"History is the long struggle of man, by exercise of his reason, to understand his environment and to act upon it."

— EDWARD CARR, *What is History?*

HISTORICAL THINKING

Bringing critical thinking explicitly into the heart of historical study

By MEG GORZYCKI, LINDA ELDER and RICHARD PAUL

THINKER'S GUIDE LIBRARY

FOUNDATION FOR CRITICAL THINKING

Historical Thinking

Bringing critical thinking explicitly into the heart of historical study

Meg Gorzycki, Linda Elder & Richard Paul

FOUNDATION FOR CRITICAL THINKING PRESS
TOMALES, CALIFORNIA

Editor: Linda Elder
Graphic Design: Kathy Abney
Proofreading/Editing: Jon Kalagorgevich
Printing Oversight: Rachael Collins
Web Support: Greg Ellingson

First Edition
Copyright © 2013 Linda Elder and Richard Paul

Foundation for Critical Thinking Press
707-878-9100
www.criticalthinking.org
cct@criticalthinking.org

All rights reserved. No part of this guide may be reproduced, in any form or by any means, without permission in writing from the Foundation for Critical Thinking, except for the quotation of brief passages in criticism.
Cover art: detail from "Confirmation of the Rule," painted by Domenico Ghirlandaio, 1482-85.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
Gorzycki, Meg; Elder, Linda; and Paul, Richard
The Thinker's Guide to Historical Thinking: Bringing critical thinking explicitly into the heart of historical study / Meg Gorzycki, Linda Elder, and Richard Paul.

ISBN 10-digit: 0-944583-48-7 13-digit: 978-0-944583-48-7
1. History 2. History instruction 3. Critical thinking 4. Historical thinking 5. Ethics & History
2013934682

Printed in the United States of America.

Contents

Introduction

Everyone thinks about the past, but few people think critically about how they have come to think about the past. Most of us do not recognize that the stories we tell ourselves about the past are examples of historical thinking. And, what is more, these stories are often riddled with distortions of our making. Our view of the past is largely prejudiced by the ideologies of the cultures and groups that have influenced us. We see the past through the lenses we have created in our own minds. We want to see the past in a certain way, so we do. We have been taught to see the past in a certain way, so we see it that way. We rarely question the cultural norms, customs, beliefs, taboos, and values that influence our conceptualizations of history.

If we are to create fairminded critical societies—societies in which all peoples, nations and cultures come to value fairminded critical thinking—we will need to think critically about history. We will need to see the past in ways that are less biased. We will need to use our understanding of the past to help us make better decisions in the present and future. It is for these reasons that this guide has been written.

The guide begins with a focus on some important theoretical understandings in history. The foundations of critical thinking are then introduced and linked with a conception of fairminded historical thinking. In the final section we offer instructional strategies for fostering fairminded historical thinking.

This guide is designed principally for instructors. It is also useful for those interested in a serious study of history. It presents history as a mode of thinking rather than a list of disconnected dates and names and places. We recommend that it be used in conjunction with the student guide: *Understanding Critical Thinking as the Key to Historical Thinking*. Both guides are based on the idea that history, like all subjects, must be understood *in terms of the reasoning that is embedded in it*. In other words, these guides begin with the premise that all historians ask historical *questions*, formulate historical *purposes*, gather historical *information*, make historical *inferences*, begin with historical *assumptions*, develop historical *concepts* and theories, reason from historical *perspectives*, and think through historical *implications*.

As with any guide of this nature, we can only introduce the ideas with which we are concerned. We offer only a few examples of the unlimited number that have been, or could be, developed. All of our ideas can be further developed and contextualized. But *this guide offers a starting place* for understanding the explicit relationship between critical thinking and history. Most importantly our analysis is intended to open up the question, "what is the nature of historical thinking?"

PART ONE: Understanding Historical Thinking

Why Historical Thinking?

History begins when men begin to think of the passage of time in terms not of natural processes—the cycle of seasons, the human life-span—but of a series of specific events in which men are consciously involved and which they can consciously influence…History is the long struggle of man, by exercise of his reason, to understand his environment and to act upon it.

Edward Carr, 1961 [1]

Education is essentially about solving problems and coping with conditions and difficulties that may not have solutions per se. While math and science focus on problems and conditions associated with living in a physical world and with the technologies we create, the liberal arts and humanities are concerned with human problems and conditions associated with the meaning of existence, identity, and human relationships. History helps us understand what it means to be human and how others have met the challenges of social and political life. It provides us with insights about how and why societies have developed as they have, how institutions have shaped our lives and world views, and how individuals and groups have interacted with each other in shaping history. In the archive of the past lies many possible understandings of the human experience.

History is valuable for many reasons. *The History-Social Science Framework for California Public Schools* tells readers that those who understand history will possess historical, ethical, cultural, geographic, and sociopolitical literacies, and that they will have a sense of what it means to be a citizen and effectively participate in a democracy.[2] Historians tell us that history helps explain the present; they also tell us that the study of history will make us better people by encouraging good citizenship and caring for the community.[3] Historian Bernard Bailyn notes that history orients us to the present and provides a sense of what is true about the reality in which we live.[4] Some say that history improves our character as it teaches us to be slow to judgment and helps us accurately assess the credibility of sources and veracity of evidence.[5] History can teach us to carefully weigh opinions and to take care when telling stories, because people whose stories we tell can be vulnerable, and the truth is not always easy to detect.[6] A careful study of history tempers the immature view that human activity should be sentimentalized or romanticized *(see images 1 and 2)*, instead offering a view of humanity that enlarges sympathy by promoting reasonability.[7] Some argue that the function of history is to encourage a more profound understanding of both the past and

of the interrelationships between past and present.[8] These are just some of the many ways in which historians think about history.

Image 1

Vietnam War memorial in the new Chinatown in Houston, Texas. Images such as this romanticize the Vietnam War and fail to illuminate its unethical realities (which entailed burning villages and dropping harmful chemicals on people).

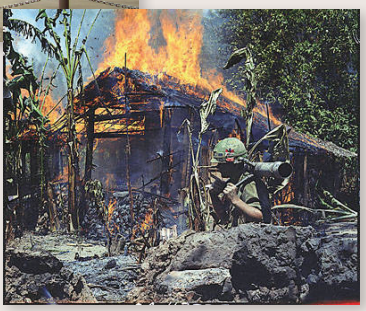


Image 2

Vietnam War Picture (the reality):
A Viet Cong Base Camp Being Destroyed.

People, it would appear, have always told stories about their origins and the legacies of the past that define them. But as a social discipline, history has evolved and has generated much controversy along the way. History as we understand it today is an offspring of classical historians, including Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, and Tacitus, who chronicled the events of ancient Greece and Rome in ways distinct from other accounts because they didn't assign cause to the Gods or fate, and tended to view events as matters of human character and choice *(see image 3)*.[9] The practice of reporting history as the unfolding will of God was common in Ancient, Medieval, and Renaissance traditions, as was that of chronicling the past in ways designed to flatter a specific individual or to glorify a specific civilization.[10]

Historical thinking[A] improves people's understanding of the past because it helps them recognize that historical narratives are constructed from available resources (which vary in their credibility and validity), that historical narratives are interpretations of the past written from the perspectives of a particular historical author, and that historical narratives often lack information due to lack of evidence or bias on the part of the historian. Historical thinking in the strong sense[B] attempts to render an understanding of the past that is thorough, evidence-based, respectful of reasonable perspectives, honest about motives and consequences of human conduct, and mindful of the variables that play into historical events. It recognizes that cause-effect relationships are not always immediate and obvious, motives are not always transparent, and evidence is

Skilled Historians are careful not to judge people and events of the past in accordance with arbitrary social customs, partisan political interests, or cultural taboos.

Image 3

Frederick Dielman's mosaic, History—which appears in the Jefferson Building in Washington,D.C.—features the prominence of History (standing in the center) over its alternatives, Mythology to her right and Tradition to her left. While Mythology tends the inscrutable mysteries of the world, Tradition regales youth with folklore. History holds the pen and tablet of written record, and she is flanked by pillars etched with the names of historians who documented the past rather than leaving it to superstition and speculation. These historians included Herodotus, Thucydides, Livy, Tacitus, Motley, Guizot, Gibbon, and Bancroft. The mosaic is a reminder that History stands above tradition, myth, and legend.

A There are at least two possible uses of the term "historical thinking." One is merely a reference to thinking about the past, which all people routinely do. The second refers to skilled thinking about history and thus is historical thinking in a higher sense. This second use entails adhering to intellectual standards (see the section "Universal Intellectual Standards"). In this guide, when we use the term "historical thinking," we generally mean this second use. In any case, the context should make clear which use is intended.

B Historical thinking in the strong sense is based on ethical or fairminded critical thinking. Historical thinking in the weak sense is unethical historical thinking—skilled historical thinking that distorts information to fit a self-serving or group-serving agenda. To better understand strong and weak sense historical thinking, see their parallels—"strong sense critical thinking" and "weak sense critical thinking" —in *A Glossary of Critical Thinking Terms and Concepts* by Linda Elder and Richard Paul (2013). Tomales: Foundation for Critical Thinking Press.

not always trustworthy. Skilled historians are careful to judge people and events of the past in accordance with ethical concepts and principles rather than arbitrary social customs, partisan political interests, or cultural taboos *(see images 4, 5 and 6)*.

These pictures stir the reader's imagination and remind us that all people deserve human rights even if social customs deny people those rights. Ethically sensitive historians uncover practices such as these as they study history and present their interpretations.

Image 4

Slave Trade in Early Medieval Eastern Europe.
Painting by Sergey Vasilievich Ivanov (1864-1910).

Image 5

A Persian slave in the Khanate of Kiva in the 19th century.

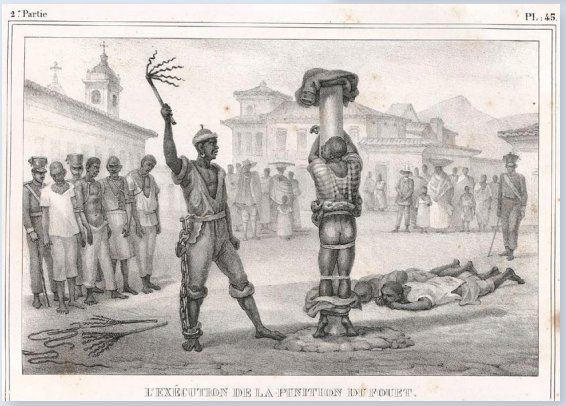


Image 6

"L'execution de la Punition du Fouet" ("Execution of the Punishment of the Whip") showing the public flogging of a slave in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. From Jean Baptiste Debret, Voyage Pittoresque et Historique au Bresil (1834–1839).

Some History of History

While history is generally concerned with the study of the past as captured by written documents, historiography is concerned with the methods used to study the past. Historiography focuses on the perspective of a given historian, the methods the historian used to construct the narrative, the dominant concerns in his or her interpretations of the past, the values the historian brings to the recollection and reporting of events, and the assumptions made by the historian about the significance of events and human motives.

Throughout most of recorded history, historical narratives were dominated by the belief that human history was nothing less than God's gradual unfolding of his divine plan.

History and historiography have undergone many transformations since human beings began to record their experiences and document the significant events of their days. Throughout most recorded history, historical narratives were dominated by the belief that human history was nothing less than God's gradual unfolding of his divine plan *(see image 7 for how this plan might be imagined)*.[11] Through this lens, even modern Western historians were likely to frame history as would a Medieval scholar—wherein the cosmos existed in a strict hierarchical and fixed state, and in which the most important events concerned the rise and fall of empires and civilizations; after all, it was believed that the monolithic nature of the king's or the state's power brought order to the world and steadied it for God's work.[12] Traditional views of American history, for instance, such as those of George Bancroft (1800-1891) conveyed the idea that the United States figures prominently in God's plan for humanity and that all events, including slavery and war, were providential.[13] In such traditional renditions of the past, dualistic thinking is common: Puritans struggle against "heathens;" European civilization contests the "savagery" of the western hemisphere; democracy fights against tyranny.

Image 7

History is sometimes viewed in religious terms as is depicted in *The sortie of Messolonghi* by Theodoros Vryzakis, 1855.

As historians began to assimilate the scientific standards of natural scientists in the late 1800s, at least some components of critical thinking emerged as essential to the historian's work. Significant changes in United States history texts emerged between 1830 and 1890.

Early narratives, such as that of Emma Willard's *Abridged History of the United States* (1843), described the country's development as a collection of events culminating in expansion and the development of infrastructures, all of which result from "courageous pioneers and leaders." Latter texts, such as Edward Channing's *The United States of America* (1896), describe the national experience as more complex, often calling attention to multiple perspectives that take into account various economic, social, religious, and ethical issues.[14] During the early years of the republic, some people feared that too much centralization of power would extinguish democracy; others feared that too much liberty would disintegrate order and stability. Remedies for maintaining a stable, orderly, "democratic" way of life entailed inculcating America's youth with reverence for "law and liberty," with loyalty to the idea that the US was the nation among all nations that had struck a perfect balance between the two.

History was profoundly shaped by the late 19th century German empiricism, which defined the scholarship of history as the reporting of facts that had been verified through tangible means and found credible and reliable. Students who studied in German universities at the end of the 1800s experienced an environment that encouraged open inquiry, discussion, and experimentation—a radical departure from

Image 8

Death of General Wolfe by Benjamin West, 1770.

The clothing West depicted in this scene was highly controversial at the time. Although the event was relatively recent—only eleven years prior—its subject matter made it a fitting example of the genre of history painting, for which contemporary dress was unsuitable. During the painting, several influential people, including Sir Joshua Reynolds, instructed the artist to dress the figures in classical attire. After its completion, George III refused to purchase it because the clothing compromised the dignity of the event. The work, however, eventually overcame all objections and helped inaugurate more historically accurate practices in painting.

The accuracy or inaccuracy of historical paintings impacts readers' perceptions of the events being depicted.

American pedagogy, which was still entrenched in "character development," didactics, and recitation.[15]

Thinking scientifically (where possible) about history is central to the historian's task of deciphering the authenticity and meaning of documents. While historians are expected to be objective, they are also expected to generate hypotheses about the past, motives, causes, and the meanings of things by carefully analyzing primary sources and other artifacts. In 1884, the *American Historical Association* was formed to promote the teaching of history, to preserve manuscripts, and to establish scientific methods of research aimed at producing more objective and scholarly representations of the past.[16]

Dissent is a constant in the human experience… at least some people in any given society have struggled against prevailing beliefs, choosing to follow their conscience rather than blindly conforming to group think.

Prior to World War II, the majority of American historians viewed the nation's past as a story of continual growth and improvement—a story of progress in which conflicts were momentary pauses on the road to inevitable improvement and prosperity.[17] On this view, the founding of the American republic is illustrated by a classic depiction of Washington's historic leadership and a "new beginning" *(see image 9)*—the beginning of the prophesied millennial period that would ultimately bring about a new and holy civilization.[18] Indeed, many generations of Americans were raised to view the United States as a democratic colossus that built itself from nothing into something by way of clearing the forests, embracing the Protestant work ethic, and creating innovative and clever scientific technologies. This picture, however romantic and comforting, does not account for the ways in which many peoples and groups were pushed aside or annihilated in territories coveted by entrepreneurs and government officials. It does not account for the many ways in which these people were systematically denied their human rights. The ethical tone of historical narratives in many instances has been "achieved" not by throwing light on troublesome events and experiences, but by ignoring them.[19]

Critical analysis of history can be categorized into distinct schools of thought that have waxed and waned over the course of American historical scholarship. The orthodox school (also called the traditional or conservative school) tends to represent history as a contest between protagonists and antagonists in which the protagonist (often the author's own nation) pursues progress against the obstacles. In this paradigm, the transition from agrarian to urban life is more than a matter of technical and social evolution, it is a contest between two visions for the nation; Jefferson, for example, envisioned America as a nation of gentleman farmers, while Hamilton envisioned a nation of bankers, merchants, and industrialists. The westward expansion in this

Image 9

"Washington Crossing the Delaware" by Emanuel Leutze, MMA-NYC, 1851

In this classic image of the "birth" of the nation, much that is good, brave, and dignified is suggested. Historians must decide whether and to what extent the nation has lived up to the meanings implicit in this, and other, images that depict our country in glorified terms.

paradigm is more than the organic sprawling of communities, it is a "divinely ordained" process of Christianizing and taming the western wilderness *(see image 10)*.

When eras are painted with monochromes, the subtle yet important elements of the era fade, and stereotypes prevail.

Although not completely purging orthodoxy from the ranks of American historians, consensus history emerged following World War II, offering readers the notion that the country's past was a story in which people were said to generally share a common world view, especially on the matter of private property and political democracy—both of which were seen as virtuous.[20] Consensus history tends to depict the past as a series of eras characterized by a select set of features that abruptly appear and disappear magically in a given year. In this view, it is easy for students to conclude, for example, that everyone in the 1920s was a gangster, farmer, Wall Street tycoon, jazz musician, or flapper. When eras are painted with monochromes, the subtle yet important elements of the era fade and stereotypes prevail. In the consensus

Image 10

This painting shows "Manifest Destiny,"the belief that the western expansion was divinely ordained. In 1872, artist John Gast painted a popular scene of people moving west that captured the view of Americans at the time. Called "Spirit of the Frontier" and widely distributed, this engraving portrayed settlers moving west, guided and protected by a goddess-like figure and aided by technology (railways, telegraphs), driving Native Americans and bison into obscurity. It is also important to note that the angel is bringing the "light" as witnessed on the eastern side of the painting as she travels towards the "darkened" west.

framework, the complexity of the human experience is smoothed over; instead of recognizing, for example, that dissent and nonconformity exist, to some extent, in every era, students come to believe that only certain decades (such as the 1960s) were periods in which people struggled with, and rebelled against, popular cultural beliefs and institutions *(see images 11 and 12)*. The fact that, at any given moment in time, popular consensus on a particular issue may be temporary is important in our understanding of the human experience. Dissent is a constant in the human experience; we can be sure that at least some people in any

Image 11

Free Speech activist Mario Savio on the steps of Sproul Hall, University of California, 1966. The 1960s and 70s are seen as a time of unrest and dissent, yet dissenters are present at all times in human history, although their groups may be small and are often stereotyped and marginalized.

