment.

The second moment came during the cooperative learning exercise in completing the analysis and interpretation of the students' historical documents. I explained that students needed to count on their partners to read and help complete the Historical Documents Analysis worksheet (see Appendix F). I described how the questions on the worksheet started out relatively easy (e.g., the author's name, the source, what type of document it was) and got progressively more difficult to answer. There were two aspects of the worksheet I especially wanted to discuss: the questions pertaining to the analysis of the document and the term "habit of mind."

I said to the class, "I want to focus in on the idea of a bias. Obviously, there may be a reason for a person's bias. Correct?"

Several heads nodded in affirmation.

I asked, "What if it was a diary?" There was a pause. "Usually in a diary a person is writing for whom?"

Rhonda said, "Themselves."

"Good. So do you think we would find much bias?"

"No," Melanie replied.

I asked, "In what type of document might we find bias?"

Jenn said, "A speech."

"Why?"

"Because you have to consider who the audience is."

"Yes," I said, "The audience may be full of supporters or detractors." I said, "Good; where else?" There was another long pause. I asked, "What about a newspaper article?"

Several heads nodded in agreement. "O.K. so one of the important things you should be looking for in your historical document is bias. You should also be asking questions. Remember how I read Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address* and I stopped frequently to ask questions? I was modeling for you the way historians ask questions of the documents they read. You should jot down questions of your own."

I then continued to explain habit of mind as the way the reader places one's self in relation to the reading. I said, "For example, when reading *The Great Gatsby*, from whose perspective was the novel written?"

Several students announced, "Nick."

"Yes," I said, "What if you were to be reading a diary?"

Cammy suggested, "You could read it as the person who wrote it."

"Great," I said, "Or?"

She continued, "You could read as someone who didn't write it."

"Like?" I asked.

Jay blurted out, "A boyfriend."

"Or a girlfriend," I said. "Who else?" I asked.

Cammy said, "A parent."

"Ah, parents may want to know what their son or daughter is up to." I said. "What if your primary document is a speech?"

Chelsey suggested, "You could be thinking as if you were the person giving the speech."

"Good." I said, "Or?"

Again Chelsey commented said, "A person in the audience."

"Yes," I said, "What about the person in the audience; who might they be?" I told them that they should think about the upcoming election and who attends the speeches.

Claire said, "A supporter."

"Yes," I said, "It could be a supporter or it could be . . ."

A number of students exclaimed, "A protester."

After the instructions, I let them get to work. I did not need to venture around the room to find an interesting discussion. A group of young women, Rosemary, Nancy and Rhonda, were sitting directly in front of me and began to discuss the document Nancy found. Nancy started to explain, "Immigrants flooded Utah; they would steal from the people who were living in these areas; it was awful."

Rosemary asked, "Where was this?"

"Utah," Nancy stated.

Rhonda responded, "That's amazing."

Nancy said, "Yeah."

Rosemary asked, "How many people were killed?"

Nancy did not have an exact figure, but she went on to explain how it was a whole "group of people." She continued, "The Mormons were really smart. They got the Indians to help them and some of the Mormons dressed up like Indians. They attacked them early in the morning."

I let the young ladies talk without interrupting, but I felt a sense of dread, knowing they had bitten into the entire story. They saw this account, the elimination of immigrant "infiltrators," as a moral good to preserve a way of life against those who were less moral. Despite my efforts to take notes on their conversation and stay out of the loop, the students asked me if I had ever heard of this incident.

Rosemary said, "Mr. Voth, did you ever hear of this?"

Rosemary and Nancy went on to explain what happened.

I was aware of the persecution many Mormons underwent prior to their movement westward and aware of the efforts to remain outside of the control of the federal government and to remain a religiously pure territory in Utah. I asked the group of young ladies, "Whose account was this?"

Nancy said that it was from the person who led the group of Indians and Mormons and was written several years after the fact like a confession.

"Ah," I said. I asked the students if there was a reason, other than the one suggested that immigrants were stealing land and food, unclean and general nuisance to society, why the Mormons would want to chase out or eliminate immigrants. They believed that what they had read was the right thing to do. I asked, "I want to make sure I got this straight; the Mormons paid Native Americans and dressed up as Native Americans, went into an encampment of immigrants at dawn, while the people lay sleeping, and killed them because of who they were, not because these people did anything wrong. Correct?"

The young women shook their heads in agreement but now wore quizzical expressions on their faces. "So what was the motivation for killing these people? Do you think that there is more to the story than what we are being told from this primary document? This is a difficult question to answer, and I'll try to give you a hint or a push in the right direction. Focus on the religion of these people. What religion were they?"

Rhonda said, "They were Mormons."

"O.K.," I said, "What conflict could the immigrants to the Utah Territory have posed for the Mormons? Would there be a reason why the Mormons did not want immigrants to move into the territory?" I had emphasized "territory" because I wanted students to realize one of the sticking points to statehood, as I

recalled, for the Utah Territory was the practice of polygamy. I did not know if this was the impetus for the massacre, but I had a good suspicion, the Mormons' religious beliefs and, in part, the practice of polygamy was the source of the conflict. If westward expansion into the Utah Territory caused a shift in the predominant population to those who held differing religious beliefs to that of the Mormons, the territory may adopt or pass laws to encourage statehood. Thus, westward expansion ran counter to the beliefs of the Mormons. Specifically, the majority population, Mormons, sought to maintain their religious beliefs against outside social and political pressure. Thus, a program to keep out immigrants and westward expansion into the territory was essential to preserving the Mormons' religious practice and way of life.

Rhonda sat quietly working on the historical documents worksheet; Rosemary and Nancy went to a computer and started to further investigate the historical document. I watched as both students worked diligently to discover as much information as possible about the massacre. After about ten to fifteen minutes, the students confirmed my suspicions.

Rosemary came over and discussed Mormons' belief in polygamy and added that the immigrants posed a threat to the Mormon way of life. I asked her how it posed a threat. The question seemed to puzzle her. But after a couple of leading questions, she realized that keeping immigrants out of the Utah territory helped maintain a way of life for the Mormons.

Despite the literature which supported students' acceptance of historical accounts as fact (Wineburg , 2001), what surprised me most about the lesson was students' favorable reception of historical accounts. I innocently and naively held the notion that my students would not succumb to this type of blind adoption of history. However, these students did not identify bias in what was written; they accepted the work as truth/fact; and there was no desire to question or investigate it historically. I initially considered this to be a devastating blow, for even when confronted with a biased historical document or a source, that at least to me, was obviously slanted and posed many more questions, students did not recognize the work as biased, did not ask questions of the text and failed, at least on their own, to do further research to corroborate or refute the author's work.

Nevertheless, after some questions and scaffolding of students' knowledge, the young ladies in this group did take it upon themselves to investigate the possible bias within the document once they became aware of that bias. For example, Nancy, the student whose document was on the massacre, wrote that the added research helped her to better understand the past and the biases in her original document (see Figure 14). Other students sought to use their prior knowledge and observations (i.e., questions and comments from the worksheet) to interpret, ask more questions, and command instruction in order to corroborate or refute the textbook or their historical document with another historical document(s) or other source material. Ethan took the opportunity to

question the author's evidence (see Figure 15), while Melanie chose to further investigate other sources to corroborate or refute her historical document (see Figure 16). Overall, students began to ask questions of the document and to think more critically and conceptually about the document and the time, attempting to contextualize history.

Figure 14

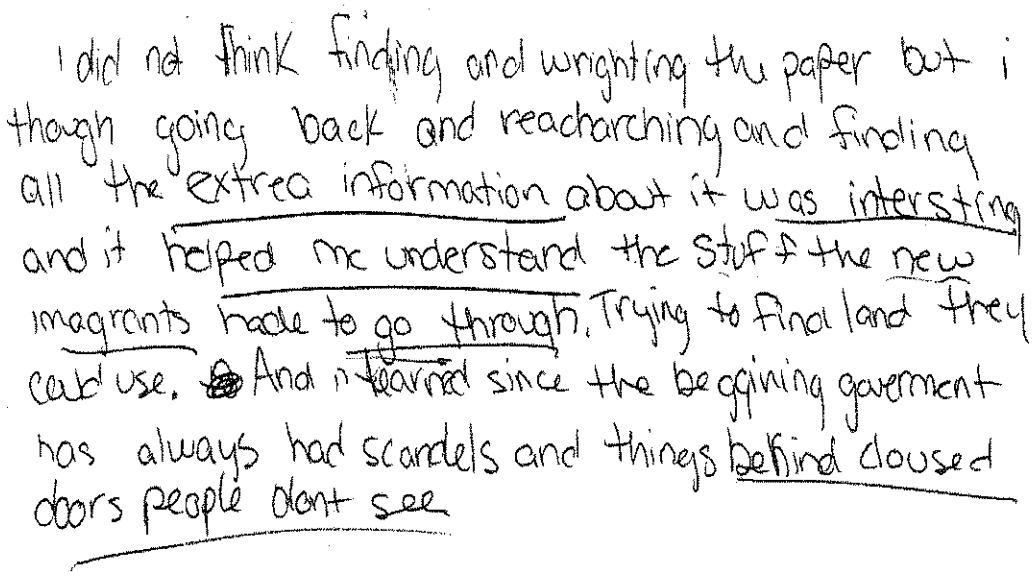


Figure 15

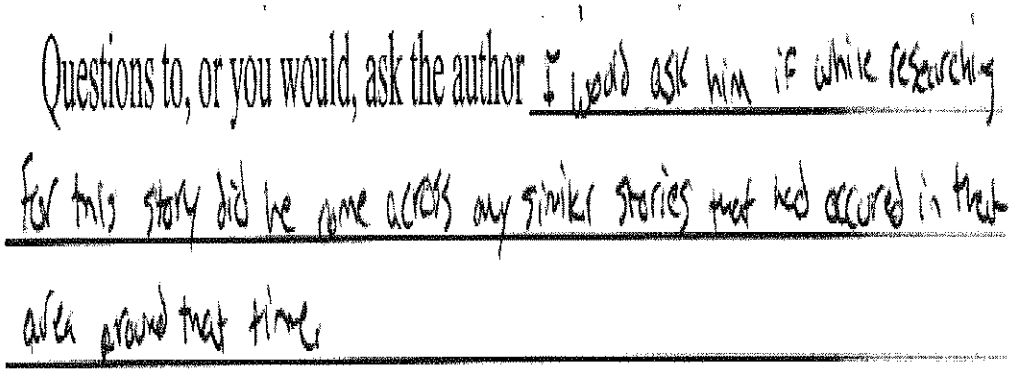
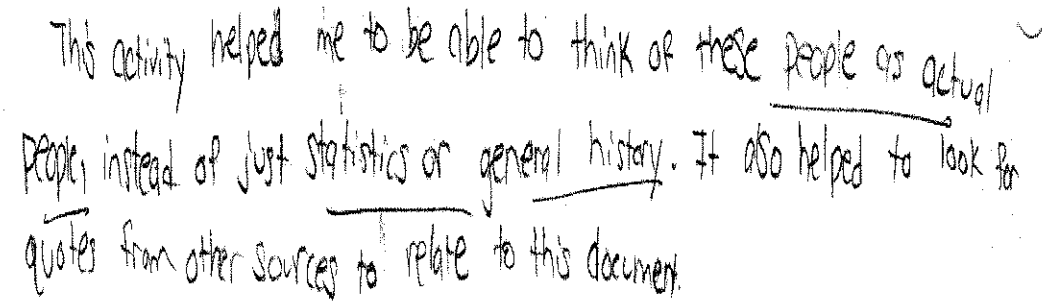