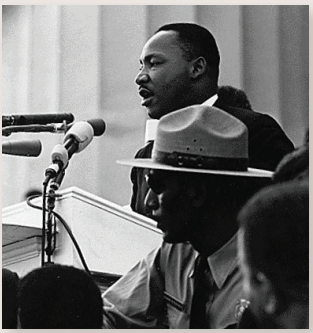


Image 12

The struggles that Martin Luther King symbolizes carried on beyond the time that the media dramatized them; indeed they are still continuing.

given society have struggled against prevailing beliefs, choosing to follow their conscience rather than blindly conforming to group think.

The New Left historians of the 1960s and 70s were not uniform in their critiques of orthodoxy or consensus history, but they did agree that any recitation of the past that neglected to address the disparity between classes and social groups was not a full account; those historians were largely motivated by the desire to alleviate the social, political, and economic disparities of their day.[21] The revisionist school was led by leftists linked to the Progressive tradition of advocating for the poor and working classes; some were Marxists. In general, revisionists tended to see the United States as an imperialistic entity that was unable or unwilling to evenly distribute wealth within its own nation *(see image 13)* and which believed its survival required the continual acquisition of new markets and new sources of raw materials.[22] Revisionists hold that America maintains its hegemony over other nations, and its control over its own population, by manipulating public opinion and disseminating propaganda.[23]

Post-revisionism attempts to synthesize orthodox and revisionist views, and is perhaps best exemplified in the post-Cold War accounts of the Cold War itself. Access to previously classified documents in both the United States and the former Soviet Union invited historians to reconsider their conclusions about the past and rethink their assumptions about the rivalry between the "free world" and the "Soviet bloc."[24] [25]

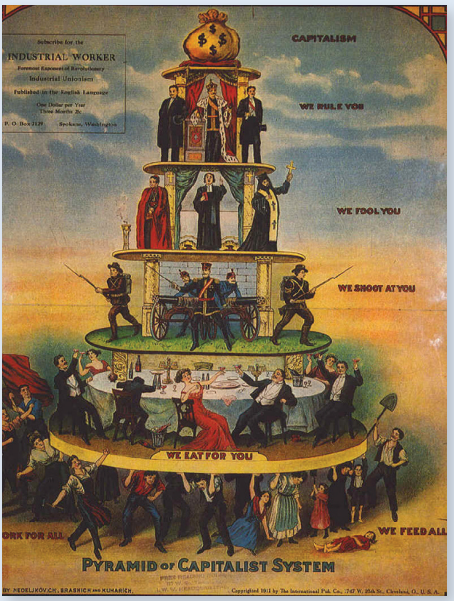


Image 13
This picture symbolizes a critique of capitalism (industrial worker publication, 1911).

Throughout history, historians have used a number of primary concepts to guide their thinking about past events. Historians have not, and do not, necessarily agree on these concepts. And many of these concepts have changed over time. For instance, as we have mentioned, the idea of a grand design in human history was often used as a guiding concept in constructing historical narratives. These narratives promoted the notion that there was some measure of determinism implicit in human political, economic, and social behavior. While this concept is perhaps not as pronounced in contemporary historical narratives, it remains an element of controversy, as some communities around the globe retain the belief that the human story conforms to a divine plan. Another concept that has been challenged is that history is the result of great actions by great men. By way of deepening our understanding of the complexity of the past, historians also recognize that history is the result of collective effort and cultural activity.

The idea of causation in history has been an essential concept for many historians. According to Edward Carr (What is History? 1961), during the 18th and 19th centuries, and into the 20th century,

> *historians and philosophers of history were busily engaged in an attempt to organize the past experience of mankind by discovering the causes of historical events and the laws which governed them. Sometimes the causes and the laws were thought of in mechanical, sometimes in biological, terms, sometimes as metaphysical, sometimes as economic, sometimes psychological. But it was accepted doctrine that history consisted in marshaling the events of the*

past in an orderly sequence of cause and effect… Nowadays…we no longer speak of historical "laws"; and even the word "cause" has gone out of fashion…Some people therefore speak not of "cause" in history, but of "explanation" or "interpretation," or of "the logic of the situation" or "the inner logic of events." (p. 114)

The fact that there are many schools of thought about how to frame history and how to interpret events underscores the importance of critical thinking in history.

The fact that there are many schools of thought about how to frame history and how to interpret events underscores the importance of critical thinking in history. In addition to the ordinary concerns of locating credible resources and reconstructing chronologies, the historian who thinks critically understands the perspectives offered by the various schools of historical thought as well as their origins, strengths, and limitations. Though critical thinking figures prominently as a learning outcome in many state frameworks and standards for history,[26] in the National History Standards,[27] and in the National Council for Social Studies,[28] the concept presents significant challenges to educators and the communities that support them.

Image 14

The fall of the Berlin Wall 1989. This picture captures the triumph of many different people hitherto oppressed, or whose views were suppressed, in East Germany.

Problems with History

Everyone thinks about history. We all have a personal and family history; we live in societies that ritualize the memory of certain events of the past. The ways in which we think about history, however, are often strongly influenced by others. The ways in which we think about history are affected by our egocentric and sociocentric assumptions, conceptions and perspectives. Though schools should counter these barriers to the development of historical thought, they rarely do. Indeed, despite the fact that students are required to "study history," *they are usually not taught how to think like a historian*. Learning "history" often means memorizing names, dates, and events rather than learning to think in scholarly ways about the past or about historical narratives.

Historians must often interpret events from the past without being able to retrieve missing information relevant to that interpretation.

History is not a linear thread from the past to the present and it is not a science. But historians must deal with a large number and variety of scientific questions. Historians must also make scores of critical decisions to maintain the integrity of a narrative. They must determine the credibility of sources, make inferences based on evidence, interpret information and testimony, assign priority to evidence and accounts, evaluate assertions, and construct appropriate questions. They must perceive relationships between variables in order to explain correlation or cause and effect. They must evaluate the relevance of evidence and assertions, identify implications of conclusions and opinions, assess the role of social and geographic contexts in events, provide insights into motives, and interpret the significance of events, ideas, individuals, institutions, beliefs, and experiences. And they must explain what value their historical knowledge and perspective brings to contemporary conflicts and problem solving.

Since historians "reconstruct" the past by assembling existing evidence and interpreting it, the logic of history is based largely on the power of inference. We cannot physically go back in time. So we understand, by proxy, events that have occurred in the past. We attempt to construct a reasonable representation of what actually occurred. Denied the opportunity to be an eyewitness to most historical events and the privilege of knowing the subtle, hidden motives of human agents, the historian must weave a tapestry that represents a picture of the past sturdy enough to withstand the test of reasonable doubt given the evidence. Yet the "facts" themselves are often merely an illusion. Historians must often interpret events from the past even when missing information relevant to that interpretation can never be retrieved. And they must recognize that the information available to them (and presented as facts) may well have

been fabricated or distorted in keeping with a certain view of the world. For instance, according to Carr (1961),

> *"We know a lot about what fifth-century Greece looked like to an Athenian citizen but hardly anything about what it looked like to a Spartan, a Corinthian, or a Theban—not to mention a Persian or a slave or other non-citizen resident in Athens. Our picture is pre-selected and predetermined for us, not so much by accident as by people who were consciously or unconsciously imbued with a particular view…The dead hand of vanished generations of historians, scribes, and chroniclers has determined beyond the possibility of appeal the pattern of the past.*[29]

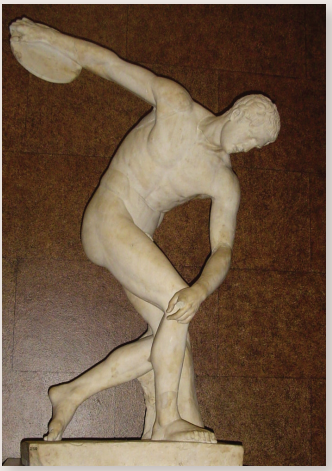


Image 15
Discobolus. Roman copy after a bronze original of the 5th century BC.

Image 16
Statue of Roman Emperor Augustus.

These images depict how Romans are often viewed. But these pictures offer a very limited and narrow view of Roman culture and the realities implicit in the Roman Empire. A prominent 19th century belief among historians was that history entailed collecting a maximum number of irrefutable facts. This orientation toward history is still often transmitted to students. According to Carr, this belief has lead to a

> *"vast and growing mass of dry-as-dust factual histories, of minutely specialized monographs, of would-be historians knowing more and more about less and less, sunk without trace in an ocean of facts…What had gone wrong was the belief in this untiring and unending accumulation of hard facts as the foundation of history, the belief that facts speak for themselves and that*

> *few historians then thought it necessary—and some still think it unnecessary today—to ask themselves the question: What is history?"*[30]

Carr was concerned, not only that historians are sometimes fixated on gathering and presenting "the facts," but also that they often erroneously seek definitive ways of viewing the past. He said, "any static view of history purporting to be recorded from a fixed point by a stationary observer is fallacious."[32] Carr could see the importance of bringing the broadest possible perspective to bear on the interpretation process.

It is essential to recognize that we understand history in connection with the way we see the world today, and the way we perceive the future. Carr says: "…the present is an infinitesimally small moving point on a continuous line consisting of past and future. It is thus the future prospect even more than the present reality which shapes the historian's view of the past…." Carr recognized that the further back we look in history, the better we are generally able to judge issues and events. Writing in the 20th century, he says:

> *"We do not know what to think about the nineteenth century for the simple reason that the history of the twentieth century is still in the making. The historian of A.D. 2000 will be in a better case to pronounce judgment. But need we accept even his verdict—especially as it may easily be reversed by the historian of A.D. 2500?"* [31]

This problem is connected with the fact that historians are often influenced by sociocentric thought. Most people, and most historians, do not realize the degree to which they have uncritically internalized the dominant prejudices of their society or culture. Sociocentric thought includes:[32]

- The uncritical tendency to place one's culture, nation, religion above all others.
- The uncritical tendency to select self-serving, positive descriptions of ourselves and negative descriptions of those who think differently from us.
- The uncritical tendency to internalize group norms and beliefs and to take on group identities—without the least sense that what we are doing might reasonably be questioned.
- The tendency to blindly conform to group restrictions (many of which are arbitrary or coercive).
- The failure to think beyond the traditional prejudices of one's culture.
- The failure to study and internalize the insights of other cultures (improving thereby the breadth and depth of one's thinking).
- The failure to distinguish universal ethics from relativistic cultural requirements and taboos.
- The failure to see sociocentric thinking as a significant impediment to intellectual development.

When studying history, then, it is essential to be aware of the role that sociocentric thought might play in the thinking of any given historian.

In sum, thinking about history is often problematic because:

- Many educators, students and parents have no experience with history as a means of thinking critically about the human condition and the choices people face as consumers, citizens, and global neighbors.
- Instructors frequently do not help students understand that historical narratives result from editorial choices and editorial choices are subject to personal biases.
- Communities often want history lessons to inculcate a partisan view of society and encourage the individual's "loyalty" to the group (e.g. country, state), rather than to encourage critical thought.
- History textbooks are often biased and frequently omit information vital to understanding the multiple perspectives relevant to historical issues.
- The structure of courses frequently prohibits in-depth exploration of how skilled historians use evidence to construct a credible portrait of the past.
- Educators often lack faith in their students' ability to think in complex ways, and often lack the training necessary to facilitate activities that prompt and promote complex thinking.
- Many people in society see history as a simple tale of the past (or as dates, times and places) and therefore not as important as mathematics, science, computer technology or other subjects associated with success in the job market.
- People (including historians) frequently think sociocentrically about history.

Though most educators would say that critical thinking is important to teaching history, many would not want critical thinking to lead students to conclude that "their" nation has not always been virtuous…

As noted, history textbooks often comprise the largest source of information and exercises in history courses at the elementary and secondary levels. The content of texts, therefore, is of special concern and has found itself at the center of what some scholars and politicians have called a religious and cultural war over the soul of America's identity.[33] A "culture war" is essentially a contest of what society should value and believe *(see image 17)*; it is a conflict over what shall be law, what shall constitute public education, what will be tolerated in the mass media, what aims shall drive foreign and domestic policies, and which perspectives will become the institutional memories of a society's history, "heroes," and "villains."[34] The vision a society embraces

is frequently represented in its historical narratives (as found in history books). Visions are often rationalized by representing popular movements, policies, wars, and commercial activities as inherently virtuous even when they cause suffering to innocent persons and creatures.

Though most educators would say that critical thinking is important to teaching history, many would not want critical thinking to lead students to conclude that "their" nation has not always been virtuous, or that our "heroes" and leaders have acted in despicable ways.[C] In addition, some teachers find the task of critical thinking difficult as they lack time, training, and incentives.

Historical thinking cannot be taught through superficial approaches to history. This is why it is essential for teachers to place critical thinking concepts and principles at the heart of historical teaching and learning.

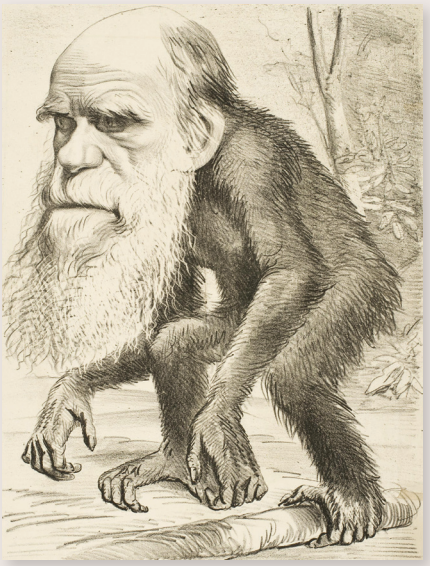


Image 17

This 1871 caricature following publication of *The Descent of Man* was typical of many showing Darwin with an ape body, identifying him in popular culture as the leading author of evolutionary theory. When Darwin published his theory of evolution there was considerable debate between those in the culture who supported Darwin's theory of evolution and those who opposed it (creating a kind of "culture war"). Opposing groups and people were primarily thinking within a religious orientation, just as creationists do today.

C For an expose of history from the viewpoint of oppressed classes in America, see Zinn, Howard. *A People's History of the United States*. (1980; 2006). New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers. This should be required reading in American History courses.

The Role of Fairmindedness and Ethical Sensitivity in Historical Thinking

Voltaire's *Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations*, 1759, was among the first scholarly works in modern history to recognize history as a discipline concerned with the motives and will of people rather than the recitation of chronologies that unfolded as a matter of fate.[35] This view was radical for its time, as many scholars still regarded the course of human events as the will of God—something to be framed in theological terms that included a measure of mystery. This very important shift in perspective laid the foundation for history as it is now perceived by mainstream historians.

In directing attention to the motives and will of individuals, states, institutions, and societies, the historian assumed a new ethical obligation to objective and broad-mindedness. In early historical accounts, authors tended to excuse a great deal of human malice, incompetence, vice, and weakness by laying the blame for tragedies at the feet of the gods. In this approach, there was little need to explore the complexities in causes and effect, because all was perceived as divine will. The task of probing and explaining these complexities requires the historian to consider the human element— the psychological forces that drive behavior, the personal virtues and vices of men and women whose actions have a wide and lasting impact, the context in which choices are cast and influenced by public opinion, the implications of technology, the prevailing limits of knowledge, and so forth.

If history is to avoid being a cult of facts or string of tales contrived to instruct its audience in social mores and customs, it must accept the challenge of critical thinking… and refrain from irrational judgments and dualistic world views.

In assuming ethical responsibility for rendering accurate historical accounts, the historian recognizes the need to be fair in analyzing and assessing these matters or risk rendering a distorted or inaccurate picture of the past. This is a serious enterprise as the portrayal of human motives has the power to influence the way people are judged and to affect the causes people are apt to support.

There is another ethical dimension to the historian's work, which concerns the cultivation of the reader's empathy. Historian Jacques Barzun perceived history as a guide to understanding one's neighbors rather than as a process of accumulating facts about events or documents. He penned:

> *What history teaches us is not the date of the Monroe Doctrine—that is incidental—but how such a document can come into being, why the British*

Navy was necessary to its effectiveness, how its meaning has changed, and what involvements of life and death may yet hang on it. The boy fresh from the potato patch in Maine or Iowa may not know that he embodies the Monroe doctrine, but any South American is persuaded that every North American does embody it. That is enough to affect at least two lives, for the South American also knows to a T how he feels about the Monroe Doctrine.[1] [36]

History can help people understand the thoughts and feelings of others and see the world, and human activity, from others' perspectives. It can help people empathize with others. In examining the motives, meanings, and implications of such things as a document, a speech, a law, a war, a treaty, a manifesto, an invention, or a movement, people can better understand their neighbors and improve the quality of their judgment where their mutual futures and interests are concerned. Without empathy, the pursuit of right and good judgment is compromised because relevant viewpoints are likely to be twisted, distorted, or ignored in rendering a historical account.

It is not easy to be an ethical historian, for it requires one to imagine the world through the eyes of men and woman who have been branded as villains, traitors, and demons.

If history is to avoid being a cult of facts or a string of tales contrived to instruct its audience in social mores and customs, it must accept the challenge of critical thinking. It must respect the often-elusive evidence for one's assertions. It must refrain from irrational judgments and dualistic worldviews. Though the historian is dependent upon facts to build a narrative, and though accounts may suggest certain social preferences, the historian is largely a conductor who orchestrates a memory of the past that is rich in interpretation. And these interpretations begin with the historian's own selection of material perceived as relevant. The past is not a monolithic story that is left in the wake of previous events, but a recollection of those past events built from the memory of those who recorded their observations and those who handed down oral traditions from generation to

Image 18

One of the many dogs Pavlov (1849-1936) used in his experiments. The saliva catch container and tube were surgically implanted into the dog's muzzle. Pavlov is "famous" for his experiments with dogs in which he studied the extent to which they salivated in connection with a sound or other stimulus. Some historians question the ethical implications of such experiments on animals.

Historians concerned with ethics do not confuse ethics with social preferences; therefore, they do not judge people and cultures based on cultural preferences. These images depict social customs that are clearly unconnected to ethics– such as preferred dress, hairstyle, and body art.

Image 19, right

A didgeridoo player in Arnhem Land, 1981; aboriginal performance.

Image 20, left

Amerikanska folk (American people), from the *Nordisk familJebok* (1904).

generation. Since there are many many testimonies, consensus may be elusive. And every account isn't necessarily as sound as the next. For instance, every account isn't necessarily grounded in ethical concepts and principles, since people who record "history" while it is unfolding are often far from objective and are in fact merely recording their own viewpoint.

The historian is continually determining which sources will figure prominently in the record and which will not; the historian must make hundreds of decisions in composing the narrative because each choice of words must convey precisely what is intended. Historians must be careful not to soil the reader's attitude with prejudice and specious innuendo. While the finished product of the historian may contain reasonable speculations based on evidence, the historian also knows there is no such thing as a finished product, for fresh evidence may emerge at any time.

Ethical historians know themselves. They are aware of their values, beliefs, assumptions, and perspectives; they are cognizant of how their idealism, realism or cynicism may impact the quality of their thinking. Ethical historians attempt continuously to detect the slightest tremor of bias in their thinking.

Ethical historians are dedicated to the discovery, and credible reporting, of the past; they consider the broadest range of perspectives and address the widest range of interests at stake in the events. These considerations are foundational because ethics concerns the principles of goodness and justice, which by nature speak to the quality of our relationship with others.[37] The historian is not afforded a myopic view of the past that takes into account only certain interests while neglecting others, for he or she understands that human actions do not emerge from a vacuum, nor are their effects quietly contained to a narrow slice of time and place.

These two images reflect the types of horrifying realities historians uncover.

Image 21, above

Street children sleeping in Mulberry Street. Jacob Riis photo New York, United States (1890).

Image 22, below

Bodies of some of the hundreds of Vietnamese villagers killed by U.S. soldiers during the My Lai Massacre during the Vietnam War.

Historians frequently encounter documentation of man's inhumanity to man, including images of terrible suffering and cruelty. The photograph above left, Children Sleeping on Mulberry Street, 1890, depicts the poverty suffered by millions in urban settings in *America's Gilded Age*, while the above right image pictures bodies of Vietnamese villagers killed by U.S. soldiers during the Vietnam War's My Lai Massacre. Historians are responsible to ensure that all accounts of man's inhumanity are covered in such a way as to stir the appropriate ethical responses to events. This means that historians must not be afraid to shock the public or the professional community by

exposing images that contradict official views of the event in question. This does not make them less objective; it makes their accounts more significant.

The paradox of being an ethical historian is that while he or she is concerned with how human activity has affected the broadest range of stakeholders, he or she refrains from judging and prescribing solutions to historical and/or contemporary problems based on social rules and taboos. The ethical historian maximizes his or her impact on the community by faithfully reporting events and accounting for why those events occurred, what motivated certain choices, what led some to participate and others to refrain from participation, what was known about the alternative courses of action at

Nelson Mandela, once considered an outlaw by the South African Government, was imprisoned for 27 years for "subversive" and "terrorist" activities. When finally set free at the collapse of Apartheid, he served as President of South Africa. He is now considered a symbol of freedom across the world.

Image 23

Image 25

Image 24

Image 26

Image 23: Nelson Mandela circa 1937
Image 24: Nelson Mandela's prison cell on Robben Island
Image 25: Mandela in 2008
Image 26: Nelson Mandela on a 1988 USSR commemorative stamp

the time, and what consequences resulted from the activity.

It is not easy to be an ethical historian, for it requires one to imagine the world through the eyes of men and woman who have been branded as villains, traitors, and demons *(see images 23-26)*. It demands that one explore the merits of a philosophical adversary and examine the opinions of those who appear to harbor ill intentions for others. It also means that one might raise the specter of those who are unpopular and represent the voice of the poor, the vulnerable, the imprisoned and forgotten.

In sum, the ethical historian:

1. Presents assertions and reports of the past in reference to their original context, and calls attention to the often subtle features of time and place to increase the reader's sensitivity to detail and accuracy, as well as to cause and effect.
2. Informs the audience of multiple perspectives on the matter and alternative interpretations of events, their meaning, and their significance.
3. Avoids promises of easy or clear answers and solutions to complex human problems, and helps readers appreciate the fact that some matters are ambiguous and perhaps unresolvable at present.
4. Refrains from moralizing and from insisting that facts and events conform to a particular ideological world view.
5. Acknowledges that ethical dilemmas are abundant in the human experience, and that the historian has the potential to help others clarify and contextualize these problems by presenting objective facts and raising questions about existing lacunas in information.
6. Is transparent about the purpose of his or her writing.
7. Uses primary and secondary sources accurately without distortion or misrepresentation.

By virtue of enduring their consequences, every generation is a witness to the acts of its forefathers and the implications they anticipated, failed to anticipate, ignored, or obscured.

The ethical historian is mindful that the human being is fundamentally a storyteller and a problem-solver. Storytellers and problem-solvers want to understand why things happen as they do. When answers are not apparent or are ambiguous, storytellers and problem-solvers often invent narratives to explain the unexplainable. While there may be some facts and some metaphorical truth in the legends and myths offered as history, the historian who thinks critically is bound to separate the chaff from the wheat.

Because the historian knows that institutional memories can profoundly influence events in the present and inspire people to do great harm or great good, the historian

insists that history must serve but one master—truth *(see image 27)*. Though much will remain unknown about the past, what we do know must be judged in accordance with intellectual standards such as accuracy, relevance, logicalness, significance, depth, breadth and fairness. Further, what we do know about the past—in terms of how people have treated one another and how they have treated other species—must be judged in accordance with ethical concepts and principles (such as consideration, respect, compassion, empathy, justice, and integrity) rather than arbitrary customs of the day.[D]

Image 27

Lady Justice—allegory of Justice—statue at a court building in the Czech Republic.

This image of Lady Justice lacks the typical blindfold and scales, replacing the latter with a book. Lady Justice symbolizes thought that is fair to all relevant parties. She reminds us that history must serve the truth. Ethical historians take into account and treat fairly all viewpoints relevant to the historical issues at the heart of their work.

D For a deeper understanding of ethics, see *The Thinker's Guide to Understanding the Foundations of Ethical Reasoning* by Richard Paul and Linda Elder (2013), Tomales: Foundation for Critical Thinking Press.

Critical Thinking and Historical Revisionism

Historian James McPherson has opined that history is under constant revision and that there is no single, absolute truth about the past or the meaning of past events.[38] History relies on eyewitness accounts that are often contradictory, documents that are frequently destroyed or not forthcoming, and the perspectives of those constructing the narrative. History must be revised when new evidence surfaces and when traditional renditions of the past are simply unable to shoulder the weight of truth.

Revisionism concerns the re-thinking and re-writing of history with fresh evidence or new perspectives. It is conducted by amateurs and professionals alike, and almost always challenges the traditional, orthodox, or official understanding of the past. Revisionism is frequently controversial. Charles Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* (1913) aroused the ire of his peers at Columbia and elsewhere as his thesis asserted that the authors of the Constitution created a document that represented their own material and pecuniary interests.[39] The notion that personal profit played any part in the foundation of the republic was, and continues to be in many circles, repugnant, as it offends the cherished belief that the Founding Fathers were motivated by philosophical and philanthropic concerns.

Revisionists often consider material that has routinely been ignored—the experiences of children…of sentient creatures … of the poor and vulnerable… of prisoners and those falsely accused...

Revisionists act with a variety of motives and their work can be done well or poorly. One question the critical thinker must ask is, "What is the purpose of the revision?" Anti-Semites have claimed that the Holocaust never really happened; American neo-conservatives laid the blame for the Cold War squarely at the feet of the Kremlin in Moscow; white supremacists have blamed African Americans for their own assaults, their own lynchings, and vandalism of their own property. Historical revision conducted for the purpose of vindicating or justifying a person or group of people in the wake of false accusations and specious assertions may seem virtuous on the surface, but the real test of its merits lies in the extent to which it is true or justifiable given the evidence. The purest form of revision is that which seeks the truth (or the most reasonable interpretation) amid the tangle and debris of assumptions, opinions, political interests, distortions, lacunae, and lies; its chief objective is to render a more accurate and fair account of the past, regardless of whether it upsets public authorities or is offensive to our most "trusted" institutions.

In the long run, evidence often compels historians to revise their conclusions because the long-range effects of our actions do not fully manifest themselves until one or more generations have passed. The inventors of the locomotive and their contemporaries, for instance, could not have known that 80 years after the first train was set to track it would

lead to the European partitioning of Africa—and that this would fuel world war and civil unrest in the 20th century. Yet, this is what happened. The physicists who figured out how to split an atom could only speculate about what might happen if nuclear radiation were widely dispersed. It would be left for those who tested the bomb, and more importantly for those killed and injured by nuclear radiation in Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and Chernobyl, to illuminate the hideous consequences of nuclear toxicity. By virtue of enduring their consequences, every generation is a witness to the acts of its forefathers and the results they anticipated, misunderstood, reported, or declined to report.

It is important for students to become revisionists in the strong sense, using the concept of fairminded critical thinking to guide them.

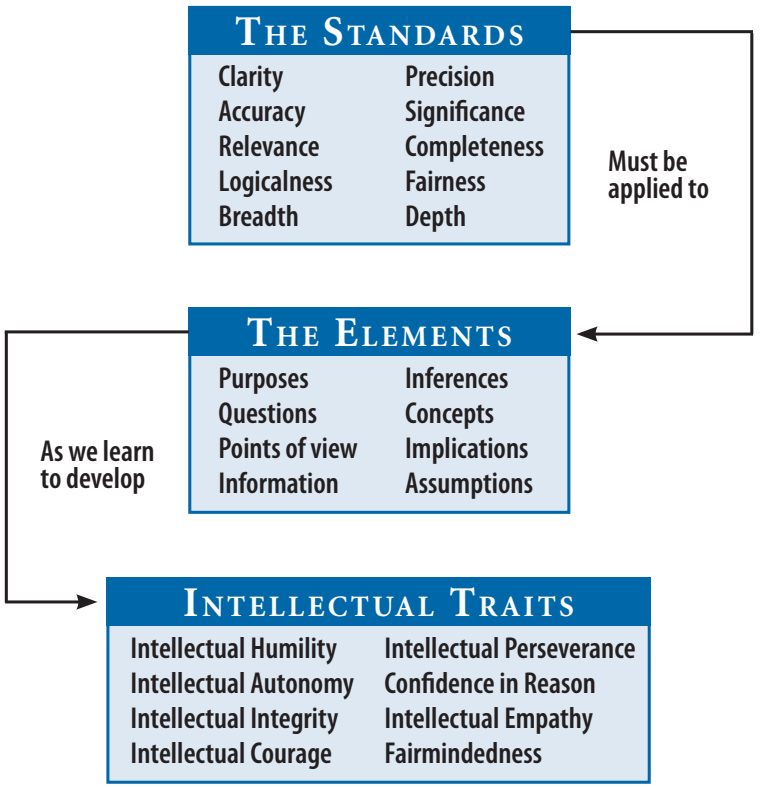
Revisionists invigorate debate by asking difficult questions about the assumptions implicit in traditional narratives about the past, about what motivated people, and about how people were affected by the decisions of powerful individuals and by the institutions they commanded. Revisionists often do their work by considering material that has routinely been ignored—the voices of women, the experiences of children, the experiences of ethnic minorities, the experiences of sentient creatures *(see image 18)*, the perspectives of the poor and vulnerable, and the world view of prisoners and those falsely accused, to name a few.

As with all historical thinking, historical revisionism should employ the tools of critical thinking. Revised versions of history are not necessarily better versions. It is important for students to become revisionists in the strong sense, using the concept of fairminded critical thinking to guide them. When they do so, they are better able to look at events from the past and see them truthfully; they are better able to assess behavior from an ethical point of view and determine whether the actions of those in power have violated the people's basic rights; they are better able to uncover the assumptions of those who have made important decisions and assess those assumptions for justifiability; they are better able to figure out the purposes, questions and viewpoints of people living through difficult conditions; they are better able to follow out the logical implications of historical events; they are better able to uncover strategies people have used in carrying out their agendas (such as political influence, manipulation, collaboration, or networking) and to see how these behaviors align, or fail to align, with the values those people publicly espouse (such as respect for democratic processes, concern for the earth, or respect for the poor).

PART TWO: The Foundations of Critical Thinking as Essential to Historical Thinking

It is important to understanding the essential dimensions of critical thinking and how they interface with historical thinking. In this section we introduce these dimensions and some of their connections with historical reasoning. We can begin with this overview:

Strong sense historians routinely apply *intellectual standards* to the *elements of thought* as they seek to develop the intellectual virtues.



Analyzing History Through the Elements of Thought

To reason well about history or the topics that emerge in historical studies, it is essential to analyze historical thought by focusing on the elements of reasoning embedded in it. But first consider this argument:

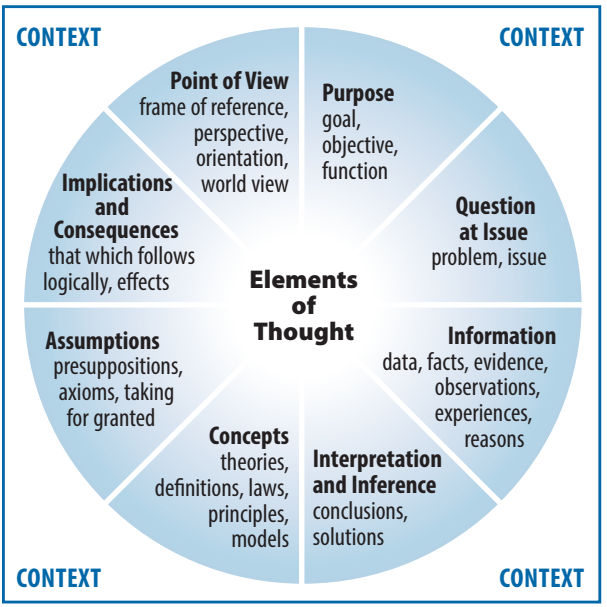
> Everyone thinks; it is our nature to do so. But much of our thinking, left to itself, is biased, distorted, partial, uninformed, or prejudiced. Yet the quality of our life and of what we produce, make, or build depends precisely on the quality of our thought. If we want to think well, we must understand at least the rudiments of thought, the most basic structures out of which all thinking is made. We must learn how to take thinking apart.

Thinking Can Be Defined by the Eight Elements That Make It Up

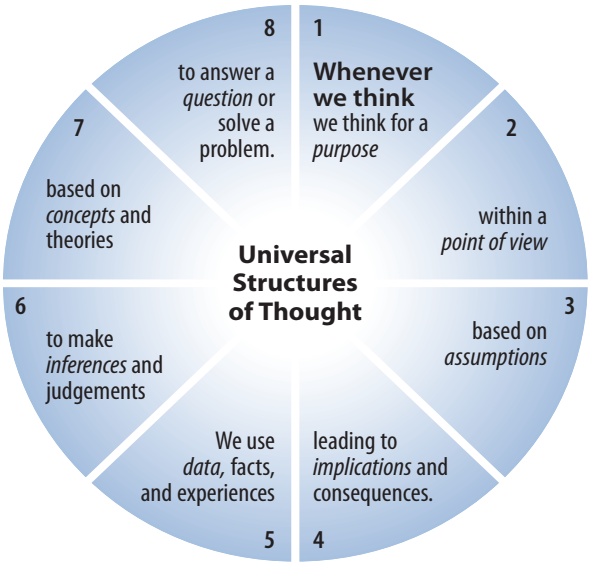
Eight basic structures are present in all thinking: Whenever we think, we think for a purpose, within a point of view, based on assumptions, leading to implications and consequences. We use concepts, ideas and theories to interpret data, facts, and experiences in order to answer questions, solve problems, and resolve issues.