Figure 16



Dusty Old Dust

Students read, listened to, and watched various historical documents relating to dust storms and the Dust Bowl era of the 1930s (see Resources). Comments from students regarding cognitive impressions of the historical documents were recorded on composition paper upon the completion of each historical account. In contrast to the historical document investigation, this lesson served as a "private" discussion for students. I did not ask for them to share impressions or analysis with their classmates; nor did I suggest they would. It was one of those moments were they sat, read, listened, and watched intently. Whatever the reason for their attentiveness, the result was, on the surface, a good one. Students listened and followed along to the readings and quietly made written impressions; they read and listened to the lyrics and wrote impressions; and they watched as photograph after photograph was displayed on screen by the LCD projector from the U.S. Library of Congress (see Resources). In terms of the pictures, I broke them down into two distinct groups: those which depicted the

devastation of living in the Dust Bowl and those which depicted the dust storms. I first showed students the pictures of living in the Dust Bowl, hoping that if they saw the overall effect it would have a greater impression on them to see the pictures of a dust storm as it rolled into a city or town.

Greg questioned, "How did they get rid of it?"

"What do you mean?"

"Where did they go with all the dirt?"

"Good question; I assume they just shoveled it away, much the way we do with snow; I really don't know."

Kiley asked, "Where did all the dirt come from?"

Another student commented, "Weren't you listening to the first reading!"

"No." she said politely, "I mean where did it all come from?"

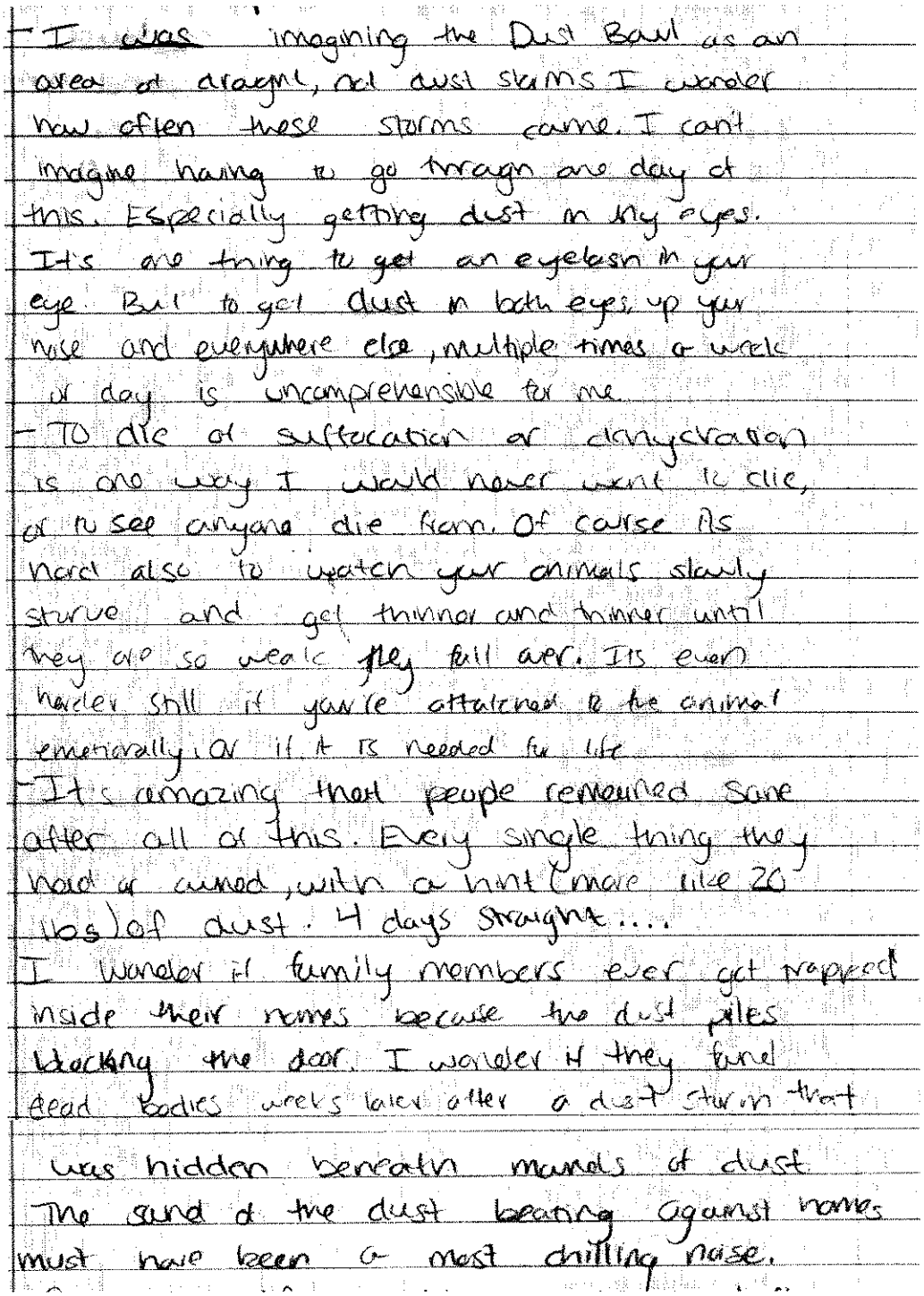
"As more and more earth was exposed for farming, the dirt in the open air would dry out, and just like snow in the middle of a field in winter when it begins to blow, the dirt blew into the air and was carried across fields on to roads, around houses, farms, and into the towns, and eventually, across states." I then showed the pictures of actual dust storms. The one series in particular shows a dark, ominous wall of gray and black moving down the side of mountain and toward a town in Baca County, Colorado, April 1935.

Upon seeing the picture, Alice blurted out, "Holy crap!" then clasped her mouth in amazement both by what she had said and the horrified sight.

I turned and she apologized for the expletive, yet it was that type of emotion which I was looking for students to express.

At the end of class I gave students the opportunity to write about their overall impression of the Dust Bowl era and dust storms. I also asked them to discuss which part of the lesson left them with the greatest impact and to explain why it made such an impact. Overall, students' accounts revolved around the devastation of dust storms and the inability to perceive of going through a similar experience. Sandra's reflections, although at times one might think a bit morbid, encapsulates many of the students' remarks (see Figure 17). Allen, like most students, was deeply moved by the pictures (see Figure 18). A few students, for example Mary, focused on the plight of the innocent (see Figure 19). And Jenn made note of the character of people living during the Dust Bowl Era, which she perceived as uncharacteristic of people living today (see Figure 20).

Figure 17



- I was imagining the Dust Bowl as an area of drought, and dust storms I wonder how often these storms came. I can't imagine having to go through one day of this. Especially getting dust in my eyes. It's one thing to get an eyelash in your eye. But to get dust in both eyes, up your nose and everywhere else, multiple times a week or day is incomprehensible for me.
- To die of suffocation or dehydration is one way I would never want to die, or to see anyone die from. Of course As hard also to watch your animals slowly starve and get thinner and thinner until they are so weak they fall over. It's even harder still if you're attached to the animal emotionally, or if it is needed for life.
- It's amazing that people remained sane after all of this. Every single thing they had covered, with a hint (more like 20 lbs) of dust. 4 days straight....

I wonder if family members ever got trapped inside their homes because the dust piles blocking the door. I wonder if they found dead bodies weeks later after a dust storm that was hidden beneath mounds of dust. The sound of the dust beating against homes must have been a most chilling noise.

Figure 18

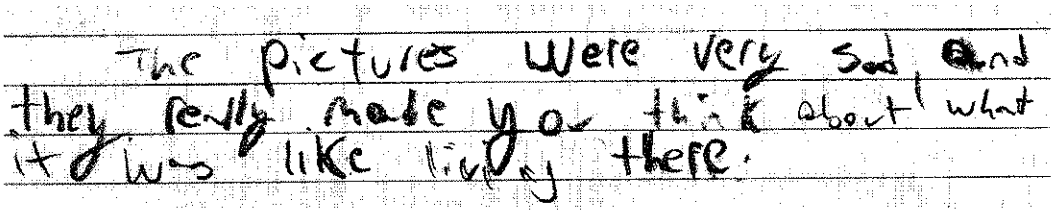

The pictures were very sad and they really make you think about what it was like living there.

Figure 19

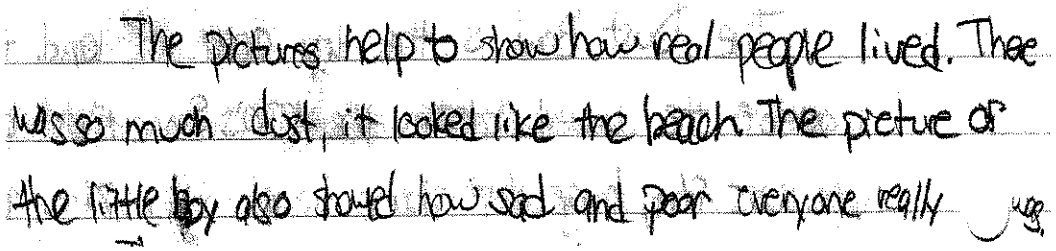
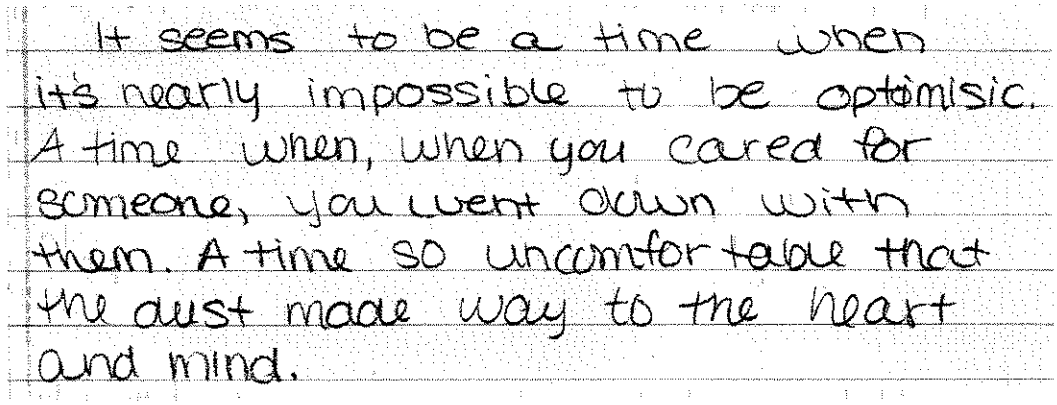

The pictures help to show how real people lived. There was so much dust, it looked like the beach. The picture of the little boy also showed how sad and poor everyone really was.