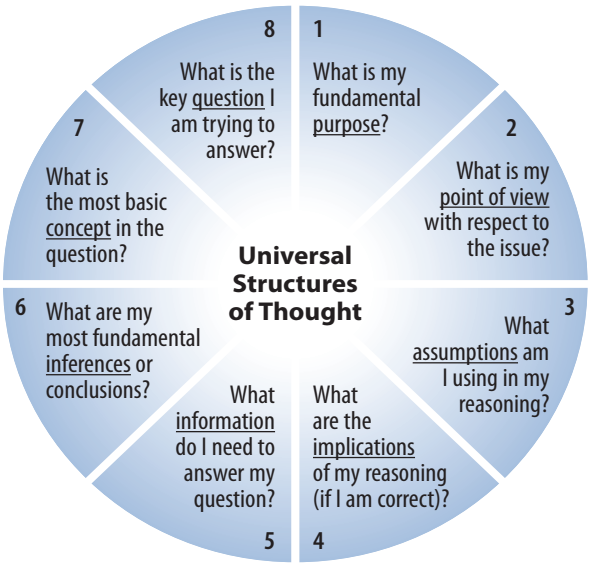
Thinking, then:

- **generates purposes**
- **raises questions**
- **uses information**
- **creates concepts**
- **makes inferences**
- **makes assumptions**
- **generates implications**
- **embodies a point of view**



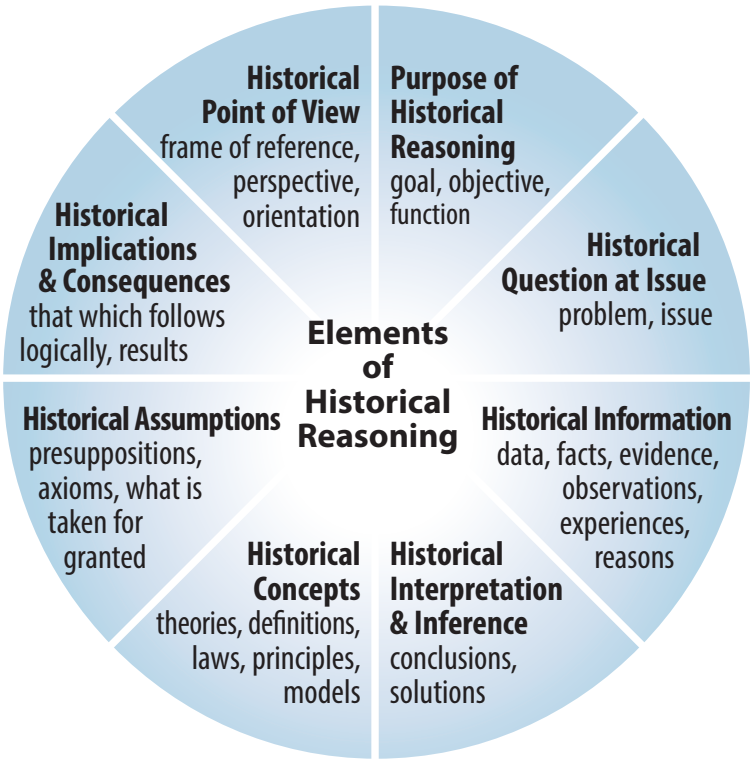
The Elements of Thought and Questions They Imply





The Elements of Historical Thought

Now we can contextualize these elements of reasoning for historical thought as follows:



Used With Sensitivity to Universal Intellectual Standards

Clarity → Accuracy → Depth → Breadth → Significance
Precision ↓
Relevance Fairness

The Logic of History

The purpose of history: To study the past in order to improve how we live in the present and the future. In studying the past, historians create narratives that are attempts to portray events as they actually occurred. When historical narratives are well constructed by historians, they can be used to improve human life.

A scholarly study of history can help us better understand complexities in issues and the merit in looking at issues from multiple perspectives. It can help us understand that change for the good often comes only in the long run. But it also helps us see that humans do not naturally progress as thinkers.

Key Questions Historians ask: What happened during a given period of time? What caused these events to happen in this way? What were the conditions and forces that brought about these events? Are there patterns about past events that can be discovered? Do we need to rethink the way we have viewed the past in light of some new information? Have we treated as historical facts what have instead been misleading inferences or interpretations? Has some information, for the time period we are studying, been irretrievably lost? What is the most insightful interpretation of the data and information? What role does the interpretation of the "lived experience" of past peoples play in historical understanding, and how does the historian arrive at justified statements about this lived experience? Is it possible to arrive at justified interpretations of long-dead peoples, their mindsets and their actions? How confident can we be in our statements about the past, about the features of past institutions, structures, and peoples, and about the explanatory relations among them? How does it make sense to conceptualize the events of this historical time period? What human meanings and intentions underlie a given complex series of historical events?

Key Concepts Historians Use or Have Used in Their Thinking: Historians within different specialties and with differing viewpoints use differing and often conflicting concepts in their thinking. Here are some of the key concepts historians use or have used in the past:

1. *Causation* in history, which focuses on the causes of historical events.
2. The idea of past events being depicted in the form of a narrative.
3. The extent to which there is a *grand design* in human history. In other words, whether and to what extent human history follows an inherent deterministic process (largely obsolete).
4. *The role of divine intervention* in history (largely obsolete).
5. *The role of the individual* in determining history.

6. *The role of the culture* in determining history (focusing, for instance on the extent to which cultures are oppressive to certain peoples).
7. *The role of the entire human species* in determining events.
8. The role of *class consciousness* in history.
9. The role of *social causation* in history.
10. *The role of powerful or important people* in history.
11. *The role of women* in history.
12. *The role of ethnic groups* in history.
13. *The significance* of historical events.
14. *The role of material circumstances* in human affairs.
15. *The role of economics* in human history.
16. *The role of sociocentric thought* in human history.
17. *The role of human psychology* in human history.
18. *The role of religion* in human history.
19. *Large, embracing patterns* in history.
20. *Seeking general laws* in history.
21. *Historical objectivity vs. historian's interpretations as necessarily value laden.*
22. *Historical causation* (highlighting objectivity, truth and correspondence to facts) vs. *historical narrative* (highlighting subjectivity and multiple interpretations).

Other concepts historians focus on include: invisible hand of the market, war of attrition, collateral damage, due process, just war, balance of power, inalienable rights, representative democracy, fair wages, human dignity, fair trade, and revolution.

Key Types of Information Historians Use: Historians are generally focused on collecting, organizing, and presenting information about past events in narrative form. Information can come from, among other sources, articles, books, newspapers, magazines, scrolls, symbols, diaries, private communications between officials, letters, treaties, minutes from official proceedings, institutional reports, pictures, audio or video interviews, word of mouth, internet sources, and videos. Information may be in the form of either verifiable facts or probable facts. Often the only information available to the historian is that which has already been filtered through the interpretations of others. For instance, Socrates did not leave any written work of what has come to be known as the Socratic method. We know the thinking of Socrates only through the writings, and therefore interpretations, of others (most of which comes to us through the writings of Plato and Xenophon, both of whom were students of Socrates).

Key Inferences or Interpretations of Historians: Historical knowledge depends on procedures of empirical investigation, and the justification of historical claims depends on providing convincing evidence to support or invalidate such claims, while including all important relevant information. Historians should engage in good-faith interrogation of the evidence in constructing their theories of the past. But this should not be understood to imply that there is always one uniquely true interpretation of historical processes and events. Historical interpretations are often underdetermined by the facts. Interpretations of the past will vary in accordance with the specific historical question being posed about the same body of evidence. In short, historical narratives have a substantial interpretive component, and often involve substantial reconstruction of the past.

Some Important Implications of Historical Thinking: If historians do a good job of developing and presenting historical reasoning, and if people take historians' work seriously, the following implications may become realities:

1. People will be more likely to seriously study history as they come to increasingly appreciate its relevance to their lives.
2. People will be more likely to learn from the past.
3. People will come to recognize that all interpretations and narratives of the past are not of the same quality, and therefore they will think critically about these interpretations and narratives before accepting them.
4. People will be more likely to see themselves as historical thinkers and they will take greater command of the stories they tell themselves about their own past.

Some Important Assumptions That Historians Begin With in Their Thinking: Historians of different stripes will differ in the beliefs they take for granted, depending on their viewpoint, perspective and world view. But in general here are some assumptions historians begin with:

1. That if we understand the past we can better understand humans and why they behave as they do.
2. That if we study the past, we can learn important things about people, which will help us make better decisions in the future.
3. That there is a potentially unlimited archive of information and facts that have to be sifted through and interpreted with respect to broadly-based historical questions.
4. That purported facts may not be actual facts, or may not be relevant facts.
5. That there is always the possibility that new information will become available with respect to a given historical question, and when this happens, prior interpretations about historical events may need to be reconsidered.

The Points of View of Historians: The points of view from which historians look at the past will vary depending on the concepts they use in their thinking—concepts which guide their interpretations of historical information. But in general, historians look at the past as essential to understanding who we are as humans and how we can improve human societies in the present and in the future. Further, a given historian's point of view can be shaped by many potential factors: time, culture, religion, gender, colleagues, economic interest, emotional state, social role, or age group, to name a few. In addition, historians can look at the world from:

- a point in time (16th, 17th, 18th, 19th Century)
- a culture (Western, Eastern, South American, Japanese, Turkish, French)
- a religion (Buddhist, Christian, Muslim, Jewish)
- a gender (male, female)
- an orientation (gay, straight)
- a profession (lawyer, teacher)
- another discipline (biological, chemical, geological, astronomical, sociological, philosophical, anthropological, literary, artistic, musical, dance, poetic, medical, nursing, sports)
- their own peer group, or set of colleagues
- an economic interest
- an emotional state
- an age group

Additional Thoughts on the Elements of Historical Reasoning

A reasonable approach to investigating the past entails targeting the elements of thought. For instance, it might require considering the perspectives (points of view) of archaeologists, geologists, anthropologists, economists, biologists, engineers, political scientists, psychologists, and sociologists—all who play various roles in reconstructing the past.

Historical inquiry also requires that scholars apply the elements of thought in ways specific to the discipline of history. For instance, in terms of information, historical inquiry and reporting include primary and secondary sources of information. This information might come in the form of such artifacts as speeches, diaries, letters, poems, treaties, articles, films, news broadcasts, or political advertisements. While all disciplines must be concerned about the source and quality of information, the historian must take special care to distinguish between primary and secondary sources, and to recognize the intentions of the originators of these sources, as well as the inherent usefulness and limitations of each. Typically, historians are concerned with the written or recorded word, and so are interested in the authorship, authenticity, credibility, and perspective of the source, the editorial processes to which the documents may have been subjected, and the function of documents at the time they were created.

These are just a few of the many ways in which historical thought is illuminated through inquiring into the elements of reasoning. Whenever historians reason about any historical issue or event, they formulate purposes, articulate questions, gather information, and make inferences based on that information. They begin with a particular historical point of view, based on their assumptions and the ways in which they conceptualize the issues. And there are implications of their historical reasoning.

Thus, it is important for both historians and instructors to be explicitly aware of, and deliberately target, the elements of thought when reasoning through historical issues, composing historical theses and narratives, and structuring historical investigations.

Analyzing Historical Narratives Using the Elements of Thought

(for Historians and Teachers of History)

Elements of Thought	For the Historian	For Teachers
Purpose	What is the purpose of the narrative I am constructing? How might this investigation be used by the general and scholarly communities? What motives underlie the inquiry? What narrative of the past am I trying to construct and what is the intended audience? What is the purpose of the primary or secondary source I am using?	What is the purpose of this history lesson? What is the purpose of this history text? Is this purpose justifiable? What is the purpose of examining this particular era or event? What are the learning objectives of these lessons relative to content and thinking skills? How might students benefit from thinking deeply about the purpose of history? How can instruction help students appreciate the relationship between the goal of historical inquiry and the resulting narrative? What purpose did the author of this lesson have in mind?
Questions	What question, problem, or issue is central to the investigation? What questions am I raising about the human experience? To what extent am I considering all the complexities of the questions, events, sources, and motives of those who participated in the events of the past? Is the inquiry an elaboration of established truths, a revision, or something new? Why is the subject an important one? What is the context of the event or issue? Which variables, such as geography, politics, economics, and cultural beliefs, are essential to explore?	What question, problem, or issue is central to the lesson? How will the lesson help students ask the best questions when studying history? Which questions are the most fruitful given the students' developmental stage? Is the lesson directed toward the improvement of historical, cultural, geographic, ethical, economic, or political literacy? What bearing might the subject have on students' lives? Is a chronological approach the best way to organize the investigation? What overarching themes will this lesson address?

Analyzing Historical Narratives, cont.

Elements of Thought	For the Historian	For Teachers
Information	What documents and sources are vital to this inquiry or lesson? What is the source of my information, documents, and evidence? Is the source credible, reliable, and is the information valid? How have secondary sources added to existing knowledge and illuminated primary sources? What has been written or broadcast about this topic before, and how do those narratives' contribute to or diminish our understanding of the past? Is there sufficient historical information to effectively address this topic? Has any significant historical information been excluded from the sources? Which evidence supports which assertions? How has mass media influenced popular understanding of the issue or event?	How can the lesson enhance student's understanding of primary and secondary resources, and improve their ability to evaluate the credibility and significance of those sources? What activities will help students discern the differences between various accounts of the past and become sensitive to the variables—such as breadth, depth, and biases—that affect the validity of the source? How can lessons increase students' ability to view mass media, which communicates "historical events," with a scholarly and critical eye? What activities will help students distinguish inferences from information in historical thought? What activities will help students judge the credibility of inferences made by historians?

Analyzing Historical Narratives, cont.

Elements of Thought	For the Historian	For Teachers
Inferences and Conclusions	What are my key inferences and conclusions, and why might some inferences and conclusions be more significant than others? What is the current understanding of the past and how might the new inquiry be different from previous inquiries? What is the strength of the evidence for these inferences and conclusions? Has any information been distorted to serve a special interest? How might these inferences and conclusions impact people's understanding of the past and present? What are some important alternative inferences and conclusions, and what are the merits and limitations of those options? How do the discrete data or details of events contribute to the overarching understanding of the human condition?	How might the lesson help students independently generate inferences and conclusions based on evidence? What activities will help students identify the significance and potential impact of their conclusions? What activity might improve students' ability to ask the right questions in order to test the accuracy of their inferences and conclusions? How can the lesson help student's link evidence to assertions and conclusions?
Concepts	What themes, concepts, and ideas are central to the events or biographies I am addressing? How, if at all, have these concepts changed over time? What ideas were guiding the thinking of people during this time period? Is the inquiry clear about how these concepts help frame or illuminate the human experience and events of the past? Which concepts are difficult, yet essential, to understand? Is the popular understanding of the concept different from the scholarly, and what is the best way to respond to that reality?	What activities will help students understand the nature and function of a concept? How can the lesson help students see the relationship between concepts, events, and discrete human activity? How can the lesson help students understand the role of concepts in establishing and maintaining social institutions that affect our lives? How might the lesson help students determine which concepts are fundamental to historical research? How can this lesson help students see the problems in uncritically accepting received conceptions in a culture in a given historical period?

Analyzing Historical Narratives, cont.

Elements of Thought	For the Historian	For Teachers
Assumptions	What assumptions have been made about sources, events, previous interpretations, significance of the events, motives of people involved in the events, and variables impacting the events? What generalizations have been made about the past and what are the exceptions to those general assertions? What has been assumed about those who actually experienced the events or the consequences of those events? What assumptions have been made about why a particular account of the past is valued by others? What assumptions about people's values, motives, options, and knowledge are embedded in primary and secondary sources? How do I know that any of my assumptions about this historical issue or time period are justifiable? What assumptions am I making about these historical events; are these assumptions justifiable?	How can the lesson create student awareness of their own assumptions about the past and the way those assumptions may interfere with their understanding of the past? How can the lesson help students detect the assumptions embedded in historical narratives and primary sources? How can the lesson help students explore the justifications required to support assumptions about the events or time period? How can the lesson help students see that all historians begin with assumptions, and that these assumptions are not always justifiable?
Implications and Consequences	What are some important implications or consequences of the narratives I create? How might my representation of historical events influence my readers? How might historical constructions affect the ability of others to understand their world and empathize with others? How might this inquiry or lesson influence people at present or in the future? If I approach this historical topic as I plan to, what implications might follow?	How can the lesson demonstrate the relationship between what people believe about the past and how they think about the present? What examples might be used to illustrate important consequences of representing the past in a certain way? How can I help students see that there are important implications of studying history? How can I help motivate students to learn history so they, and the greater society, can benefit from it?

Analyzing Historical Narratives, cont.

Elements of Thought	For the Historian	For Teachers
Points of View	What point of view do I bring to my historical interpretations? What values and concerns have influenced my interpretations? What alternative historical perspectives should I consider? What views should I consider that other schools of thought bring to the historical issue? What point of view am I attempting to engender in the mind of the reader?	How can the lesson help students identify the perspectives essential to their understanding of a past event or person? Which activities will improve students' understanding of how including or omitting certain perspectives can impact accounts of the past? How does my point of view affect my students, who lack formal training? How can I help students learn that history is always told from some point of view and therefore may be flawed in any number of ways?

Universal Intellectual Standards

The elements of thought help us analyze historical reasoning, while intellectual standards address the quality of thought. When people think historically they often consider the source and what perspective the source represents, but they may not think deeply about an issue or set of events when they lack a broader perspective. A person who is asked, for example, to think about the impact of World War I might readily speak to how it ruined lives, killed people, destroyed farms and businesses, and cost lots of money, while at the same time neglecting its impact on the environment, the arms race, and colonialism. The purpose of adhering to intellectual standards is to improve the quality of thought and to achieve specific thresholds of excellence. There are at least hundreds of intellectual standards in ordinary languages.[E]

Consider the following nine intellectual standards contextualized for historical thinking:

Nine Intellectual Standards That Give Rise to Key Questions for Historians

Standard	General Description	Historical Thinking (some examples)
Clarity	Clarity is fundamental to all thinking. A lack of clarity creates the potential that subsequent thinking about matters will be misdirected and limited. Clarity calls for illustrations, explanations, and elaborations.	What steps might the historian take to ensure the targeted audience understands the purpose, assertions, and questions implicit in an inquiry or narrative? Which concepts warrant special need for explanation, exemplification or elaboration?
Accuracy	Accuracy speaks to the veracity of assertions. It is possible to be clear and yet not factual and so, putting assertions to the test of verification is important.	How can we assess the credibility of sources? Do our sources stand up to the scholarly test of reliability and validity? Is the information about the past accurate? What means exist to test the accuracy of reporting?
Precision	Precision speaks to specificity and details. In being precise, thinkers provide a sufficient amount of information to ensure that their views are not misinterpreted.	What are the specific questions raised by an event or assertion? What details would help us understand the events, motives, and consequences in more complete way? Have we included an appropriate amount of detail in our narrative, or have we included too much detail?

E For a deeper understanding of intellectual standards, see the *Thinker's Guide to Intellectual Standards* by Linda Elder and Richard Paul (2009). Dillon Beach, CA: Foundation for Critical Thinking Press.

Key Questions for Historians, cont.

Standard	General Description	Historical Thinking
Relevance	Information or assertions that are relevant have a direct bearing on matters; they might lend insight, improve the framework of our thinking, improve one's understanding, or directly answer a question. Relevance pertains, for instance, to the strength of the information's relationship to the question or inquiry at hand.	What questions about the past are relevant today and why? What information is relevant to a given inquiry and why? Does this particular representation of the past contain or omit relevant information? What information is relevant to our understanding of the source's perspective and why? Does this historian have a vested interest in excluding relevant information?
Depth	To think deeply is to reflect upon complexities and, where relevant, to consider subtle or hidden variables and meanings. It is possible to be clear and accurate and yet lack depth. Historical thinking usually requires one to consider multiple complexities in historical issues.	What factors make the past difficult to understand? What key variables have impacted these particular events of the past? How do we know what motivated people to act as they did? Do we have enough knowledge (with sufficient sources) to create a reasonably complete picture of the past? Have we made a substantial inquiry into the long and short-term consequences of past events?
Breadth	Examining assertions and ideas from multiple perspectives enhances our understanding and is essential to historical thinking. To be broad-minded is to value perspectives other than our own and to appreciate what might motivate those perspectives.	Does the inquiry into the past identify all who were involved or affected by the events, and are their perspectives and motives adequately represented? Have we considered the various schools of interpretation and their contributions to understanding the past? Have we taken into account the relevant views of other social studies disciplines—such as economics, geography, political science, sociology, and psychology—in understanding this issue?

Key Questions for Historians, cont.

Standard	General Description	Historical Thinking
Logic	Logic is concerned with making sense of something and ensuring that the reasoning that leads to our assertions is sound.	Are the narratives we have constructed and the conclusions we have come to aligned with credible and sufficient evidence? Are the claims made about the importance of an event reasonable given the nature of events and the human condition? Are these historical interpretations the most logical given the available evidence?
Significance	Significance asks the thinker to be sure thinking is directed towards the matters that command the greatest priority. Good historical thinking focuses on significant, rather than trivial, issues.	Does the inquiry focus on matters that can significantly impact the quality of human societies? Does the narrative adequately speak to the importance of the issues? Has the historian failed to recognize or utilize important information in coming to these conclusions?
Fairness	Fairness in thinking seeks to acknowledge the contribution of others, respect diverse perspectives, accurately report data, and disclose potential limitations or biases.	To what extent do we understand the potential biases of our sources, our perspectives, and our motives in research? Does our reporting fairly represent important relevant perspectives and sound alternative explanations? Is this historian biased in dealing with this issue, and if so, why?

Once students have an understanding of the elements of reasoning and intellectual standards, they can begin to practice evaluating a historian's reasoning using this template.

Evaluating a Historian's Reasoning

Once you understand how to analyze thinking (by targeting the elements of reasoning) and you understand the role of intellectual standards in the assessment of thought, you are in a position to evaluate any given historian's reasoning.

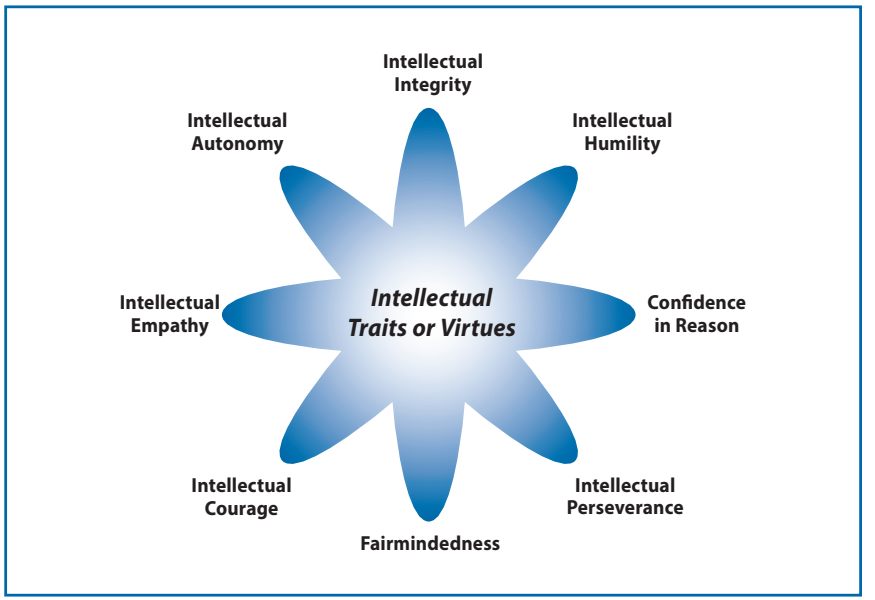
Here are some dimensions to consider:

1. Identify the historian's **purpose**: Is the purpose of the author well-stated or clearly implied? Is it justifiable?
2. Identify the key **question** that the written piece answers: Is the question at issue well-stated (or clearly implied)? Is it clear and unbiased? Does the expression of the question do justice to the complexity of the matter at issue? Are the question and purpose directly relevant to each other?
3. Identify the most important **information** presented by the historian: Does the writer cite relevant evidence, experiences, and/or information essential to the issue? Is the information accurate and directly relevant to the question at issue? Does the writer address the complexities of the issue?
4. Identify the most fundamental **concepts** at the heart of the historian's reasoning: Does the writer clarify key ideas when necessary? Are the ideas used justifiably?
5. Identify the historian's **assumptions**: Does the writer show a sensitivity to what he or she is taking for granted or assuming (insofar as those assumptions might reasonably be questioned)? Or does the writer use questionable assumptions without addressing problems inherent in those assumptions?
6. Identify the most important **inferences** or conclusions in the written piece: Do the inferences and conclusions made by the historian clearly follow from the information relevant to the issue, or does the author jump to unjustifiable conclusions? Does the historian consider alternative conclusions where the issue is complex? In other words, does the historian use a sound line of reasoning to come to logical conclusions, or can you identify flaws in the reasoning somewhere?
7. Identify the historian's **point of view**: Is the historian clear about his or her own philosophy of history? Does the historian show a sensitivity to alternative, relevant points of view or lines of reasoning? Does he or she consider and respond to objections framed from other relevant points of view?
8. Identify **implications**: Does the historian display a sensitivity to the implications and consequences of the position he or she is taking?

Essential Idea: Historical thinking can and should be evaluated by applying intellectual standards to the elements of historical thought.

Intellectual Traits Essential to Historical Thinking

Intellectual traits or virtues refer to one's character, to one's general approach to thinking; they reflect attitudes, values, and personal beliefs about thinking and embody how disciplined thinkers approach their work, their relationships, and their problems. Critical thinking is fully achieved when the intellect is liberated from egocentric, sociocentric, ethnocentric, and myopic views and assumptions. These naturally occurring phenomena represent significant barriers to the development of intellectual virtues. Paul and Elder (2006)[40] identify eight intellectual traits that represent dispositions essential to cultivating fairminded critical thinking:



The historian values these virtues for two distinct reasons. First, the historian as a scholar is responsible for creating sound narratives of the past and improving methods of historical inquiry, both of which require intellectual virtues. Second, as an instructor, the historian is obligated to orchestrate student understanding of history and to develop in students the scholarly skills required for historical research, both of which also require the fostering of intellectual characteristics or virtues.

The historian cannot claim to be perfectly neutral in his or her narratives about the past. The events of previous eras contain stories that often evoke empathy and arouse passions. It is natural for the historian to feel angry about the plight of the hated and oppressed, or to feel elated about the achievements of science and engineering; and

yet, the historian is obligated to create narratives that are fair, accurate, logical and comprehensive. Historians must examine how they see the past, how their values and attitudes affect their worldview, how even subtle biases and lacunae may influence the quality of their work. To guard against intellectual arrogance, closedmindedness, intellectual hypocrisy, intellectual cowardice and other intrinsic problems in reasoning that emerge from native egocentric and sociocentric thought, historians must cultivate intellectual traits within their own minds. Let us consider some of these intellectual traits or virtues and how they relate to historical thought:

Intellectual Humility is knowledge of your own ignorance, as well as sensitivity to what you do and do not know. It implies being aware of your biases, prejudices, self-deceptive tendencies, and the limitations of your viewpoint and experience.

Intellectual humility is essential to high-quality historical thought. Historians are usually not eyewitnesses to the events they report, and so should recognize the limits of what they can reasonably infer given their lack of first-hand information. The historian's ability to accurately represent the past is also limited by the fact that he or she cannot completely enter the minds of others to discern motives and attitudes that have shaped human decisions and actions. Again, history is not a science; it requires considerable interpretation. The historian with intellectual humility recognizes that better evidence may be forthcoming, or that people themselves may change their stories.

Questions that foster intellectual humility in historical research and composition include:

1. What do I actually know about the historical topic I am researching or writing about?
2. To what extent am I willing to consult experts on this topic; to what extent am I willing to read the works of scholars with an open mind?
3. Am I willing to seek from others critique of my historical writings?
5. To what extent do my prejudices, attitudes, or experiences influence my historical thinking?
6. To what extent do the beliefs I have uncritically accepted keep me from seeing these historical events in an unbiased way?
7. Am I open to looking at these historical events in new, more reasonable ways?
8. Am I aware of all the assumptions I have made about a given era, event, group, or person? Have I investigated the veracity of those assumptions?

Intellectual Courage is the disposition to question beliefs about which you feel strongly. It includes questioning the beliefs of your culture and any subculture to which you belong, and a willingness to express your views even when they are unpopular.

The path to the truth may lead historians to reveal unpleasant things about national, institutional, or personal conduct. The historian has confidence that an honest account of the past (when taken seriously) can help people appreciate the complexities within, and significance of, most important contemporary issues and problems. Thus, intellectual courage compels the historian to make assertions and raise questions that may not be popular, but are nonetheless important and relevant. Having intellectual courage also means the historian is willing to publicly admit error when an error is committed, and has hope that redirected investigations and new inquiries will improve the accuracy, fairness, and credibility of the work.

Questions that foster intellectual courage include:

1. To what extent am I aware of the implications of my perspective and the significance of the issues I am addressing?
2. To what extent might my perspective antagonize others, and to what extent am I prepared to maintain open dialogue?
3. To what extent am I willing to adhere to reasonable beliefs which others perceive to be unreasonable?
4. Do I have the courage to give up my beliefs when sufficient evidence is presented against them?
5. To what extent am I willing to stand my ground against the majority (even though people ridicule me)?

The historian understands that institutional memories are often made to buttress public support for institutions and for the nation that bore them (rather than to present things as they are).

Intellectual Empathy is awareness of the need to actively entertain views that differ from your own, especially those with which you strongly disagree. It entails accurately reconstructing the viewpoints and reasoning of your opponents as well as reasoning from premises, assumptions, and ideas other than your own. This trait also correlates with the willingness to remember occasions when you were wrong in the past despite an intense conviction that you were right, and with the ability to imagine your being similarly deceived in a case-at-hand.

Historians may be tempted to judge those of the past using standards of the present. Intellectual empathy entails refraining from judging the past according to today's social mores, conventions, and taboos. Further, intellectual empathy compels the historian to fairly represent the past by providing readers with a comprehensive understanding of the context in which events took place. The historian hopes to cultivate intellectual empathy in others by inviting people to deeply consider the ethical, social, political, environmental, and economic impact of human activity in a given context. The historian understands that institutional memories are often made to buttress public support for institutions and for the nation that bore them (rather

than to present things as they are). Thus, the historian shows concern for those who may not have been well-served by the vested interests of those in positions of power.

Questions that foster intellectual empathy include:

1. To what extent do I accurately represent viewpoints I disagree with in my historical writings?
2. Can I see insights in the views of those I disagree with, and prejudices in those I agree with?
3. Do I sympathize with the feelings of those people I write about who hold views that differ from my own?
4. To what extent do I understand the historical context of those who are the subject of my research and writing?
5. To what extent has my work faithfully represented the concerns, values, beliefs, and attitudes of those who are the subject of my research and writing?

Intellectual Autonomy is thinking for yourself while adhering to standards of rationality. It means thinking through issues using skilled, disciplined thought rather than uncritically accepting the viewpoints, opinions, and judgments of others. It entails a commitment to analyzing and evaluating beliefs on the basis of reason and evidence, to questioning when it is rational to question, to believing when it is rational to believe, and to agreeing when it is rational to agree.

Skilled historians are mindful of the cadre of experts required to create comprehensive, fair, and accurate narratives; but they also recognize that scholarship in history is highly dependent upon autonomous thinking that often leads to new and important insights about the past. Historians are challenged to carefully examine primary resources and evidence for themselves, and to lend their endorsement of views and assertions based on the merits and soundness of evidence—not on popularity. Historians who blindly conform to prevailing attitudes and opinions about the past risk reinforcing false claims and misinformed beliefs about institutions, groups, and individuals.

Questions that foster intellectual autonomy in historical thinking include:

1. To what extent do I tend to blindly conform to traditional historical views?
2. To what extent have I studied the primary sources on a given issue, rather than relying solely on the readings of others to form my understanding of the topic?
3. To what extent am I aware of prevailing interpretations of the past, and what has caused their popularity?

4. To what extent am I aware of what constitutes rational dissent in the field, and of what motivates my peers to discredit dissenting views?
5. Having thought through a historical issue from a rational perspective, am I willing to stand alone despite irrational criticism by other historians?

Intellectual Integrity consists in holding yourself to the same intellectual standards you expect others to honor (no double standards).

Consistency of thought and faithful adherence to intellectual standards are germane to the historian's scholarly work. Historians of integrity are honest about their assumptions and biases; they strive to achieve awareness of inconsistencies, omissions, and limitations in their investigations and understanding. The scholarly historian knows that the past can be interpreted in a variety of ways and thus dutifully explores credible, competing opinions to render a historical narrative as completely and truthfully as possible. At times, historians are asked to write narratives that fit neatly into the ideologies of a culture, though such narratives may not adhere to intellectual standards (but instead indoctrinate readers into unconditional loyalty and "reverence" for their nation). When historians adjust their text to suit a particular social or political agenda, their historical narratives can easily become propaganda; they display a lack of intellectual integrity.

When historians adjust their text to suit a particular social or political agenda, their historical narratives can easily become propaganda; they display a lack of intellectual integrity.

Questions that foster intellectual integrity include:

1. To what extent are there contradictions or inconsistencies in my work?
2. To what extent does my work reflect consistency in its presentation of facts, evidence, and information to support assertions?
3. How well does my work reveal important contradictions and inconsistencies found in historical accounts, and how effectively do I account for these contradictions and inconsistencies?
4. In what ways does my work represent a well-integrated view of the past wherein the complexities of historical issues are effectively illuminated?
5. To what extent do I attempt to reduce the influence of my own self-deception on my work?

Intellectual Perseverance is the disposition to work your way through intellectual complexities despite frustrations inherent in the task. It includes a sense of the need

to struggle with confusion and unsettled questions over an extended period of time to achieve deeper understanding or insight.

The historian is often tasked with constructing narratives and interpretations of the past using scarce resources. In addition, the historian acknowledges that sources often have vested interests in representing their causes or experiences in a favorable light, or in representing others in an unfavorable way. Sometimes, evidence has been lost to time or deliberately destroyed, which compels the historian to approach the truth from alternative avenues. The historian knows that he or she might read volumes on a single subject and still not have all the facts. The perseverant historian retains an intense interest to learn more, despite the inevitable obstacles to accessing information. Such a historian also understands that the significance and meaning of events often do not emerge until generations have passed, and so is persistent in reviewing his or her own work in light of newly available information.

Questions that foster intellectual perseverance include:

1. Am I patient enough to wade through the density of sources on a given topic?
2. Do I resist the temptation to advance opinions and conclusions before I have carefully examined all the evidence?
3. To what extent have I developed a systematic approach to accessing, and examining, information that is difficult to obtain and comprehend?
4. Am I able to review my own work and persistently detect areas where further facts and information might yield a more accurate or logical narrative?
5. Am I willing to work my way through complexities in historical issues, or do I tend to give up when challenged?

Confidence in Reason is based on the belief that your own higher interests and those of humankind at large are best served by giving the freest play to reason. It means using standards of reasonability as the fundamental criteria by which to judge whether to accept or reject any proposition or position. It entails the belief that—with proper encouragement and cultivation—people can learn to think for themselves, to form rational viewpoints, draw reasonable conclusions, think coherently and logically, persuade each other by reason, and become reasonable persons despite the barriers to good reasoning inherent in human thought (namely egocentric and sociocentric thought).

Historians may at times be tempted to distort the truth to make a point. When this happens, such historians may imply that readers cannot be counted on to use reasoned judgment in thinking through historical issues. Further, the point of view from which the historian is reasoning may cloud her or his judgment. It is essential for historians to embody confidence in reason, to give the freest play to reason in their narratives

and books. Historians should encourage people to reason through historical issues for themselves, to think through complexities in historical issues, and to decide for themselves how it makes most sense to characterize events of the past.

It is essential for historians to embody confidence in reason, to give the freest play to reason in their narratives.

Questions that foster confidence in reason include:

1. Have I sufficiently clarified for myself the rationale for pursing a line of thinking, and do I have compelling evidence for my claims?
2. Do I adhere to evidence and logical assertions when persuading others of my position, or do I distort matters to support my position?
3. Do I encourage others to come to their own historical conclusions, or do I try to coerce agreement?
4. To what extent do I respect the rights of others to rationally dissent?

Fairmindedness entails being aware of the need to treat all viewpoints alike, without reference to your own feelings or interests, or the feelings or interests of your friends, community or nation. It means adhering to intellectual standards without reference to your own advantage or the advantage of your group.