Figure 20


It seems to be a time when it's nearly impossible to be optimistic. A time when, when you cared for someone, you went down with them. A time so uncomfortable that the dust made way to the heart and mind.

"Foreigners in their Native Land: Manifest Destiny in the Southwest"

I provided a one hour lecture/introduction to Rudolfo Anaya's novel, *Bless Me, Ultima*, a coming-of-age novel of a 6 year old Chicano living during the 1940s in the American Southwest. Students were to read the novel for the English portion of the course. I wanted to offer students a perspective for why Chicanos

were in the Southwest, for how they got there, and for historically thinking about Chicanos who live in the Southwest. I did not know what experience students had in the past regarding this part of American history and expected whatever they had received was in all likelihood expansionism celebrated as manifest destiny.

I instructed students regarding the acquisition of territory and westward expansion. I showed them several maps of America circa the 1830s and America circa the 1850s, which provided students a visual account of the annexation of Mexico. I also wanted to know what students knew of this era and time.

The overwhelming majority of students stated that they knew nothing or very little historically. I had asked if they knew of what many consider the most famous mission in America, located in San Antonio.

Nancy responded, "The Alamo."

After mentioning the Alamo, students shook their heads in agreement and recounted comments like those of Ray, "All I remember is the saying, 'Remember the Alamo' and that the Mexicans had killed a lot of Americans there."

"Ah, yes," I said, "This is the part of history you are going to explore in the reading for homework. Up to the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo in 1854 this area, presently the United States, was . . ."

Nancy said, "Mexico."

I continued, "Thus, up to this point the Americans at the Alamo were not in the US; rather they were in Mexico. Today we would consider them. . . . Let's

see if I can make this clearer. What do we call Mexicans who come to the US without visas or passports?"

Again Nancy responded, "Illegal immigrants."

Ecstatically I smiled and said, "Awesome."

I did not want to go any further in discussing the history of the American Southwest. I wanted students to discover for themselves whether their perceptions of history and those we had just shared in class differed from those of the reading. I distributed to students the packet for homework, an excerpt called "Foreigners in their Native Land: Manifest Destiny in the Southwest" (see Resources) and wrote five questions on the board for students to complete in conjunction with the reading. The excerpt offered students a contrasting opinion to the glorious manifest destiny in the annexation of the American Southwest. The five questions were to help draw out those contrasting opinions and many stereotypes held by the Americans, Yankees, and Texicans from the 19th century but also those contrasting opinions and stereotypes which students may recognize from contemporary society:

1. Who were the "natives to the American Southwest?
2. Define the term "manifest destiny," and explain its relationship to the American conquest of the southwestern frontier.
3. Explain the stratification of Don Vallejo's California.

4. Explain the change of feelings toward the Yankees by the Mexicans who lived in California.
5. Cite specific details of the treatment of Mexicans by the Americans.

The following day I conducted a homework check; students then shared the answers to the questions and wrote cognitive impressions of the reading. Again, as with all the lessons presented, I wanted to offer students a different perspective than one they may have held or at the least, may have heard. Of all the writing impressions students created during the timeframe of this study, this writing provided the widest degree of varying perspectives. For Melanie, the reading made her confront her preconceived notions obtained from contemporary society (see Figure 21). Dan's perspective of the past changed completely (see Figure 22). Monique's view is representative of the dominant perspective held by the class (see Figure 23). Her interpretation recognized many historical contradictions which many students were left to grapple over, yet attempted to exemplify the ill-treatment of Mexicans through a historic or contemporary analogy. The reading caused Kelly to rethink the views she held of the past and to come to recognize that there are at least two histories of the American Southwest (see Figure 24). Nicholas analyzed the information, stated how wrong the Americans were for "abus[ing] the welcome," yet inferred that the Spanish were responsible for their own demise (see Figure 25).

Figure 21

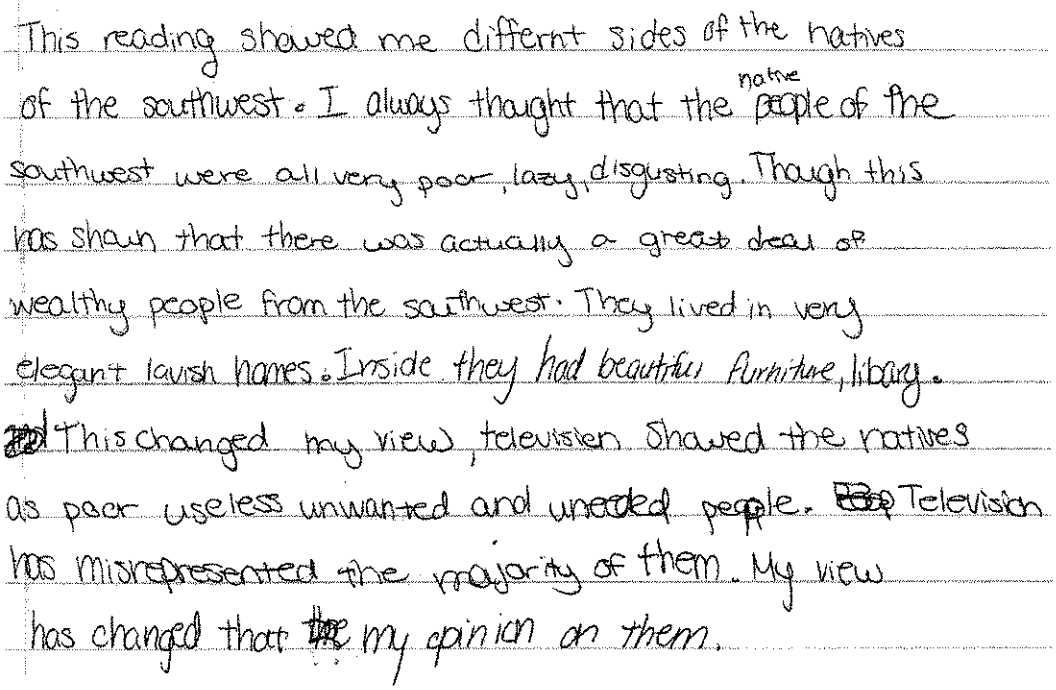

This reading showed me different sides of the natives of the southwest. I always thought that the native people of the southwest were all very poor, lazy, disgusting. Though this has shown that there was actually a great deal of wealthy people from the southwest. They lived in very elegant lavish homes. Inside they had beautiful furniture, library. This changed my view, television showed the natives as poor useless unwanted and unneeded people. Television has misrepresented the majority of them. My view has changed that my opinion on them.