The fairminded historian respects the diversity of reasonable perspectives, the concerns of all stakeholders in story-telling about the past, and the scope of logical interpretations. The fairminded historian understands the perspectives of the varied historical schools of thought. The fairminded historian is attentive to traditionally well-represented voices of the past, while seeking the voices of those who have not been represented in the narrative so that the most comprehensive picture of the past might emerge. The fairminded historian understands that the selection of words used in a narrative can convey values, and so takes care to articulate narratives objectively.

Questions that foster fairmindedness include:

1. Have I honestly considered all viewpoints relevant to this historical issue?
2. Am I honest about my own biases in dealing with this historical narrative?
3. Am I honest about my own biases concerning the nature of human civilization and the human condition?
4. Am I honest about my own biases concerning social rules, customs, and taboos which may affect how I deal with particular historical issues?

5. Have I adequately defined my own philosophies of history so I can readily see where my beliefs are likely to influence my research and composition?
6. To what extent am I aware of how my construction of the past may benefit or cause harm to others?

The fairminded historian is attentive to traditionally well-represented voices of the past, while seeking the voices of those who have not been represented in the narrative so that the most comprehensive picture of the past might emerge.

The concepts and principles implicit in fairminded critical thinking—the elements of reasoning, the intellectual standards, and the intellectual traits, understood in relationship with one another—will help you think historically in the highest sense of the term, if taken seriously. Put another way, historical thinkers concerned with fairminded critical thought routinely apply intellectual standards to the elements of thought as they seek to develop intellectual virtues.

PART THREE: Fostering Historical Thinking: Implications for Teaching and Learning

Now that we have introduced some important theoretical understandings in history, as well as the relationship between critical thinking and history, we will turn to some important implications for teaching and learning.[F]

Grade Profiles for History

These grade profiles should be given to students at the beginning of the semester during the introductory phase, so students know precisely what is expected of them.[G] All activities and discussions in the history class should lead to students becoming more proficient in historical thinking, and therefore ever closer to the "Grade of A" profile in their work. When instructors explicitly foster critical thinking within history, through understanding and routinely applying of the elements of thought and intellectual standards, students become more proficient in historical thinking. And they develop explicit intellectual tools that will help them reason better in their other classes as well as in other domains of thought.

What Each Grade Represents

The Grade of A

(The essence of A-level work: excellence overall, no major weaknesses.) A-level work implies excellence in historical thinking and excellent performance within the history course. It also implies development of a range of historical knowledge acquired through critical thought. The work at the end of the course is, on the whole, clear, precise, and well-reasoned. In A-level work, historical terms and distinctions are used effectively. The work demonstrates a mind beginning to take charge of its own historical ideas, assumptions, inferences, and intellectual processes. The A-level student usually analyzes historical issues clearly and precisely, usually identifies historical information accurately, usually distinguishes the relevant from the irrelevant, and usually recognizes key questionable historical assumptions. The student usually clarifies key historical concepts, typically uses language in keeping with educated usage, and usually identifies relevant competing points of view in

F For more general critical thinking instructional strategies, see *The Thinker's Guide to How to Improve Student Learning* by Richard Paul and Linda Elder, 2010, Dillon Beach, CA: Foundation for Critical Thinking Press.

G These grade profiles are also found in *The Student Guide to Historical Thinking* by Linda Elder, Meg Gorzycki, and Richard Paul (2011), Tomales, CA: Foundation for Critical Thinking Press.

history. The student shows a general tendency to reason carefully from clearly stated premises, as well as noticeable sensitivity to important historical implications and consequences. The A-level student also demonstrates an accurate understanding of historiography and the various schools of historical thought. The A-level student consistently and proficiently links causes and effects by using accurate and relevant evidence and commentary. This student readily detects contextual variables that impacted past events and easily recognizes trends, patterns, and exceptions in the human experience. A-level work displays excellent historical reasoning and problem-solving skills. The A-level student's work is consistently at a high level of intellectual excellence.

The Grade of B

(The essence of B-level work is that it demonstrates more strengths than weaknesses and is more consistent in high level performance than C-level work. It nevertheless has some distinctive weaknesses, though no major ones.) The grade of B implies sound historical thinking and sound performance within the history course. It also implies development of a range of historical knowledge acquired through critical thought, though this range is not as high as A-level work. B-level work at the end of the course is, on the whole, clear, precise, and well-reasoned, though with occasional lapses into weak reasoning. On the whole, historical terms and distinctions are used effectively. The work demonstrates a mind beginning to take charge of its own ideas, assumptions, inferences, and intellectual processes. The student often analyzes historical issues clearly and precisely, often identifies historical information accurately, usually distinguishes the relevant from the irrelevant, often recognizes key questionable assumptions, usually clarifies key concepts effectively, and typically uses language in keeping with educated usage. The student frequently identifies relevant competing points of view within history and shows a general tendency to reason carefully from clearly stated premises, as well as noticeable sensitivity to important historical implications and consequences. The B-level student understands historiography but is sometimes inconsistent in his or her ability to identify perspectives of various schools of thought. Though the student has a sound grasp of the role of context in historical analysis, he or she sometimes overlooks subtle cause-effect relationships, trends, patterns, and exceptions in human experience. B-level work displays good historical reasoning and problem-solving skills.

The Grade of C

(The essence of C-level work is that it demonstrates more than a minimal level of skill, but it is also highly inconsistent, with as many weaknesses as strengths.) The grade of C implies mixed historical thinking and mixed performance within the history course. It also implies some development of historical knowledge acquired

through critical thought. C-level work at the end of the course shows some emerging historical thinking skills, but also pronounced weaknesses. Though some historical assignments are reasonably well done, others are poorly done, or at best are mediocre. There are more than occasional lapses in historical reasoning. Though historical terms and distinctions are sometimes used effectively, they are sometimes used quite ineffectively. Only on occasion does C-level work display a mind taking charge of its own ideas, assumptions, inferences, and intellectual processes. Only occasionally does C-level work display intellectual discipline and clarity. The C-level student only occasionally analyzes historical issues clearly and precisely, identifies information accurately, distinguishes the relevant from the irrelevant, or recognizes key questionable assumptions. The student only occasionally clarifies key historical concepts effectively or uses language in keeping with educated usage. The student only occasionally identifies relevant competing points of view within history, reasons carefully from clearly stated premises, or recognizes important historical implications and consequences. Sometimes the C-level student seems to be simply going through the motions of the assignment, carrying out the form without getting into the spirit of historical thinking. The C-level student can identify elements of historiography but struggles to apply them and has difficulty detecting the schools of historical thought embodied in historical narratives. This student can see blatant cause-effect relationships, but struggles with the subtle relationships, as well as with transferring this concept from the study of one era to that of another. Patterns, trends, and exceptions do not readily emerge in the C-level student's reading, and so history is yet conceptualized as a chronology of events. On the whole, C-level work shows only modest and inconsistent historical reasoning and problem-solving skills, and sometimes displays weak historical reasoning and problem-solving skills.

The Grade of D

(The essence of D-Level work is that it demonstrates only a minimal level of understanding and skill in history.) The grade of D implies poor historical thinking and performance within the history course. On the whole, the student tries to get through the course by means of rote recall, attempting to acquire knowledge by memorization rather than through comprehension and understanding. On the whole, the student is not developing the skills of thought and knowledge requisite to understanding history. Most assignments are poorly done. There is little evidence that the student is critically reasoning through assignments. Often, the student seems to be merely going through the motions of the assignment, carrying out the form without getting into the spirit of it. D-level work rarely shows any effort to take charge of ideas, assumptions, inferences, and intellectual processes. In general, D-level thinking lacks discipline and clarity. In D-level work, the student rarely analyzes historical issues clearly and precisely, almost never identifies historical information accurately, rarely distinguishes the relevant from the irrelevant, and

rarely recognizes key questionable assumptions. The student almost never clarifies key historical concepts effectively, frequently fails to use language in keeping with educated usage, only rarely identifies relevant competing points of view, and almost never reasons carefully from clearly stated premises, or recognizes important implications and consequences. The D-level student does not understand the concept of historiography or schools of historical thought. This student tends to see events as isolated episodes which have no bearing on the present and no need for analysis as the events seem to "speak for themselves." D-level work does not show good historical reasoning or problem-solving skills, and frequently displays poor historical reasoning and problem-solving skills.

The Grade of F

(The essence of F-level work is that the student demonstrates a pattern of unskilled thinking and/or fails to do the required work of the course.) The student tries to get through the course by means of rote recall, attempting to acquire knowledge by memorization rather than through comprehension and understanding. The student is not developing the skills of historical thought, nor the historical knowledge requisite to understanding course content. The F-level student is unable to construct accurate chronologies, or accurately identify key documents and persons of interest relevant to historical questions. Here are typical characteristics of the work of an F-level student: The student does not understand the basic nature of what it means to think historically, and in any case does not display the thinking skills and abilities at the heart of the history course. The work at the end of the course is as vague, imprecise, and unreasoned as it was in the beginning. There is little evidence that the student is genuinely engaged in the task of taking charge of his or her historical thinking. Many assignments appear to have been done pro forma—the student simply going through the motions without really putting any significant effort into thinking his or her way through them. Consequently, the student is not analyzing historical issues clearly, not identifying historical information accurately, not accurately distinguishing the relevant from the irrelevant, and not identifying key questionable assumptions. The student is not clarifying key historical concepts, identifying relevant competing historical points of view, reasoning carefully from clearly stated premises, or tracing historical implications and consequences. The F-level student does not understand historiography and tends to believe that while history can be interpreted, interpretations are legitimate by virtue of the individual's right to free speech and not whether they are based in critical thought. The student's work does not display discernible historical reasoning or problem-solving skills.

Analyzing & Assessing Historical Research

Students and instructors can use this template to assess the quality of any historical research project or paper. Students can use it to assess the research of historians as well as their own historical research. Instructors can use it to assess any historian's research, their own historical research, or students' historical research.

1) All historical research has a fundamental **PURPOSE** and goal.
   - Research purposes and goals should be clearly stated.
   - Related purposes should be explicitly distinguished.
   - All segments of the research should be relevant to the purpose.
   - All research purposes should be realistic and significant.

2) All historical research addresses a fundamental **QUESTION**, problem or issue.
   - The fundamental question at issue should be clearly and precisely stated.
   - Related questions should be articulated and distinguished.
   - All segments of the research should be relevant to the central question.
   - All research questions should be realistic and significant.
   - All research questions should define clearly stated intellectual tasks that, being fulfilled, settle the questions.

3) All historical research identifies data, **INFORMATION**, and evidence relevant to its fundamental question and purpose.
   - All information used should be clear, accurate, and relevant to the fundamental question at issue.
   - Information gathered must be sufficient to settle the question at issue.
   - Information contrary to the main conclusions of the research should be explained.

4) All historical research contains **INFERENCES** or interpretations by which conclusions are drawn.
   - All conclusions should be clear, accurate, and relevant to the key question at issue.
   - Conclusions drawn should not go beyond what the data imply.
   - Conclusions should be consistent and reconcile discrepancies in the data.
   - Conclusions should explain how the key questions at issue have been settled.

5) All historical research is conducted from some **POINT OF VIEW** or frame of reference.
   - All points of view in the research should be identified.
   - Objections from competing points of view should be identified and fairly addressed.

6) All historical research is based on **ASSUMPTIONS**.
   - Clearly identify and assess major assumptions in the research.
   - Explain how the assumptions shape the point of view of the research.

7) All historical research is expressed through, and shaped by, **CONCEPTS** and ideas.
   - Assess for clarity the key concepts in the research.
   - Assess the significance of the key concepts in the research.

8) All historical research leads somewhere (i.e., has **IMPLICATIONS** and consequences).
   - Trace the implications and consequences that follow from the research.
   - Search for negative as well as positive implications.
   - Consider all significant implications and consequences.

Analyzing the Logic of a Historical Article, Essay or Chapter

One important way to understand an essay, article or chapter is through the analysis of the parts of the historian's reasoning. Once you have done this, you can evaluate the historian's reasoning using intellectual standards (see pages 41-43).

Here is a template to follow:

1) The main **purpose** of this article is _____.
(Here you are trying to state, as accurately as possible, the historian's intent in writing the article. What was the author trying to accomplish?)

2) The key **question** that the historian is addressing is _____.
(Your goal is to figure out the key question in the mind of the author when he or she wrote the article. What was the key question addressed in the article?)

3) The most important **information** in this article is _____.
(You want to identify the key information the historian used, or presupposed, in the article to support his/her main arguments. Here you are looking for facts, experiences, and/or data the author used to support his or her conclusions.)

4) The main **inferences** in this article are _____.
(You want to identify the most important conclusions the historian comes to and presents in the article).

5) The key **concept**(s) we need to understand in this article is (are) _____.
By these concepts the historian means _____.
(To identify these ideas, ask yourself: What are the most important ideas that you would have to know to understand the historian's line of reasoning? Then briefly elaborate what the historian means by these ideas.) See p. 32-33 for some of the key concepts historians often use in their reasoning.

6) The main **assumption**(s) underlying the historian's thinking is (are) _____ .
(Ask yourself: What is the historian taking for granted [that might be questioned]? The assumptions are generalizations that the historian does not think he or she has to defend in the context of writing the article, and they are usually unstated. This is where the historian's thinking logically begins.)

7a) If we accept this line of reasoning (completely or partially), some important **implications** are _____.
(What important consequences are likely to follow if people take the historian's line of reasoning seriously? Here you are to pursue the logical implications of the author's position. You should include implications that the historian states, as well as those that the historian does not state.)

7b) If we fail to accept this line of reasoning, some important **implications** are _____.
(What important consequences are likely to follow if people ignore the historian's reasoning?)

8) The main **point(s) of view** presented in this article is (are) _____.
(The main question you are trying to answer here is: What is the historian looking at, and how is he or she seeing it? For example, in this thinker's guide, we are looking at "history" and seeing it as "an integrated system of understandings about the past that must be reasoned through using the tools of critical thinking.").

If you truly understand these structures as they interrelate in an article, essay or chapter, you should be able to accurately analyze and then empathically role-play the thinking of the historian.

Be aware: It is possible to use the basic structures of thinking to analyze articles, essays, and chapters. This analysis will deepen one's insight into the author's historical reasoning.

A Checklist for Historical Reasoning

1) All historical reasoning has a **PURPOSE**.
   - Can you state your purpose clearly?
   - What is the objective of your historical reasoning?
   - Does your reasoning stay focused on your historical goal?
   - Is your goal realistic?

2) All historical reasoning is an attempt to figure something out, to settle some **QUESTION**, or to solve some **PROBLEM**.
   - What historical question are you trying to answer?
   - Are there other ways to think about the question?
   - Can you divide the question into sub-questions?
   - Is this a question that has one right answer or can there be more than one reasonable answer?
   - Does this question require historical judgment rather than facts alone?

3) All historical reasoning is based on **ASSUMPTIONS**.
   - What assumptions are you making? Are they justified?
   - How are your assumptions shaping your point of view?
   - Which of your assumptions might reasonably be questioned?

4) All historical reasoning is done from some **POINT OF VIEW**.
   - What is your point of view? What insights is it based on? What are its weaknesses?
   - What other points of view should be considered in reasoning through this problem? What are the strengths and weaknesses of these viewpoints? Are you fairmindedly considering the insights behind these viewpoints?

5) All historical reasoning is based on **DATA**, **INFORMATION**, and **EVIDENCE**.
   - To what extent is your reasoning supported by relevant data?
   - Do the data suggest explanations that differ from those you have given?
   - How clear, accurate, and relevant are the data to the historical question at issue?
   - Have you gathered data sufficient to reach a valid conclusion?

6) All historical reasoning is expressed through, and shaped by, **CONCEPTS** and **THEORIES**.
   - What key concepts and theories are guiding your historical reasoning?
   - What alternative explanations might be possible, given these concepts and theories?
   - Are you clear and precise in using historical concepts and theories in your reasoning?
   - Are you distorting ideas to fit your agenda?

7) All historical reasoning contains **INFERENCES** or **INTERPRETATIONS** by which we draw **CONCLUSIONS** and give meaning to data.
   - To what extent do the data support your historical conclusions?
   - Are your inferences consistent with each other?
   - Are there other reasonable inferences that should be considered?

8) All historical reasoning leads somewhere, that is, has **IMPLICATIONS** and **CONSEQUENCES**.
   - What implications and consequences follow from your reasoning?
   - If we accept your line of reasoning, what implications or consequences are likely?
   - What other implications or consequences are possible or probable?

Instructional Strategies That Foster Historical Thinking

The following six exercises represent instructional strategies that foster critical thinking in history. Each exercise offers an objective that identifies the specific components of critical thought targeted in the activities. These exercises can be modified in any number of ways for different purposes and using different content. They can also be modified for different levels of student ability. Thus the idea is to exemplify the types of activities that can be used to foster historical thinking. In this section, all elements of reasoning are placed in bold font, while intellectual standards are placed in italics.

Instructional Strategy One: Three Textbooks and a War

Objective

The objective of this exercise is to improve students' awareness of the fact that historical narratives are written with diverse ***purposes*** from diverse ***perspectives***. It will also acquaint students with the key **questions** historians ask about their sources to ascertain *credibility* and *accuracy*.

Outcomes

1. Students will identify the variables that shape the quality of a historical narrative with particular attention to these elements of thought—**purpose, perspective, assumptions,** and **information**, as well as to these intellectual standards—*accuracy, clarity, breadth, fairness,* and *depth*.
2. Students will review a historical narrative, identify its main **ideas**, and evaluate the merit of the narrative (using intellectual standards).
3. Students will compare and contrast various narratives, identify variations in them, and explore and discuss the *accuracy*, *significance*, meaning, and *important* **implications of each**.
4. Students will develop a protocol for assessing the *value* and *veracity* of historical narratives that can be applied to their reading of diverse sources.