Figure 22

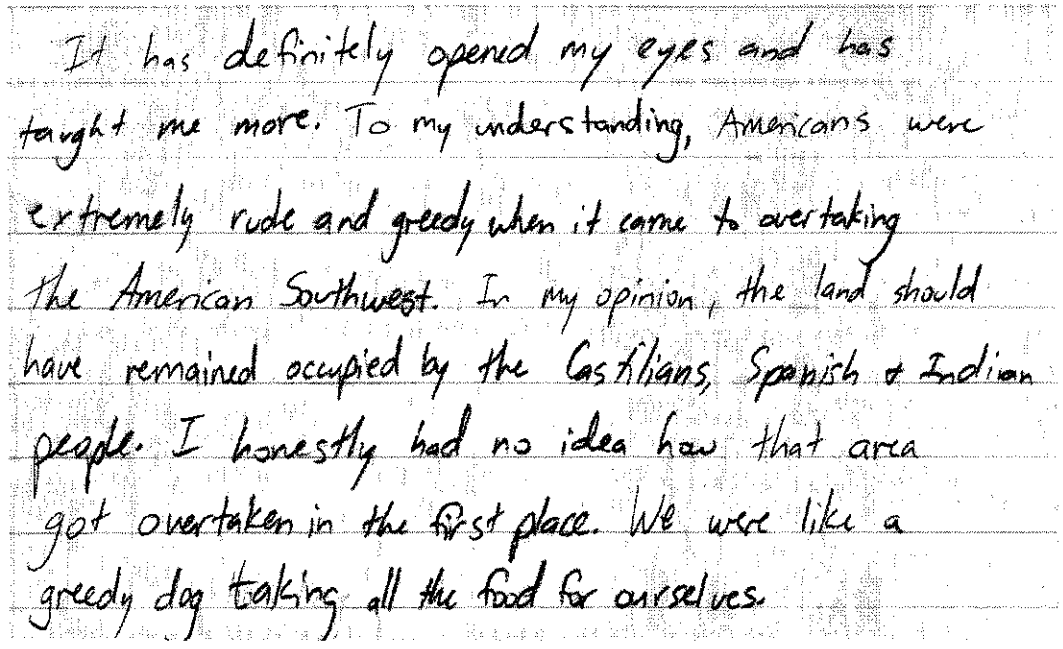
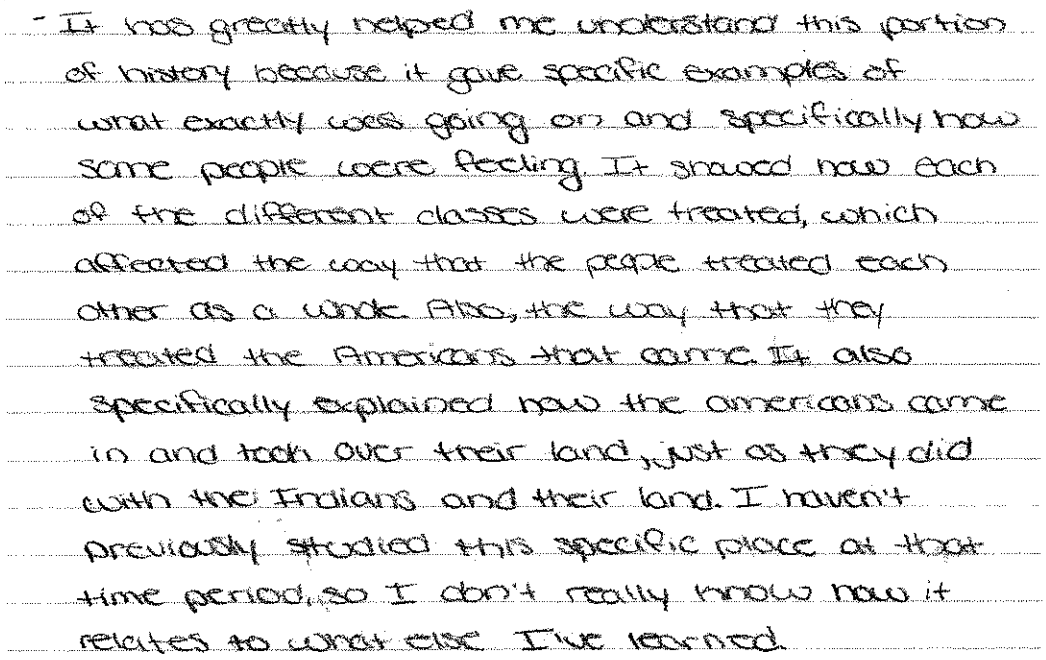
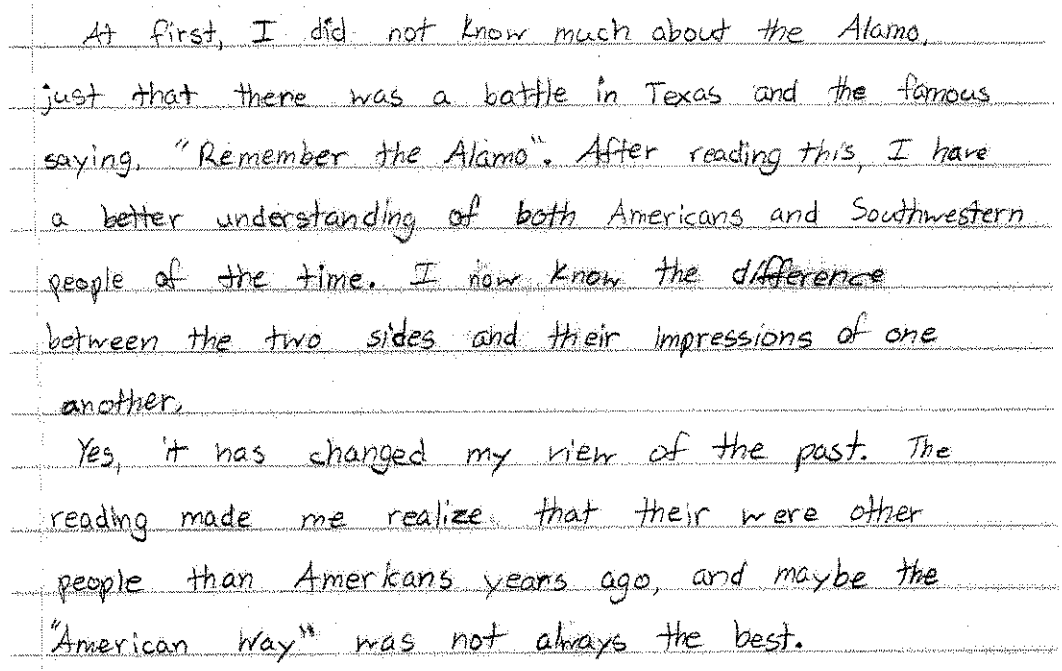

It has definitely opened my eyes and has taught me more. To my understanding, Americans were extremely rude and greedy when it came to overtaking the American Southwest. In my opinion, the land should have remained occupied by the Castilians, Spanish & Indian people. I honestly had no idea how that area got overtaken in the first place. We were like a greedy dog taking all the food for ourselves.

Figure 23



- It has greatly helped me understand this portion of history because it gave specific examples of what exactly was going on and specifically how some people were feeling. It showed how each of the different classes were treated, which affected the way that the people treated each other as a whole. Also, the way that they treated the Americans that came. It also specifically explained how the americans came in and took over their land, just as they did with the Indians and their land. I haven't previously studied this specific place at that time period, so I don't really know how it relates to what else I've learned.

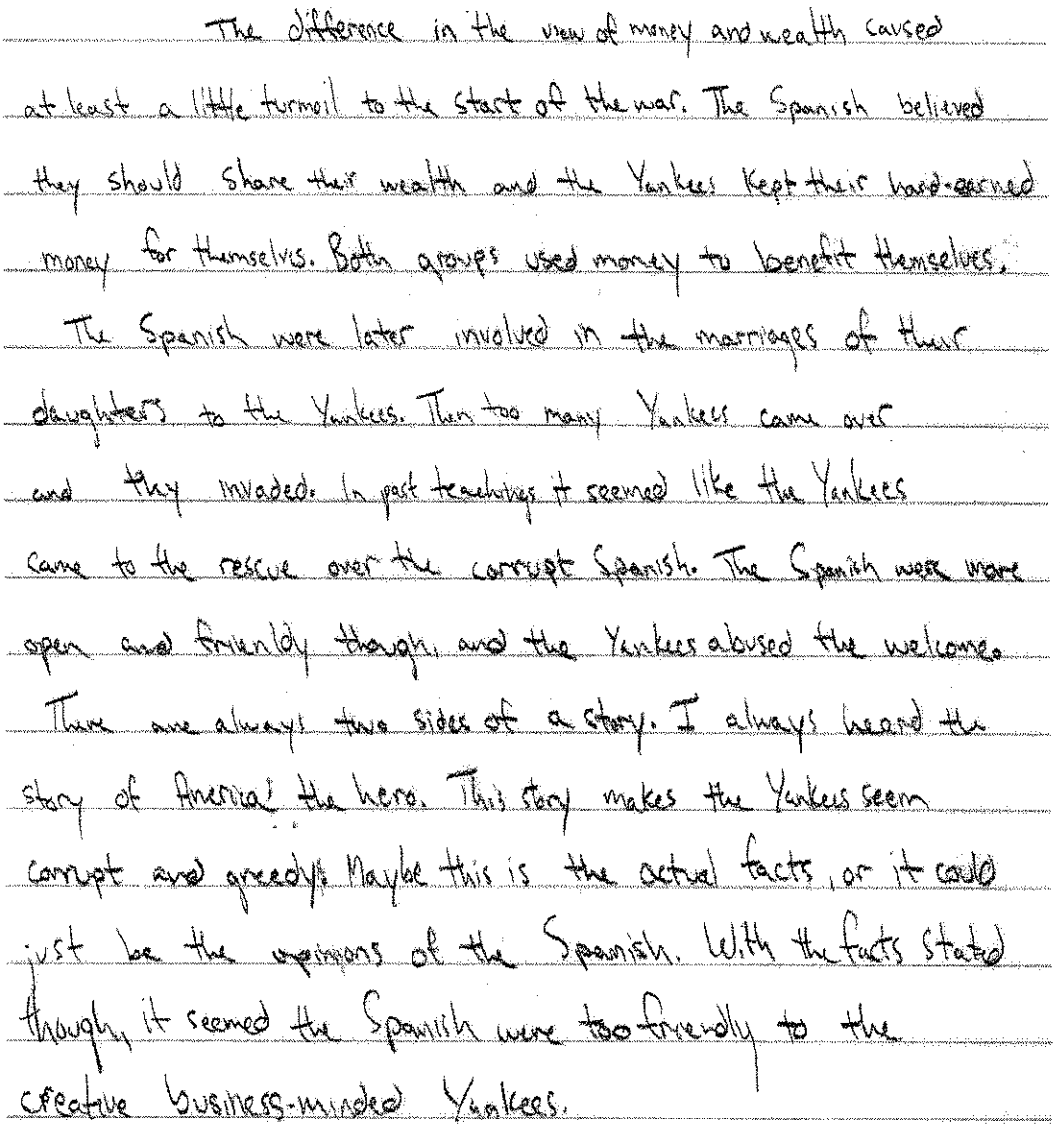
Figure 24



At first, I did not know much about the Alamo, just that there was a battle in Texas and the famous saying, "Remember the Alamo". After reading this, I have a better understanding of both Americans and Southwestern people of the time. I now know the difference between the two sides and their impressions of one another.

Yes, it has changed my view of the past. The reading made me realize that their were other people than Amerkans years ago, and maybe the "American Way" was not always the best.

Figure 25


The difference in the view of money and wealth caused at least a little turmoil to the start of the war. The Spanish believed they should share their wealth and the Yankees kept their hard-earned money for themselves. Both groups used money to benefit themselves. The Spanish were later involved in the marriages of their daughters to the Yankees. Then too many Yankees came over and they invaded. In past teachings it seemed like the Yankees came to the rescue over the corrupt Spanish. The Spanish were more open and friendly though, and the Yankees abused the welcome. There are always two sides of a story. I always heard the story of America the hero. This story makes the Yankees seem corrupt and greedy. Maybe this is the actual facts, or it could just be the opinions of the Spanish. With the facts stated though, it seemed the Spanish were too friendly to the creative business-minded Yankees.

This last assignment was very rewarding for me as an educator, for my study, and for my philosophy. For some, the varying degrees of perspectives and opinions may seem troubling, but it was an outcome I hoped that I would encounter. Students acquired a varied degree of perspectives from the same

historical document by creating a wholly individual narrative of history. Thus, students embarked on a guided voyage across the seas of history only to yield different impressions of the same sea, the same trip, the same experience.

"Justice is often thought to be the best of the virtues, and 'neither evening nor morning star' is so wonderful. . . . He who possesses [virtue in its most complete sense] can use it also toward another and not only for himself. . . . The best man is one whose virtue is directed not to himself but to others."

Aristotle, The Nichomachean Ethics

REFLECTIONS FROM THE SEAS OF HISTORY

History, and in particular U.S. history, is like a vast sea. To paraphrase Aristotle, as teacher, I am the captain of the vessel and my students are the crew; nevertheless, I am fully aware of the reciprocal relationship between myself and my crew. Each member of the crew is responsible for the ship's safe passage (i.e., one as the lookout, one works the sails, another works the rudder); I alone cannot sail this vessel. My students and I took but a small and narrow voyage over the surface of an extensive landscape. Once in a while we would pause for a brief moment and not knowing what we would find, dive into the waters we sailed to take but a glimpse view of life beneath the surface of the sea. Then we would pull anchor, share our experiences, and set a course for another destination.

Much like the experience of scuba diving, students shared with each other and with me their experiences of the historical documents with which they came into contact. However, this experience was only shared after time to reflect, metaphorically, to come out of the waters, to take off their gear, to catch their breath, and to reveal the sights which were most compelling, horrific, elating, frightening, tragic, and memorable. Thus, my findings are not only of the voyage

but of the shared experiences, the reflections of my students as they engaged in the discovery of historical documents, delving into the past to engage and explore the riches of the vast sea of history.

Historical Documents

A variety of historical documents (i.e., primary documents, historical fiction, visuals, music, lyrics, and some secondary sources which contain numerous citations from historical documents) were used in the study as a means for students to think historically and to think with historical empathy. Overall, students enjoyed the use of documents, which I found to be a key aspect in engaging students in creating narratives of the past, to think historically. Gary believed that the readings were not only enjoyable but added to his understanding (see Figure 26). Allen noted that the lesson on dust storms and the Dust Bowl Era of the 1930s added to his knowledge (see Figure 27). Moreover, even students who struggled academically found purpose in historical inquiry. Nancy, who discovered the historical document of the Mormon's Mountain Meadow Massacre, found historical documents and her investigation/research worthwhile (see Figure 28). Nancy's fellow classmate Rhonda, who was partner to Nancy in completion of the historical document analysis worksheet (Drake & Brown, 2003), and who is an average to below average student as well, also noted that historical document inquiry enhanced her knowledge and that the research was enjoyable (see Figure 29).

Figure 26

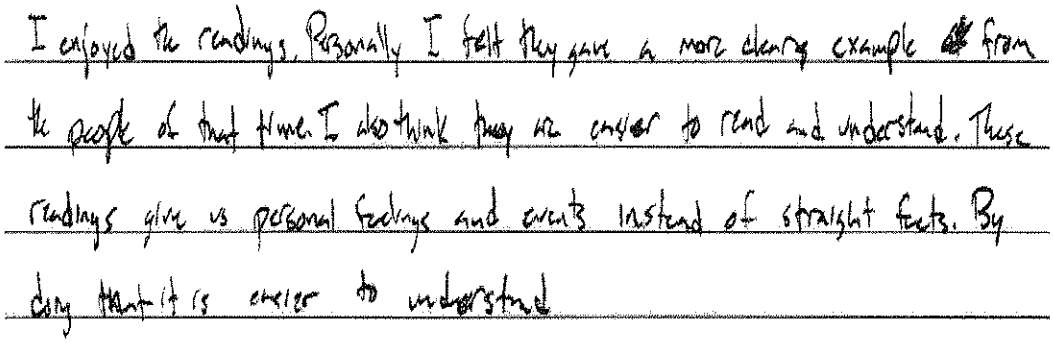


Figure 27

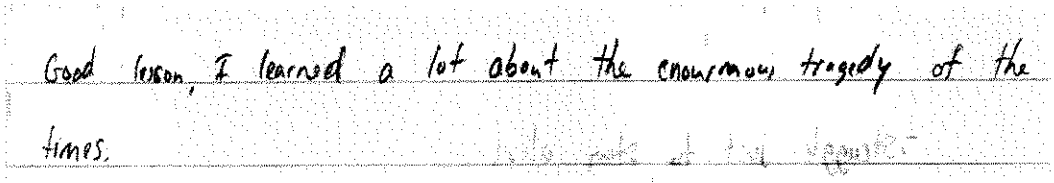


Figure 28

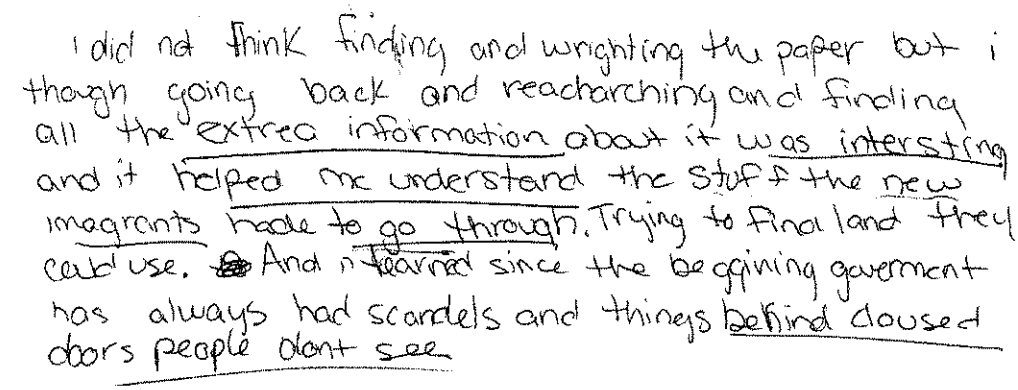
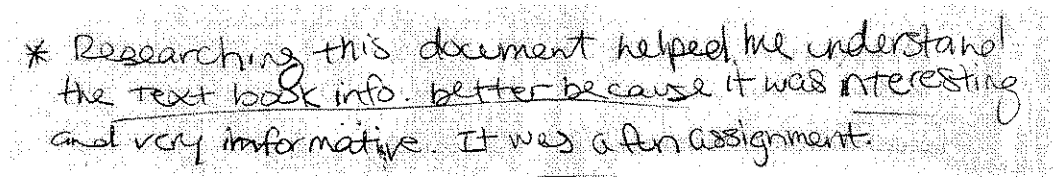


Figure 29



Overall, student achievement on the use of historical documents was based on both content and one's ability to reflect upon the past. I administered tests at the end of every unit. The objective questions revolved around historical content. Essays and short answers provided opportunity for students to apply historical documents and other sources (e.g., knowledge acquired from the textbook) to convey the importance of historical time. For example, the unit test on Reconstruction and the Populist and Progressive eras allowed students to write about a person, event or incident which impacts us in the present. However, the work analyzed for this study was limited to students' writing samples from cognitive impressions shown throughout the figures in this study and the worksheets on historical investigation.

Students writing samples from cognitive impressions and the worksheets on historical investigation were assessed as well.

When completing a reflection from a historical document, students, at first, asked, "How much do you want us to write?"

My response was, "Long enough to cover everything, but short enough to make it interesting. Don't feel compelled to write volumes, but write more than a sentence. You will receive full credit for the assignment." I wanted students to feel free to write about what they learned and gained from the documents. I did not want to impede their reflection and writing process with a varied degree of criteria (i.e., format of the writing, spelling, grammar, sentence structure, although

I did tell students "to use specific examples from the documents." All students wrote at least one paragraph – three to five sentences, with the exception of one student during the first writing. Troy wrote two short sentences; I explained that this was not acceptable, whereby he returned a copy which was more detailed. By the end of this study, many students took time to write several paragraphs about the documents they read. All students completed at least two of the assignments used in this study. The only students who did not receive full credit were those who did not complete the assignments, of which there were at most four students in any given assignment. When reviewing students' writing impressions or worksheets, I made comments and asked questions about what they wrote to, as I stated to them, "Inspire you to think about what you may want to recognize."

During the first writing impression, Reconstruction, six students noted that they had learned "nothing new" from the lesson, but failed to explain in detail what "nothing new" meant. One of the six students stated that she "learned nothing" from the assignment and "did not like" the assignment. However, her dislike for the assignment was, more aptly, distaste for the "ill-treatment" of and "racism" against African Americans. Subsequent writing impressions, by all students, detailed specific points which students learned in greater detail or facets of knowledge and understanding gained through historical inquiry.

The Tools of Historical Thinking and Historical Empathy

Several topics emerged to become integral tools for students to think historically and to think with historical empathy: Modeling, Scaffolding, Students' Responses and In-Class Discussions, and Reflection. Specifically, these topics, or modes of thinking and learning, provided students with the tools or skills to build students' knowledge and understanding of history, to think historically and to think with historical empathy. I would argue that all topics were integral parts in developing students' contextual and conceptual understanding of the past for historical inquiry (Wineburg, 2001). Similar to the underlying principles of the curriculum this study was conducted under, the integration of English and social studies courses, students are more likely to understand both subjects when integrated together. For example, to enrich the context of the Great Depression, the novel, *Of Mice and Men*, from the English perspective, provided an enriched knowledge for the student to better understand the social studies aspects of the 1930s, the social and economic dilemmas which many people faced. Conversely, students gain an enriched understanding of Steinbeck's novel from the social studies perspective. Each study, English and social studies, is a tool for learning and understanding. Therefore, modeling, scaffolding, students' responses and in-class discussions, and reflection provided students with the tools to explore different modes of learning and thinking in order to attain and to develop a wholly individual narrative of the past. Thus,

these modes of thinking and learning were integral tools or skills in developing students' ability to think historically and to think with historical empathy.

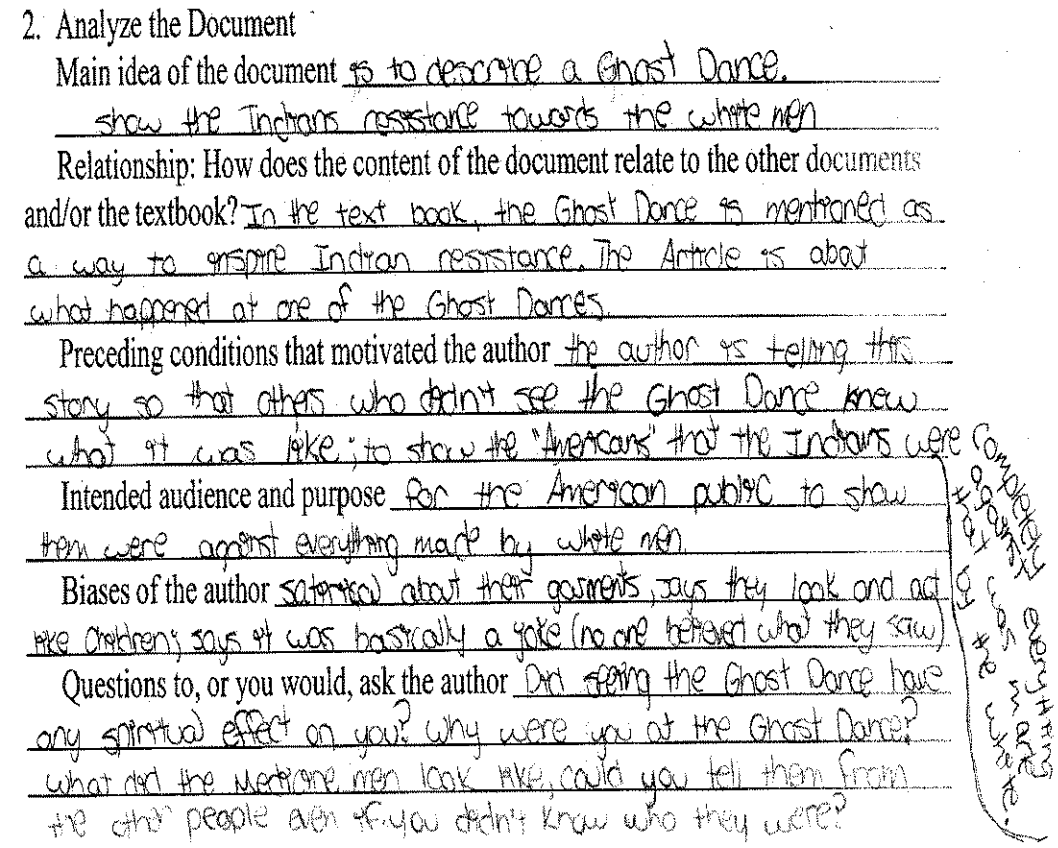
Modeling

The literature review bore out the importance for students to think historically. However, how do historians read, interpret, and glean concepts and ideas from historical documents? Moreover, how then do educators teach students to do likewise with these documents? Wineburg (2001), recognized that those who ask questions of the documents they read source the document, analyze the document (recognize bias, motivation, intended audience and general questions of the author(s)), contextualize the period the document was written, and identify the habit of mind to reveal vital themes and narratives essential in historical thinking.