The Lesson

The instructor will generate three different narratives on a single historical topic and present them to students as parts of essays composed by three different authors. The topic in this example is the origins of the Cold War. Each student in the class will receive a narrative under the impression that all students are getting the same narrative. The

instructor, however, has taken care to see that the three different narratives are shuffled and that students will not necessarily be reading the same material. The instructor will direct students to read the narrative quietly and, when finished, respond to three questions on paper for subsequent discussion:

- What was the Cold War and why was it important?
- What were the origins or causes of the Cold War?
- Who are the experts the author cites to lend credibility to his or her conclusions?

After students have read and completed their responses, the instructor will systematically ask students to offer their answers to the questions above. By the time students get mid-way through the second set of questions, it should become clear that students are not in agreement with each other. When the instructor presses the students to explain or justify their remarks, the instructor will ask students about the author's sources. It should become immediately clear at that time that students read different essays on a single subject.

The lesson continues by prompting students to explore the issue, which is the origin of the Cold War in this case, and to compare and contrast the narratives. This activity should lead to a discussion focused on what students need to know about the author to understand the perspective, purpose and implications of the narrative. Students also should develop questions about the event that are not addressed in the narrative, so they can begin to see the complexity of the issue and create a framework for further investigation. The point of the lesson was not so much to introduce students to the matter of Cold War origins, but to help them understand why it is important for historians to think thoroughly about the documents they read, how to read these documents more proficiently, and how and when to look for competing views.

The following three documents are the narratives for this exercise. Please note that while the sources are authentic, the essays are not extracted from published scholarly works.

Cold War Origins A

The Cold War was a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union which lasted from 1945-1991. The conflict was characterized by competition between communism and capitalism for world domination, and by hostility between those who embraced totalitarianism and those who favored democracy. During the Cold War, competition between the United States and the Soviet Union was manifested in the arms race, the space race, and wars in which each superpower sided with a third party to fight each other indirectly. The Cold War was a deadly but necessary response to communism, in which the free world was morally obligated to protect vulnerable nations against totalitarianism and ruin. (Halle, 1967)

The Cold War began as a response to Soviet aggression following World War II. Though the United States and the Soviet Union were allies in the war, Joseph Stalin—the General Secretary and dictator of the Soviet Union—rejected the principles of the Atlantic Charter, which defined the terms and purposes of Anglo-American war against the Axis powers and which asserted that neither the United States nor Great Britain would use the war to expand their territories. The Soviet army, however, had driven Germany from Eastern Europe and Stalin took advantage of this by establishing communism in Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and East Germany. Between 1945 and 1948, as the Soviets sealed the Eastern Bloc nations off from the rest of the world, it was clear to western allies that the prediction Stalin had made in 1927 was indeed coming true; communists were initiating a new phase of conquest in the final struggle between communism and democracy. (Starobin, 1969)

The events of 1947-49 demonstrate that the Cold War originated from the desire of the United States to "demonstrate that freedom produces not merely guns, but the spiritual, intellectual and material richness that all men want." (Dulles, 1954) In February, 1947, Britain informed the United States that it was unable to finance global resistance against communist threats, which were already manifest in Italy, Greece, and Turkey. Stalin's Two Camp Speech of February, 1946 made plain the Soviet intention to crush capitalism, and so the United States had no alternative but to adopt the Truman Doctrine. In June, 1947, the United States announced the Marshall Plan, which would give billions of dollars to countries recovering from the war. The program helped European nations restore their urban and rural industries alike, and engendered good will to the United States.

In 1948, the Cold War intensified as the Soviet Union tried to prevent western allies from uniting and re-industrializing West Germany. The Soviets attempted to drive western allies from West Berlin by a blockade, to which the allies responded by air-lifting thousands of tons of food, supplies and fuel to Western Berliners. The Soviets lifted the block after a year, and to ensure its defense, the allies created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. By that time, the Soviet Union had secured its despotic grip on Eastern Europe and developed its own nuclear weapons. It was clear they had no intention of cooperating with their former war allies. (Nitze, 1990)

Dulles, John F. Policy for security and peace. Foreign Affairs, 32 (3), (April 1954), pp. 353-364.
Halle, Louis. The Cold War as History. NY: Harper and Row (1967).
Nitze, P. America: An honest broker. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 69, No. 4 (Fall, 1990), pp.1-14.
Starobin, Joseph R. Origins of the Cold War: The Communist dimension. Foreign Affairs, (July, 1969), p. 47.

Cold War Origins B

The Cold War was a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union which lasted from 1945-1991. The conflict has been represented as a clash between two ideologies, capitalism and communism, wherein the United States and the Soviet Union competed with each other for global control. The conflict produced an arms race, space race, and several wars in which each superpower supported opposite sides but rarely confronted each other face to face. The origins of the Cold War are complex, as tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union can be traced back to pre-World War II relations between Russia and the West which were influenced by Russia's isolationism, the West's animosity towards socialism, and Russia's enduring desire to protect itself from invasion by expansion. (Kennan, 1947)

Though the Soviet Union and the United States were allies against Germany in World War II, the relationship between them was often strained by their pre-war experiences. In 1918, for example, the United States sent troops into Russia to fight the Bolshevik army and to defend the Czar. Subsequently, the United States refused to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. The Soviets became convinced that the western allies were sympathetic to the Nazis as they did nothing to prevent Hitler from entering the Rhineland, annexing Austria, and taking Czechoslovakia. Thinking Hitler would respect Stalin's desire to obtain territory from the Baltic states as a buffer zone, he concluded the Nazi-Soviet Pact in August, 1939. By November, 1940, it became clear that Hitler would not support Stalin's vision of new western borders, and in June, 1941, the Soviets were compelled by the invasion of Nazi forces to ally themselves with Britain, France and the United States.

Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt had fought the war for different reasons. The United States and Britain had agreed in the Atlantic charter, 1941, they would not fight for expansion. The Soviet Union, however, made no such declaration. Stalin accepted the notion that great powers naturally controlled spheres of influence, and was thus distressed by The United States' opposition to his bid for the Baltic States. (Schlesinger, 1967) The Soviet Union also felt it was not treated as an equal partner in the fight against Hitler, as the western allies promised in 1942 to create a second front in the west to take pressure off of the Eastern Front, but did not do so until June, 1944. The Soviets also felt slighted when Britain and the United States unilaterally accepted Italy's surrender, but were later criticized for wanting to handle Bulgaria's capitulation to the allies on their own. (Ibid)

The Soviet Union pushed the Nazi army back to Germany's capital before the western Allies reached it, which meant its soldiers occupied land from Berlin to Sophia, and any attempt to establish indigenous and autonomous governments in those eastern European nations would have to reckon with them. At the Yalta Conference in 1945, Stalin promised that free elections would prevail in Poland, but between 1946 and 1948 the Soviets installed leaders in Eastern European nations who were aligned with Moscow—often

by way of force. The crucible of the Cold War was Berlin, which sat in the heart of Soviet occupied East Germany and was divided into four quarters by the United States, Great Britain, France, and the Soviet Union. The western allies called for the unification of the three occupied sectors of western Germany and refused to leave West Berlin despite Soviet demands to the contrary. As Germany had twice invaded Russia in the 20th century, the prospect of a unified and re-militarized Germany was intolerable to the Soviets. The western allies went forward with plans, however, to unify western Germany and help Europe build free market democracies with money from the Marshall Plan. This was very well received by the victims of war. (Gaddis, 1997). By 1949, Soviet-American relations entered a deep freeze, as the North American Treaty Organization had been formed to protect western allies against its enemies in the east.

_____

Gaddis, J. L. We now know: Re-thinking Cold War history. Oxford: Oxford University Press (1997).
Kennan, G. The sources of Soviet conduct. Foreign Affairs, vol. 26, No. 2; (July, 1947), pp. 556-582.
Schlesinger, A. Origins of the Cold War. Foreign Affairs, Vol. 46, No. 1 (Oct. 1967), pp.22-52.

Cold War Origins C

The Cold War was a conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union which lasted from 1945-1991. The rivalry between these nations was largely an ideological one that set free market democracy against communism. The conflict led to an arms race and several wars in which the Americans and Soviets fought each other through third-party armies. The Cold War has its roots in the early 20th century, as the United States sent soldiers to aid the Czar's army against the Bolsheviks in 1918 and refused to recognize the Soviet Union until 1933. The Cold War grew out of each superpower's suspicions that the other intended to gain hegemony over the world.

Though the United States and Soviet Union were allies in World War II, they did not share a common vision for its outcome. Having been invaded several times in their history by western nations, the Russians desired to create a buffer between themselves and Germany. The war offered the occasion to acquire the Baltic States and other Eastern European nations that stood between Moscow and Berlin. The western allies sought to defeat the Nazis, restore European borders, promote democracy, and renew business and trade on western terms. Western allies typically read the Soviet desire for national security as an excuse for the exportation of communism, and the Soviets typically interpreted Western promotion of free-market democracy as a smoke screen for the rich to exploit the working class; they held that since the United States had imposed hegemony over Latin America under the auspices of national interests, they too were justified in pursuing national interests in Eastern Europe. (Williams, 1959)

The Cold War took shape in the final months of the war and was firmly fixed in international relations by 1949. The United States made clear its desire to influence the shape of postwar Europe by accepting Italy's surrender in 1945 without Soviet input, and underscored its zeal for control by sending the CIA to Italy in 1948 where it circulated anti-communist propaganda and paid people to vote for Christian Democratic candidates. (Del Pero, 2001) Further, there was great anxiety about the terms of peace. The Soviet Union had lost approximately 27 million in the war, endured the occupation of over 100 million square miles of its country for nearly three years, and lost over 700 cities. By contrast, the United States had not been occupied and had lost about 350,000 in combat. The Soviets believed it was only fair to establish the Eastern Bloc as a prophylactic against future invasions. To complicate matters, following the Nazi's surrender to the Soviets, the Soviets anticipated they would join the United States in defeating Japan. This assistance was unnecessary however, as the United States used atomic bombs to force Japan's surrender. The fact that the United States had kept the atomic bomb a secret strengthened Soviet beliefs that the United States did not consider the Soviets as equals, but as adversaries. (Alperhovitz, 1965) Moreover, the fact that some Americans were openly calling for the Western Allies to turn against the Soviet Union and drive them out of eastern Europe engendered little Russian good will. (Hastings, 2010)

To a large extent, the Cold War was unavoidable, as the United States could not reconcile Soviet claims with its own agenda. The United States pursued a course of international diplomacy that espoused self-governance and liberty while supporting dictatorships in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. As the United States poured money into the re-building of Germany's industries as part of the Marshall Plan—and pursued its proliferation of nuclear weapons—the Soviet Union concluded that the West did not respect its vulnerability, nor was it sincere about compensating Russia for the great sacrifices it made to free the world of Nazi fascism.

Alperhovitz, G. Atomic Diplomacy. N.Y.: Simon and Schuster (1965).
Del Pero, M. The United States and "psychological warfare" in Italy, 1948-1955. The Journal of American History, Vol. 87, No. 4 (March, 2001), pp. 1304-1334.
Hastings, M. Winston's War. N.Y.: Alfred A. Knopf.
Williams, W. A. The tragedy of American diplomacy. N.Y.: W. W. Norton & Co. Inc. (1959).

Part One: First Written Assignment and Discussion for Three Textbooks and a War

Have students read their assigned essay. Then lead a discussion based on the questions in "The Lesson" (on p. 66):

- What was the Cold War and why was it important?
- What were the origins or causes of the Cold War?
- Which experts does the author cite to lend credibility to his or her conclusions?

Once students realize there are different essays, and you have briefly discussed the purpose of this part of the assignment, move to part two.

Part Two: Written Assignment for Three Textbooks and a War

Have students write out their understanding of the reasoning implicit in each essay. Use the template on pp. 62-63 for this purpose. Students should write three separate papers (each focused on one essay) for this assignment.

Part Three: Student Feedback on Papers for Three Textbooks and a War

After students have written out the logic of each essay (focusing on the elements of reasoning), place students in groups of three and have them each slowly read their papers aloud to their group members. The other two members of the group will give feedback to the student reading his or her paper. Students should give feedback using intellectual standards (see the section on intellectual standards). In other words, they should focus on *clarity, accuracy, logicalness, relevance, fairness, significance* and so on in giving feedback. After all students have read their papers and received feedback, they should choose the best paper of the three, again using intellectual standards to judge which paper is best. This might take several class sessions. Have students focus on one paper at a time, not all three of their papers at once, so they take turns reading and giving feedback.

Part Four: Discussion Questions for Three Textbooks and a War

After students have written out the logic of each article by focusing on the elements of reasoning, lead a Socratic discussion focused on the following questions (note that these questions are based primarily on the elements of reasoning, with some emphasis on intellectual standards):

1. What is the **purpose** of each essay and what is each author trying to accomplish?

2. What central **question** does each essay attempt to answer; what questions does this central question raise?

3. What key **information** does each author use; what is the relationship between the information and the purpose of each essay?
4. What additional **information** might be *relevant* and *useful*?
5. What *important* **information** is missing from each essay, and how might this impact the reader's understanding?
6. What are the *important* **inferences** or conclusions of each essay; are there reasonable alternative conclusions (other than those the author comes to)?
7. What are the key **concepts** used in these essays? In other words, what are the main ideas in each essay?
8. What key **assumptions** does the author of each essay make about past events and the people who were involved? In other words, what does the author take for granted?
9. What are some *important* **implications** of each essay? What impact might each essay have on the attitudes and beliefs of readers?
10. From which **points of view** does each author examine the subject? Are there other *important* **perspectives** *relevant* to the issue that should be considered?
11. What does this exercise teach about how to understand what people say and what they write about the past?

Some Things to Remember For Discussion About Three Textbooks and a War

a. Scholarly thinking about Cold War origins is represented by at least three schools of thought in the United States. The traditional or orthodox school champions the United States as the defender of peace, decency, and democracy. This view tends to blame the Soviet Union for hostilities and enumerate the abuses of communism without an objective assessment of the abuses of capitalism, and without a fair attempt to see the world from a Russian perspective. Leading scholars in this school include several who worked in the State Department or other government agencies during World War II and the subsequent Cold War, such as John Foster Dulles,[41] Paul Nitze,[42] Herbert Feis,[43] Louis Halle,[44] and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.[45]

b. A second school, the revisionist school, challenges orthodox conclusions that the United States' foreign policy was based only on altruism, democratic visions, and fair trade. Their work emerged in the late 1950s gaining considerable attention and credibility in the 1960s and 1970s. Revisionist scholars pointed to the role of the United States in international coups, such as Guatemala and Iran, and to the

war in Vietnam as evidence that the United States had a Cold War agenda that was not always transparent to the world, and did not always result in democracy or economic well-being for the masses. These writers include Gar Alperhovitz,[46] Gabriel and Joyce Kolko,[47] Carl Marzani,[48] and William Williams.[49]

c. The post-revisionists represent a synthesis of traditional and revisionist scholarship, blending the insights and addressing the concerns raised by both perspectives. Post revisionists began writing prior to the fall of the Soviet Union and the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe, and like scholars of all schools, they now have access to previously classified documents from both the United States and Soviet Union which enrich our knowledge about the Cold War and the motives of those behind key events. Post-revisionists include John Lewis Gaddis,[50] Robert Pollard,[51] Thomas Paterson,[52] Daniel Yergin,[53] and Melvyn Leffler.[54]

d. It is essential to remember that even within these schools of thought, there is variety and debate. The traditional perspective, for example, was embraced by Arthur Schlesinger and John Foster Dulles for different reasons; Schlesinger was staunchly dedicated to democratic principles, but he did not share Dulles' theological conviction that the U.S. was morally obligated to purge the world of communism. It is also true that while both Williams and Marzani were revisionists, Williams did not see the proletariat as the great harbinger of a new socialist world order, while Marzani embraced socialism.

e. As archival information becomes available, and as the long-range consequences of Cold War events manifest themselves globally, scholarly thinking on the topic is subject to change. Historians who think critically, therefore, routinely investigate assertions and cross-examine the testimony of scholars who have taken positions on the issues they are concerned with. Historians who think critically understand that fairly reporting the past will turn reader's attention to the complexities in historical issues; they understand that experts frequently disagree about the past, about primary sources, and about the significance of their findings.

Instructional Strategy Two: Document Detective with Primary Resource

Objectives

The purpose of the document detective exercise is to improve students' reading comprehension and critical thinking through content analysis targeting an author's **assumptions, perspective,** and use of **information,** as well as important **implications** of the author's assertions. Students will also deepen their understanding of **concepts,** and of how these **concepts** influence our understanding of history.

Outcomes

1. Students will identify the author and research the author's **purpose** for writing his or her compositions. Students will describe, in detail, the author's **perspective** as given in the written piece. Students will identify the source's main **assumptions** as well as **evidence** the author uses to support those assumptions.
2. Students will identify and define the key **concepts** referenced in this essay (including free trade, colonial expansion, industrial enterprise, savage, primitive tribes, decency, and prestige of the white man).
3. Students will identify the main assertions (**inferences**) of this essay and describe the **information** the author uses to justify these inferences.
4. Students will identify the key **assumptions** the author makes about his society and East African societies and discussed how these assumptions might be received in today's world and why.
5. Students will identify some *important* **implications** of the author's description of the world as it pertains to power and race.
6. Students will explore the degree to which the main assertions (**inferences**) in the text are *logical* and *fair*.
7. Students will examine the way the **concept** of "development" is used in this essay and the **assumptions** this use is based on.
8. Students will be able to articulate an author's assertions (**inferences**) and opinions and determine whether they are *logical* or *accurate*.
9. Students will be able to articulate how a historian might determine what impact an author's assertions or **perspective** had on the events of his or her own time.