In completing the historical document investigation using Drake and Brown's (2003) worksheet students were asked and generated a variety of questions from the documents they researched. Melinda, whose historical document was a retelling of a past observation of the Ghost Dance among the Lakota by Z. A. Parker, analyzed the document and raised several unanswered questions for the author (see Figure 30). The worksheet's questions required students to engage in the practice of modeling the work of historians – asking questions and making comments of the document.

Modeling the questioning and commenting process, as with Lincoln's *Second Inaugural Address*, the historical document from the Graber family, and

Figure 30


2. Analyze the Document

Main idea of the document is to describe a Ghost Dance. show the Indians resistance towards the white men

Relationship: How does the content of the document relate to the other documents and/or the textbook? In the text book, the Ghost Dance is mentioned as a way to inspire Indian resistance. The Article is about what happened at one of the Ghost Dances.

Preceding conditions that motivated the author the author is telling this story so that others who didn't see the Ghost Dance knew what it was like; to show the "Americans" that the Indians were

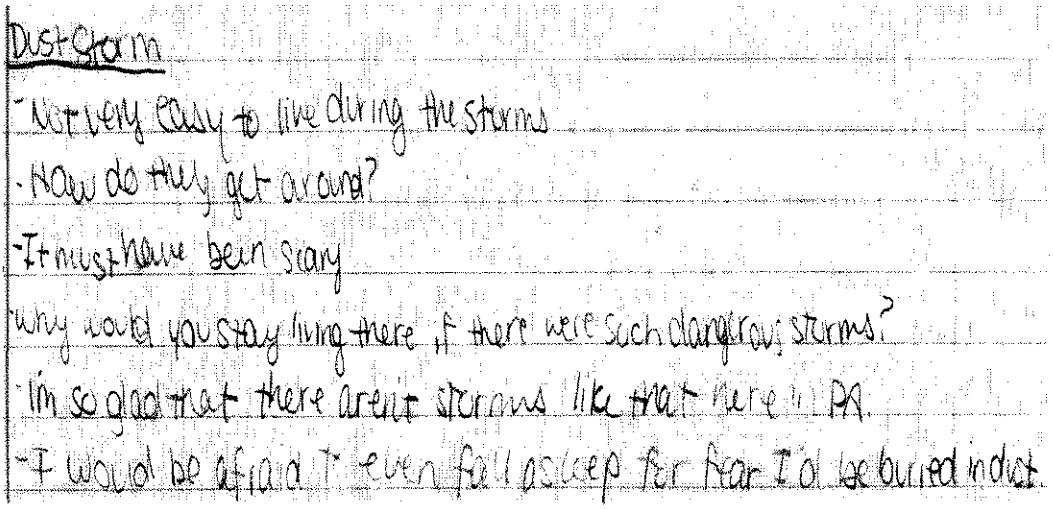
Intended audience and purpose for the American public to show them were against everything made by white men.

Biases of the author satirical about their garments, says they look and act like children; says it was basically a joke (no one believed what they saw)

Questions to, or you would, ask the author Did seeing the Ghost Dance have any spiritual effect on you? Why were you at the Ghost Dance? what did the Westerne men look like, could you tell them from the other people even if you didn't know who they were?

the independent project using Drake and Brown's (2003) worksheet, assisted students, required students, and taught students the means to uncover these questions and to think historically. Some students, like Cammy, made comments and asked impromptu questions from the documents as they engaged in historical inquiry of the dust storms and Dust Bowl Era (see Figure 31). Thus, modeling served as one interconnected means for students to create a historical narrative of the past to think historically and to think with historical empathy by adopting the questioning and answering process to investigate history.

Figure 31



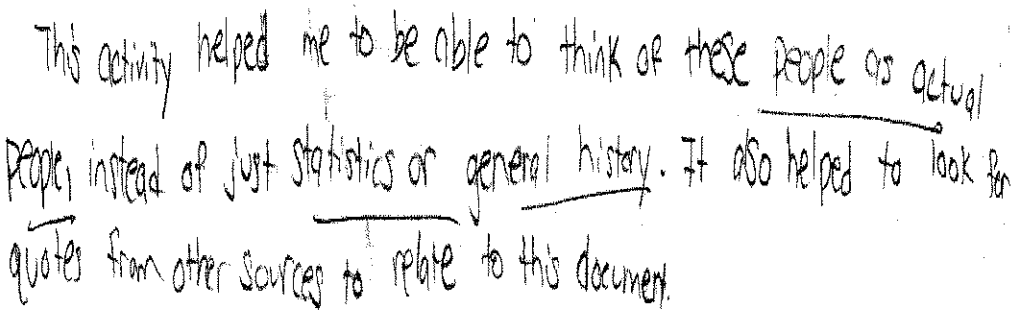
Scaffolding

Scaffolding allowed me and my students to build/construct/contextualize a knowledge of history, but more importantly, scaffolding allowed students to interpret, create, ask questions, command instruction, and express history in order to build their understanding of history. I am reminded of the discourse which took place over the course of this study. I recall how students developed the panoply of ways which segregated, oppressed, and disenfranchised African Americans. In particular, I recall the young women who allowed me to take part in their investigation of the Mormon's Meadow Mountain Massacre. I asked the young women questions which built upon their knowledge of a historical document and which caused them to conduct further research to corroborate, in this case refute, the source by identifying bias within the historical document which are all essential and crucial elements of historical thinking and historical empathy.

Therefore, paramount to scaffolding was two sub-topics: In-Class Discussions and Students' Responses.

In-Class Discussions. In conjunction with student responses, in-class discussions, whether in the form of a lecture, inquiry of historical information from a textbook, or questions and comments raised from historical accounts, served as a means to fill in historical gaps in order to make connections to information not discussed in the textbook or to better understand what we do know or do not know of a historical account. Moreover, comments and questions were used to build upon students' prior knowledge and observations to think historically, to raise more questions and lead to a richer discussion and understanding of history and of the historical documents. In many cases, the questions raised only more questions. In-class discussions attempted to stimulate student thinking, analysis and interpretation/synthesis, of history and historical accounts in order for students to create a narrative of history. Although a statement cannot be made regarding the achievement of *all* students, for *all* students did not contribute to in-class discussions everyday. Overall, the discussions led to enhanced inquiry for further analysis, interpretation, and contextualization (see Figure 32), for *all* students provided writing impressions of historical documents which detailed elements of knowledge and understanding of history, one's ability to think historically and to think with historical empathy.

Figure 32



Students' Responses. Students' responses were critical for both the individual and the class; in taking students' prior knowledge, observations, and class discussions, students' responses served as a function for interpretation, contextualization, analysis and construction of the student's history through reflection and writing impressions.

Reflection

Reflection, to pause, to think back, and to construct and contextualize the past in order for students to create a narrative of their experiences, allowed students to engage in the process to think historically and to think with historical empathy. By creating a written narrative from cognitive impressions, or reflection, students acquired an enriched and enhanced understanding of the past through historical inquiry, by reading, visualizing, and listening to historical documents. As stated previously, all students engaged in writing impressions from historical documents. The greatest deterrent to the completion of writing impressions was students' absences. Generally, students, who missed a lesson

which involved the use of historical documents and the contiguous writing assignment, were less than 50% likely to complete or makeup the missed assignment.

Historical Thinking and Historical Empathy

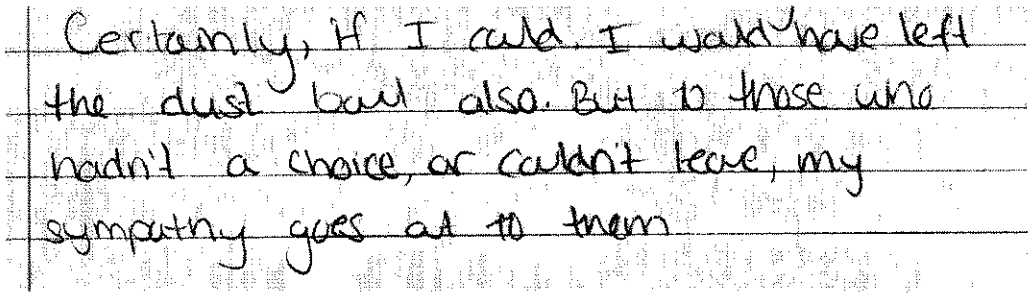
To review, historical thinking is the ability for students to form a more personal relationship with past peoples, "putting a face on history," issues, and problems, as well as having students conceptually understand the current principles valued in the U.S. through creating one's history. Thus, historical thinking and historical empathy has a dual purpose. And similar to my research of the literature, two veins of thought emerged, both professed the need for students to think historically yet neither vein is mutually exclusive of the other. Thus, I have taken the liberty of breaking the theme of historical thinking and historical empathy into two different veins: Knowledge for the Sake of Knowledge and Democratic Pluralism, neither vein less important than the other.

Knowledge for the Sake of Knowledge

Through reading, writing, sharing, and discussing historical documents, students were more engaged and able to express more clearly the nuances of the past, which textbooks tend to leave out. In particular, students improved their historical knowledge and thinking by engaging in the use, search, analysis, sharing, and discussion of historical documents. Students became more cognizant of the past by making history more meaningful, solving problems, and shaping

and reshaping historical narratives linked to historical documents. Sandra's impression from the dust storm and Dust Bowl Era of the 1930s concisely and directly expresses students' historical thinking and historical empathy (see Figure 33). Her view describes all three aspects of the knowledge acquired from historical thinking: the work is meaningful as seen through her spirit and emotion in writing; the piece expresses problem solving in recognizing "those who hadn't a choice, or couldn't leave;" and in its entirety was a reconstruction and summation for what she had already learned about dust storms and the Dust Bowl Era. Additionally, her impression also captures what Davis (2001) clarified as the essence of historical empathy "enriched understanding within context . . . . intellectual in nature, but certainly it may include emotional dimensions" (p. 3).

Figure 33



Although many students writing impressions contained elements of emotion, which alludes to an understanding of people who are different than one's self, not all students writing impressions "include[d] emotional dimensions." Nonetheless, all students writing samples contained at least one aspect of

historical thinking: the work as meaningful; the piece expressed problem solving; and the writing was a reconstruction and summation from what students had learned. The overwhelming majority of student work contained all elements. In terms of historical thinking and academic achievement, there was no correlation. In other words, students' academic achievement had no bearing on historical thinking and historical empathy. A few academically struggling students achieved great insights from the writing impressions. For example, Nancy labors academically, yet reveled in the use of historical documents (see Figure 14). Other students, who academically excel, usually met the criteria for historical thinking and historical empathy, yet during some writing impressions or the historical document investigation did not do as well as I expected. Overall, the acquisition and use of the tools and skills to think historically and to think with historical empathy and the possibility of making history more meaningful to the struggling student goes far beyond any notion or reason to not use historical documents.

Democratic Pluralism

Although some of the literature was impartial or critical of inculcating an amalgamated greatness in America or the use of textbooks as "gospel," all the literature I examined on historical thinking and historical empathy focused on the essential value of living in a democratic and pluralist society. In other words, the true nature and spirit of the Framers of this country is recognized when the value and worth of diversity is used to quell the effects of ethnocentrism.

Overall, did the reading of historical documents allow students to recognize and express feelings or emotions of ill-treatment, sympathy, and empathy (being able to place one's self in another person's place, not the definition of historical empathy)? Many students' writing impressions or the historical document investigation "include[d] emotional dimensions" (Davis, 2001, p. 3) (see Figure 33). However, as Davis (2001) wrote:

> Major qualitative differences in empathy, nevertheless, surely will exist always in the thinking and writing of individuals who study history. This observation surely is true for experienced historians as it is for younger students. Improved thinking, more competent interpretations, and more carefully developed ideas represent serious and reasonably ambitious goals for sustained historical inquiry. (p. 4)

Therefore with this notion, historical thinking and historical empathy also encapsulates Melanie's impression of the American Southwest where she recognized her stereotypes and prejudices towards others (see Figure 18). Even Nicholas' impression of the American Southwest, as matter of fact it was regarding the end of the Mexican/Castilian culture, noted ill-treatment and a sense of value and worth in that culture (see Figure 22). Thus, historical documents did control the effects of ethnocentrism. However, the use of historical documents in quelling the effects of ethnocentrism is an assessment performed not merely in reflecting on the past, but also is in the present. For example, students may see the

value and worth the Castilian culture throughout the American Southwest prior to annexation in the mid 19th century, but can students remove the prejudices, stereotypes and ethnocentrism of migrant workers in today's society or a current immigrant from Mexico City, Mexico who painted my new home to provide opportunity for his family and seek to find the ever elusive American Dream? Maybe.

Although my research can not maintain the certainty of all students, in conducting the semi-structured post-interviews (see Appendix E), all three students I interviewed felt that historical documents and the associated inquiry made them more receptive to others who were different than themselves and made them less likely to judge others who were different. Jenn noted in the interview, "It helps me to see where people are coming from."

In speaking with Alice, I asked, "How have they added to your learning?"

She said very straight forward and without thought or hesitation, "People's personal experiences, it's easy to relate it to your family."

I said, "So it has an impact on you today? How does it affect you?"

Alice responded, "Looking at the Depression makes me appreciate and grateful for how hard my dad works, and like what my grandfather went through. I try not to be judgmental. I think they [the historical documents] have helped, you see what they went through so you try not to pass judgment."

"Currently, do they affect you?"

"Today?" she asked, "I think so. I try not to pass judgment. Yeah I have a better understanding because of other people because of the documents. And I try to be open to people who are . . . different."

In the interview with Stan, I asked, "From what they've gone through [the people during the Dust Bowl era] has it changed or altered your perspective?"

Stan responded, "It changes my perspective of what they went through. Yeah. Like that book you showed us [*Without Sanctuary*], it completely changed my perspective of African Americans. I feel that they [African Americans] have been mistreated and I can't understand how people can hate that much; what they put African Americans through. They don't look at it from another's perspective."

I then asked how that perspective affects him today.

"Yeah, I don't look at people differently but I appreciate what they went through. I feel like they have been wronged."

Although these were the responses of only three students in a class of 53, the results of my interviews are promising. Moreover, students in this study recognized value and worth in diversity. Discussion of writing impressions and the findings from student's historical document investigation may reveal insight into why students felt, as stated previously, that they learned nothing from the historical documents and may reveal students' prejudices and stereotypes of people in the present.

"By idolizing those whom we honor we do a disservice both to them and to ourselves. By exalting the accomplishments of Martin Luther King, Jr., into a legendary tale that is annually told, we fail to recognize his humanity – his personal and public struggles – that are similar to yours and mine. By idolizing those whom we honor, we fail to realize that we could go and do likewise. "

Charles Willie, one of King's Morehouse classmates
From D. Garrow (1986)

FURTHER QUESTIONS: A MEANS FOR JOURNEY; A MEANS FOR LIFE

Students and I engaged in an intellectual journey. It is an ongoing journey, a means for inquiring and investigating not only of the past but of the present. In hindsight, I am acutely aware of its shortcomings and further questions that have arisen. In other words, when I embark with on this journey again with next year's students, what might I do differently, what questions might I ask, or at what other sites might I stop to allow students to immerse themselves in the past?

Although I am aware of students scribbling notes on and asking questions of the documents which were handed them (i.e., I observed notes in the margins and highlighted material, and students' ability to answer difficult questions related to the historical accounts), I would, in the future, collect the historical documents distributed to students or collect from students questions and comments to the documents written on a separate sheet of paper, to identify the types of questions students were asking and the types of comments students were making.

I also recognize the shortcomings of the study's ability to further explicate the effect of historical documents and historical inquiry in quelling the effects of ethnocentrism in the present. Furthermore, without completing an individual interview with every student in the class, it is difficult to qualify or quantify a statement on the effect of historical documents and historical inquiry in quelling those effects. Although a survey to all students would lend itself to acquiring a response from all students in the classroom and all participants consenting to the research and would lend itself to basic data regarding the use of historical documents (e.g., likes and dislikes of historical documents), the ability for students to feel compelled to write a response in order to please the teacher or to lead students to a canned response is inherently problematic. Thus, when confronted with a subject matter which is extremely sensitive and personal in nature (i.e., an individual's possible prejudices, stereotypes and ethnocentrism), individual interviews, one on one contact, may yield the least subjective results than a survey or group interview. Yet I am also aware of the practicality or impracticality of such an endeavor. Scheduling and finding the time to interview only three students was a daunting task.

Frequently, students raised questions during class about current events/topics (e.g., PSSA testing, 9/11 and the resulting War on Terror, or even, the rising gas prices). Unfortunately for the curriculum but fortunately for the students, these questions raised pertinent and lively discussions. Do all of the

students "get it"? I do not have an answer; I created no exit slip or form of assessment to quantify these discussions. However, students are thinking and questioning about their lives and the world in which they live; it is a testament, I believe, to the efforts of the work they engaged in over the course of this study. In retrospect many of the questions I asked students were less than adequate in answering the importance of historical documents in the present. Again, I do not mean presentism; similar to my previous comments, I am curious if students can bring purpose and meaning of the historical accounts and historical inquiry to their lives, today.

Although I am amazed at what students discovered, I am further perplexed and intrigued as I reflect in wonderment about what we did not see, what was yet to be discovered historically (i.e., subjects we did not discuss or missed or historical documents left unread) not that I purposely left documents or subjects out but subjects or readings which I or the students have yet to discover. How many other places, given the time, could we have stopped to visit? We touched but a small part of history. How many voices in America's past were muted because we did not have time in the curriculum to stop, did not have time to listen, or more importantly, did not know existed in the vast sea of history we traveled?

At this point, I usually add a closure (i.e., "In conclusion"); given the nature of this study, my educational philosophy, and my belief, this study is not

the end but a beginning, a means to embark for further exploration into life for the betterment of my students and my self – Hegelian if you will.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A: Human Subjects Internal Review Board Acceptance Letter

1742

MORAVIAN COLLEGE

September 24, 2004

Scott Voth

[redacted]

Dear Scott Voth,

The Moravian College Human Subjects Internal Review Board approved your proposal: The effect of primary documents on 11th grade history students' ability to think historically and to think with historical empathy. Given the materials submitted, your proposal received an expedited review. A copy of your proposal will remain with the HSIRB Chair.

Should any other aspect of your research change or extend past one year of the date of this letter, you must file those changes or extensions with the HSIRB before implementation.

This letter will be e-mailed and snail-mailed to you. Best of luck with your research.

[redacted]

Chair, Human Subjects Internal Review Board
Moravian College

[redacted]

Appendix B: Principal's Consent

August 25, 2004

Dear [redacted]

Attached you will find a copy of the permission form, upon your approval, which will be sent home with students for parents to sign. During the 2004 fall semester, I will be completing courses toward a Master's degree in Curriculum and Instruction at Moravian College. The courses and the program are base on extensive research, analysis, and modification of my teaching practice and of the classroom for the betterment of the student.

The focus of the research will be on the use of historical documents effect on the high school social studies classroom and its facilitation in students' understanding of historical concepts and events. Thus, students after reading a selection, or selections, of primary documents will need to place the reading(s) in a historical context or relate the events to themselves or today's society. In order to gather the effectiveness of such a study, a number of differing methods for collecting data will be utilized.

All students will be required to complete the reading assignments. All students will write essays, both in-class and take home, will take tests as part of the classroom and be responsible for a variety of graded assessments. Moreover, as students complete the daily objectives, observations and interviews on the nature of classroom, the purpose of learning history, and the level of work, activity and learning will be documented. While all students will be required to complete class activities per course requirements, I will include only the work of research study participants in my final write-up of the study. Participation in the research study is voluntary and a student may opt to withdraw any time without penalty. If a student withdraws from the study, any materials, interviews or data collected will not be used.

All student names will be kept confidential. All names of student, staff, institutions and faculty members will be changed or altered in any report or publication of the study.

The director of my program is Dr. Joseph Shosh. He may be contacted at Moravian College by phone at [redacted] or e-mail at [redacted]. I have attached a letter which will accompany all students who may participate in the study for your perusal.

If you have any questions, comments or concerns, please feel free to contact me at [redacted] or e-mail me at [redacted]. Please complete, detach and return the bottom portion of this page. I appreciate your help and support.

Sincerely,

Scott Voth

I, _____, the principal of [redacted]

[redacted] _____, consent to

the research study of Scott Voth as of _____ (date).

Appendix C: Participant Consent

August 31, 2004

Dear Parent/Guardian:

During the 2004 fall semester, I will be completing courses toward a Master's degree in Curriculum and Instruction at Moravian College. The courses and the program are based on extensive research, analysis, and modification of my teaching practice and of the classroom for the betterment of the student.

Overall, the [redacted] social studies curriculum is a survey course of United States history. Students are expected to explain, interpret, analyze and synthesize history, and in particular United States history, from the post-Civil War era (Reconstruction) to the present.

My research will focus on students' understanding of history by using a variety of historical documents. These historical documents will be used to enhance students' understanding of historical concepts and events. Therefore, students after reading a selection, or selections, of historical documents will need to place the reading(s) in a historical context or relate the events to themselves or today's society. Overall, students will be engaged in a variety of activities using historical documents in conjunction with [redacted] social studies curriculum.

While all students will be required to complete class activities and assignments per course requirements, I will include only the work of research study participants in my final write-up of the study. Participation in the research study is voluntary and a student may opt to withdraw any time without penalty. If a student withdraws from the study, any materials, interviews or data collected will not be used. All student names will be kept confidential. All names of student, staff, institutions and faculty members will be changed or altered in any report or publication of the study.

The director of my program is Dr. Joseph Shosh. He may be contacted at Moravian College by phone at [redacted] or e-mail at [redacted]. Principal [redacted] has approved my study and may be reached by phone at [redacted].

If you have any questions, comments or concerns, please feel free to contact me at [redacted] or e-mail me at [redacted]. Please

complete, detach and return the bottom portion of this page. I appreciate your help and support.

Sincerely,

Scott Voth

I, _____, the parent/guardian of

_____, consent to the participation of him/her in the research study as of

_____ (date).

Appendix D: Protocol for Pre-Interview

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

Introduce to students my penchant for using historical documents and interviewing students as a method for gathering data for my research study.

I. Ask student to explain their educational experience to this point – as a means to make students comfortable.

   A. How long have you been a student at this school? … in this school district?

   B. What are your interests outside of school? … interests academically?

   C. Do you plan to go to college? Where? What would you like to study or to make your major?

II. Past Classes/Experiences

   A. What types of classes/courses did you, or do you, like the most? Why? [see IV.7.E.1.a-b and IV.14.A.3 of HSIRB proposal if a reference to a colleague is inferred or mentioned]

   B. What were your most memorable educational experiences? Why? [see IV.7.E.1.a-b and IV.14.A.3 of HSIRB proposal if a reference to a colleague is inferred or mentioned]

C. Are there any memorable social studies experiences which have had an impact on your learning? Explain.

Appendix E: Protocol for Post-Interview

Semi-Structured Interview Questions

I. This Class: Humanities 11

A. What activities from this class have you enjoyed?

B. What activity has, or activities have, added to your learning?

II. The Use of Primary Documents

A. Did you enjoy "this" activity with historical documents? Explain.

B. How did "this" activity add to your learning?

III. Answering the Research Question

A. Overall, what have the writing assignments (personal narratives) done for your enjoyment of the class?

B. Overall, what have historical documents done for your learning?

C. How have historical documents enabled you to experience the past?

D. What has the experience of using historical documents meant for your understanding of history?

E. Does that experience affect you today? Explain.

F. How does that experience influence your perspective of people in the past? … in the present? … of those who different than yourself?

Appendix F: Drake and Brown Worksheet

Name _____

Historical Document Analysis for Print Documents

1. Identify the Document
   Author(s) or source _____
   Title _____
   Date _____
   Type of Document _____

2. Analyze the Document
   Main idea of the document _____
   _____
   Relationship: How does the content of the document relate to the other documents and/or the textbook? _____
   _____
   _____
   Preceding conditions that motivated the author _____
   _____
   _____
   Intended audience and purpose _____
   _____
   Biases of the author _____
   _____
   Questions to, or you would, ask the author _____
   _____
   _____

3. Historical Context
Important people, events and ideas at the time of the document
   Local/Regional: people, events, and ideas of the time _____
   _____
   National: people, events, and ideas of the time _____
   _____
   World: people, events and ideas of the time _____
   _____
   Conclusions about local/regional, national, and world context at the time _____
   _____

4. Identify the Habit of Mind and Vital Theme and Narrative Represented
   Habit of Mind _____
   The way you used the Habit of Mind to analyze the document _____
   _____
   _____
   Vital Theme and Narrative _____
   Evidence the document represents this Vital Theme and Narrative _____
_____
_____
   Evidence the document relates to other documents or the textbook through this Vital Theme and Narrative _____
_____
_____

5. Relationship to a Discipline in the Social Sciences/Social Studies
   Discipline _____
   Evidence of relationship _____

Appendix G: Graber Genealogy

Excerpts from: The Peter O. Graber Genealogy, Betty Hartzler, Ed. (1990).

Peter, the sixth child, was born in South Russia. He met his untimely death at age 17 with four others who froze in the 1888 blizzard. His brother Chris remembers "On that morning it was so nice and quiet and not cold. I did not go to school that day for some unknown reason. Pete and John and Andrew went to school." And Andrew , age 12, continues, "The weather was not very pleasant since there was snow on the ground. That's why there were only seven pupils in school that day."

"At about eleven o'clock, the blizzard came suddenly with such awful force and howling around the windows that I still remember how the teacher shook his head. After the school was closed, the teacher and the bigger boys talked about what to do: go or stay in school. The teacher insisted on going. So it was decided that the whole school was to go to our home, because my father lived less than a quarter mile straight north of the schoolhouse. We all started out together, facing the big wind which was coming slightly from the northwest. It happened so quickly that five of the boys took the lead and went right on without paying any attention to the rest of us. In the meanwhile I got behind in the deep snow, neither could I see anybody. I called for my oldest brother to come help me, but he did not hear. However, the teacher and my second oldest brother heard me calling because they were behind those other boys. While coming back to help me they called after the others, but it was all in vain. So the three of us went on, thinking the others would be home first.

I began getting very cold, but later on I thought I felt warmer again. Soon the teacher realized that we must have missed our house. We stopped, not knowing what to do or which way to go. Evidently we were lost. All at once we could see a little. We noticed we were not far from the east end of the house. Hadn't it been for that row of trees we would never have found the house. When we got into the house we asked, 'Are the other boys here yet?' Then the brother told us what must have taken place. I also found out why I thought I had gotten warmer - my fingers were frozen so stiff that I could hardly bend them. Soon the pain started. Later on I lost my fingernail, a part of the skin on the hand and also part of the hair on my head.

This blizzard took place on Thursday. The next morning some of the neighbors got together to look for the five missing ones but failed to find them. On Saturday more neighbors looked all day, without avail. A widow by the name of Goertzen with her three big boys lived about three miles southeast of the schoolhouse. On the north side of her house were some trees. On Sunday morning before they left for church one of the boys for some reason walked around those trees and found the missing boys together on one place, not far from the house. The Goertzens didn't know where they belonged. But an announcement was made right in the afternoon and the parents went to take their missing children home. It took some time before all the bodies were thawed out and made ready for the funeral. All were put in one big grave, where they are now resting till that great Resurrection Day."

Three Kaufman brothers, John, Henry and Elias, along with John Albrecht, and Peter Graber were victims of this storm and they were found together kneeling in the snow. Turner County Pioneer History reports that "it was estimated after the blizzard that two thousand human lives were lost through the blizzard in the northwest, nearly 400 of them in Dakota and over a dozen in Turner County. The fatalities were mostly among trapers, freighters and school children.

When Peter's wife Freni became ill, Susanna came to help out. On May 24, Freni died after only ten months in the new land. With seven children and harvest coming, it did not take long - less than a month in fact - for Susanna to become the new mother and wife. What a task! At age 25, she stepped in as household manager, wife, and mother, the oldest child being only seven years younger than herself. She and Peter had eight more children, one who died in infancy.

Chris C remembers their house "was a two-room clay house with a hay roof on it. The hay was made in little bundles and then tied on the sheeting. The kitchen had a dirt floor. The other room had a wood floor. The furniture in the house was three beds, one table and one heating stove. I don't remember how many chairs - there were not enough - we kids had to stand around the table to eat. There were few dishes but enough spoons for each to have one. Dried apples (schnitz) and prunes were a common meal with all using their spoon to eat from a common bowl in the center. Father kept a close eye to see that none of the children took too many prunes. We burned hay in the stove. We twisted bundles so they didn't burn to fast."

After being plagued with grasshoppers, the great blizzard of 1888 and a prairie fire which wiped out their homestead; Peter and Susanna decided to move to Kansas where the oldest two sons and their wives lived.

Peter died in 1897, after 23 years in the new land. Susanna lived another 16 years. She experienced crippling from arthritis and spent many of her later years in a wheel chair.

Chris was the second son born in South Dakota and was about 13 years old when the move was made to Pretty Prairie. Three years later he was baptized and joined the church. Chris became acquainted with Maria when his older brother John P O married Maria's sister. As he became more smitten with her, he would even ride his bike from Pretty Prairie to Moundridge-a distance of 60 miles to visit her. They were married Jan. 27, 1902 and moved onto a farmstead of 80 acres given them by Maria's parents, Jacob and Barbara (Preheim) Stucky. Here they lived their entire lives, raising a family of 5 girls and 4 boys. In 1934, Chris sold one-half of his oil rights and the Graber farm was the first farm to be drilled. How exciting it was when the first oil well came in. The creek running through their pasture holds many memories for Chris's children, grandchildren, nieces and nephew. The grandchildren remember Chris because of his snow white hair and because he would come and visit the orchards he planted at his children's farms. Maria died at age 66 of a bad heart and Chris died of a heart attack at a farm sale at age 79. The nine children they raised all live in Kansas, most of them near Moundridge.