The following excerpt is from a speech by Captain F. D. Lugard, who spoke in 1893 on the importance of Christian missionaries in Africa. Lugard, a British officer, made his remarks during the Gilded Age—an age of European industrialization and colonial expansion in Africa, India and the Far East. The United States was also rapidly industrializing at this time, having "settled the west" by displacing or killing

Native Americans and converting the territory west of the Mississippi River to farms, cattle ranches, mines, timber mills, and railroad networks. The United States had also secured its hegemony over Latin America and Hawaii, and sought to extend its influence in the Far East.

Students are to read and analyze the excerpt. Naturally, they will not be able to answer all the questions without conducting further inquiries, so part of the instructor's task is to alert students to this possibility and then to direct the inquiries with ample discussion.

Part One: Written Assignment for Document Detective

Have students write out their understanding of the reasoning implicit in the excerpt from Lugard's speech. Use the template on pp. 62-63 for this purpose.

Capt. F. D. Lugard: The Rise of Our East African Empire, 1893

It is sufficient to reiterate here that, as long as our policy is one of free trade, we are compelled to seek new markets; for old ones are being closed to us by hostile tariffs, and our great dependencies, which formerly were the consumers of our goods, are now becoming our commercial rivals. It is inherent in a great colonial and commercial empire like ours that we go forward or go backward. To allow other nations to develop new fields, and to refuse to do so ourselves, is to go backward; and this is the more deplorable, seeing that we have proved ourselves notably capable of dealing with native races and of developing new countries at a less expense than other nations. We owe to the instincts of colonial expansion of our ancestors those vast and noble dependencies which are our pride and the outlets of our trade today; and we are accountable to posterity that opportunities which now present themselves of extending the sphere of our industrial enterprise are not neglected, for the opportunities now offered will never recur again. Lord Rosebery in his speech at the Royal Colonial Institute expressed this in emphatic language: "We are engaged in 'pegging out claims' for the future. We have to consider, not what we want now, but what we shall want in the future. We have to consider what countries must be developed either by ourselves or some other nation. . . . Remember that the task of the statesman is not merely with the present, but with the future. We have to look forward beyond the chatter of platforms, and the passions of party, to the future of the race of which we are at present the trustees, and we should, in my opinion, grossly fail in the task that has been laid upon us did we shrink from responsibilities, and decline to take our share in a partition of the world which we have not forced on, but which has been forced upon us."…

A word as to missions in Africa. Beyond doubt I think the most useful missions are the medical and the industrial, in the initial stages of savage

development. A combination of the two is, in my opinion, an ideal mission. Such is the work of the Scotch Free Church on Lake Nyasa. The medical missionary begins work with every advantage. Throughout Africa the ideas of the cure of the body and of the soul are closely allied. The "medicine man" is credited, not only with a knowledge of the simples and drugs which may avert or cure disease, but owing to the superstitions of the people, he is also supposed to have a knowledge of the charms and dawa which will invoke the aid of the Deity or appease His wrath, and of the witchcraft and magic *(ulu)* by which success in war, immunity from danger, or a supply of rain may be obtained. As the skill of the European in medicine asserts its superiority over the crude methods of the medicine man, so does he in proportion gain an influence in his teaching of the great truths of Christianity. He teaches the savage where knowledge and art cease, how far natural remedies produce their effects, independent of charms or supernatural agencies, and where divine power overrules all human efforts. Such demonstration from a medicine man, whose skill they cannot fail to recognize as superior to their own, has naturally more weight than any mere preaching. A mere preacher is discounted and his zeal is not understood. The medical missionary, moreover, gains an admission to the houses and homes of the natives by virtue of his art, which would not be so readily accorded to another. He becomes their adviser and referee, and his counsels are substituted for the magic and witchcraft which retard development.

The value of the industrial mission, on the other hand, depends, of course, largely on the nature of the tribes among whom it is located. Its value can hardly be overestimated among such people as the Waganda, both on account of their natural aptitude and their eager desire to learn. But even the less advanced and more primitive tribes may be equally benefited, if not only mechanical and artisan work, such as the carpenter's and blacksmith's craft, but also the simpler expedients of agriculture are taught. The sinking of wells, the system of irrigation, the introduction and planting of useful trees, the use of manure, and of domestic animals for agricultural purposes, the improvement of his implements by the introduction of the primitive Indian plough, etc.—all of these, while improving the status of the native, will render his land more productive, and hence, by increasing his surplus products, will enable him to purchase from the trader the cloth which shall add to his decency, and the implements and household utensils which shall produce greater results for his labor and greater comforts in his social life.

In my view, moreover, instruction (religious or secular) is largely wasted upon adults, who are wedded to custom and prejudice. It is the rising generation who should be educated to a higher plane, by the establishment of schools for children. They, in turn, will send their children for instruction; and so a progressive advancement is instituted, which may produce really great results…

One word as regards missionaries themselves. The essential point in dealing with Africans is to establish a respect for the European. Upon

this—the prestige of the white man—depends his influence, often his very existence, in Africa. If he shows by his surroundings, by his assumption of superiority, that he is far above the native, he will be respected, and his influence will be proportionate to the superiority he assumes and bears out by his higher accomplishments and mode of life. In my opinion—at any rate with reference to Africa—it is the greatest possible mistake to suppose that a European can acquire a greater influence by adopting the mode of life of the natives. In effect, it is to lower himself to their plane, instead of elevating them to his. The sacrifice involved is wholly unappreciated, and the motive would be held by the savage to be poverty and lack of social status in his own country. The whole influence of the European in Africa is gained by this assertion of a superiority which commands the respect and excites the emulation of the savage. To forego this vantage ground is to lose influence for good. I may add, that the loss of prestige consequent on what I should term the humiliation of the European affects not merely the missionary himself, but is subversive of all efforts for secular administration, and may even invite insult, which may lead to disaster and bloodshed. To maintain it a missionary must, above all things, be a gentleman; for no one is more quick to recognize a real gentleman than the African savage. …

I am convinced that the indiscriminate application of such precepts as those contained in the words to turn the other cheek also to the smiter, and to be the servant of all men, is to wholly misunderstand and misapply the teaching of Christ. The African holds the position of a late-born child in the family of nations, and must as yet be schooled in the discipline of the nursery. He is neither the intelligent ideal crying out for instruction, and capable of appreciating the subtle beauties of Christian forbearance and self-sacrifice, which some well-meaning missionary literature would lead us to suppose, nor yet, on the other hand, is he universally a rampant cannibal, predestined by Providence to the yoke of the slave, and fitted for nothing better, as I have elsewhere seen him depicted. I hold rather with Longfellow's beautiful lines—

In all ages
Every human heart is human;
There are longings, yearnings, strivings
For the good they comprehend not.
That the feeble hands and helpless,
Groping blindly in the darkness,
Touch God's right hand in that darkness."

That is to say, that there is in him, like the rest of us, both good and bad, and that the innate good is capable of being developed by culture.

From: F. D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire*, (Edinburgh, 1893), I.585-587, II.69-75. Found at: Modern Sourcebook. Fordham University: http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1893lugard.html

Part Two: Student Feedback on Papers for Document Detective

After students have written out the logic of the speech (or excerpt) focusing on the elements of reasoning (see p. 30), place students in groups of three and have them each slowly read their papers aloud to their group members. The other two members of the group will give feedback to the student reading his or her paper. Students should give feedback using intellectual standards (see the section on intellectual standards). In other words, they should focus on *clarity, accuracy, logicalness, relevance, fairness, significance,* and so on in giving feedback. After all students have read their papers and received feedback, they should choose the best paper of the three, again using intellectual standards to judge which paper is best. This might take several class sessions.

Part Three: Discussion Questions for Document Detective

Lead a Socratic discussion focused on the following questions (note that these questions are based primarily on the elements of reasoning with some emphasis on intellectual standards):

1. What is the **purpose** of the speech?
2. What **questions** is the author trying to answer? What matter is the author trying to resolve?
3. What **information** does the author use? What evidence is offered to support the author's assertions (**inferences**)? What additional information might be *relevant* and *important*?
4. How did the author reach his or her conclusions (**inferences**)? What *reasonable* alternative conclusions might be drawn?
5. What are the main **concepts** used in the essay? What ideas are central to the discussion?
6. What **assumptions** does the author make? What conditions or realities might the author be taking for granted?
7. What are some *important* **implications** of this essay? What consequences might this essay lead to?
8. What is the author's **point of view**? What are some *important* alternative perspectives?

Discussion and Follow-up on Document Detective

This exercise can be modified for various ability levels—and through graduate studies. The instructor will want to consider the purpose of the exercise, the cognitive levels of the students who will conduct the analysis, the context in which the document is introduced, what criteria will define proficiency, how much time is appropriate for the exercise, and whether the exercise will generate a formative or summative evaluation of student work. It is important to remember that while the document has special meaning in the context of 19th century imperialism, the purpose of thinking critically about the article is to help students think deeply about it, rather than discredit it; it is to sharpen students' critical reading skills so they not only deepen their understanding of history, but think more consistently like a historian.

Once students demonstrate that they understand the context of the document, the purpose of the document, and the author's perspective, it may be possible to guide students through an evaluation of the author's ideas, to explore whether those ideas are still used in human societies (if so, why; if not, why not?).

Instructional Strategy Three: Compositions and Rubrics

Objective

Students will improve their ability to conceptualize, organize, and articulate their own historical research; they will learn how to use a rubric to guide their decisions as investigators and authors.

Outcomes

1. Students will conduct research on an assigned topic.
2. Students will submit their research and composition in stages to facilitate formative assessments of their progress. (Evaluating chunks of activities reinforces the value of process, and helps the instructor monitor understanding and skill level.)
3. Students will identify the elements of reasoning and intellectual standards in an assessment rubric; they will demonstrate their ability to link their work to these elements and standards; they will demonstrate their ability to assess their own work against the rubric.
4. Students will submit a final draft of their composition for a summative grade.

Discussion

Writing is a metacognitive exercise as the author must make critical decisions in the course of identifying the main points of discussion, organizing information, integrating and commenting on evidence for assertions, selecting appropriate words and phrases, and deciding how much depth and breadth is adequate for his or her purpose. Students can be introduced to concepts of critical thinking through writing exercises, and can practice critical thinking skills through segments of research and composition in an appropriate sequence for formative assessment as well as analysis. Students assigned tasks with multiple opportunities to evaluate and reflect upon their work should improve their critical thinking abilities by improving their awareness of how the elements of thought, and intellectual standards, factor into the choices they make as writers.[55] [56]

Rubrics are helpful tools for both students and instructors because they clearly identify the criteria that will be used to evaluate the quality of the composition, as well as benchmarks that represent the differences between and among exemplary, good, adequate, and low achievement. Rubrics are teaching ancillaries that, when introduced to the students as the assignment is presented, can stimulate meaningful conversation about the expectations for student work.[57] [58]

Each criteria of the rubric represents a particular task which can be assessed independently or as one of several parts of an assignment. While there are many generic rubrics that can be applied to many projects, it is vital for the instructor to ensure that

the rubric is aligned with the stated outcomes and expectations of a given assignment. No single rubric is right for all assignments. Instructors who design rubrics must allot sufficient time for instruction surrounding the assignment and use of the rubric. The following assignment is designed for grades 10-12 and beyond, and is accompanied by a rubric.

Composition Topic:

The achievements of, and problems in, the Song Dynasty.

Rubric Description and Considerations:

This exercise requires instructors to introduce the writing assignment with a complete set of outcomes and objectives. The introduction should also include the assessment rubric that clearly illustrates the elements of reasoning and intellectual standards and how these are aligned with the stated objectives and outcomes. In introducing the assignment, the instructor provides a clear rationale for the task, explicit descriptions of requirements, a plan of action that will help students structure and organize their time and work, a list of how to get assistance, and a clear set of deadlines. The clarity of the assignment and of expected outcomes may be enhanced by providing students samples from previous semesters, and/or by spending time in class comparing and contrasting similar assignments in order to identify specific strengths and weaknesses in sample compositions.

The rubric is structured to represent the specific components of a composition but primarily highlights the extent to which students adhere to intellectual standards, while also explicitly targeting the elements of thought. The rubric can easily be converted to a point system for summative evaluations or used simply as a guide to formative assessments.

This rubric may not be self-explanatory. Thus it is recommended that instructors not only spend a great deal of time exploring and explaining the rubric to students, but invest time in training themselves and others on how to use it effectively. Because instruction and student assessment are highly localized and ideally tailored to the unique needs of the learning community, the use of rubrics will be most effective when:

1. colleagues discuss the purpose of developing a rubric for a particular course.
2. colleagues recognize the importance of the analysis and assessment of thought as central to thinking well within a discipline; this importance should be communicated to external agencies and professional organizations related to their disciplines.
3. colleagues take into account the developmental levels of their students when constructing the rubric.
4. colleagues build consensus on the content of the rubric and on thresholds of proficiencies.
5. colleagues practice using the rubric to achieve consistency in rating compositions.
6. colleagues share students' experiences with rubrics and revise them as needed.

Assessing Historical Papers: Rubrics for Composition

The following rubrics will be used in grading students' final papers. Students should be given a copy of these rubrics at the beginning of this lesson and there should be considerable discussion as to what these rubrics mean, and how they will be used in grading, so students are clear as to what will be expected of them.

Component	Exemplary Proficiency	Good Proficiency	Adequate Proficiency	Inadequate Proficiency
Introduction	• Purpose is explicitly stated, and is both clear and precise given the context for the essay. • Provides sufficient, accurate, and relevant information that contextualizes the discussion. • Clearly and precisely articulates the significance of the discussion. • Identifies and defines all important concepts central to the issue. • Presents a clear and precise summary of key findings.	• Purpose is clear but may not be explicitly stated. • Provides accurate and relevant information that contextualizes the discussion. • Clearly articulates the significance of the discussion. • Identifies and defines most concepts central to the subject. • Presents a clear summary of key findings.	• Purpose is relatively clear. • Provides some accurate and relevant information to contextualize the discussion. • Makes relatively clear assertions about the significance of the discussion. • Identifies and defines some concepts central to the subject. • Presents a relatively clear summary of key findings.	• Purpose for the essay is not clear and seems to wander. • Provides little or no information to contextualize the discussion. Some of the information presented is either inaccurate or irrelevant. • Makes vague or inaccurate assertions about the significance of the discussion. • Does not identify concepts central to the subject. • Presents a vague summary of key findings.

Rubric continued on next page

Component	Exemplary Proficiency	Good Proficiency	Adequate Proficiency	Inadequate Proficiency
Body	• Topic sentences are precisely and clearly aligned with the main ideas of the essay. • Scholarly evidence for assertions is accurate and more than sufficient. • Commentary is logical with abundant breadth and depth to reflect the complexity of the topic. • Commentary reflects all the important, relevant perspectives. • Commentary entails more than sufficient detail to support the position(s) in the argument. • All interpretation is logical, thorough, and fair.	• Topic sentences are clearly aligned with the main ideas of the essay. • Scholarly evidence for assertions is accurate and sufficient. • Commentary is mostly logical with considerable breadth and depth to reflect the complexity of the topic. • Commentary reflects most perspectives relevant to the topic. • Commentary entails sufficient detail to support the position(s) in the argument. • Almost all interpretation is logical, thorough, and fair.	• Topic sentences are mostly aligned with the main ideas of the essay. • Some evidence for assertions is accurate and scholarly. • Commentary is basically logical, but may lack some breadth and depth to reflect the complexity of the topic. • Commentary reflects some of the important relevant perspectives. • Commentary entails most of the detail necessary to support the position(s) in the argument. • Most interpretation is logical, thorough, and fair.	• Topic sentences are vague and not aligned with the main ideas of the essay. • Evidence for assertions is lacking or unscholarly. • Commentary is illogical and lacks the breadth and depth necessary to reflect the complexity of topic. • Commentary does not reflect the various perspectives relevant to the topic. • Commentary focuses on random and insignificant detail. • Very little interpretation of information, or the interpretation is illogical.
Conclusion	• Summarizes all main points accurately, clearly, and precisely. • All main conclusions are logical. All relevant viewpoints are considered and treated fairly.	• Summarizes almost all main points accurately, clearly, and precisely. • Almost all main conclusions are logical. Most relevant viewpoints are considered and treated fairly.	• Summarizes most points accurately, clearly, and precisely. • Most main conclusions are logical. Most relevant viewpoints are considered and treated fairly.	• Fails to summarize main points accurately, clearly, or precisely. • Does not make logical conclusions or think fairly about the issues.

Student Directions:
Students are to investigate and report on the achievements and problems implicit in the Song Dynasty of China. There are several parts to this activity.

Part One: Preparing for the Research Project

The first is the preparatory stage in which students analyze and assess the research as they are preparing to write the paper (see Analyzing and Assessing Historical Research pp. 60-61).

Thus students should complete the following in this preparatory stage (in writing):

1. The **purpose** of the research is…
2. The fundamental **questions** and issues at the heart of this research project are…
3. The **information** essential to reasoning through these questions and issues are…
4. The main **conclusions (inferences)** I plan to put forth in this paper are…
5. The **point(s) of view** I will be highlighting in this research paper are…
6. The beliefs I am taking for granted in this paper are…in other words, my key **assumptions** are…
7. The key **concepts** I intend to include in this paper are…they can be articulated as follows…
8. Some important **implications** that follow from the reasoning I am developing in this paper are as follows…

Part Two: Student Feedback on Preparatory Paper

After students have completed part one focusing on the elements of reasoning, place them in groups of three and have them each slowly read their papers aloud to their group members. The other two members of the group will give feedback to the student reading his or her paper. Students should give feedback using intellectual standards (see the section on intellectual standards). In other words, they should focus on *clarity, accuracy, logicalness, relevance, fairness, significance,* and so on in giving feedback. After all students have read their papers and received feedback, they should choose the best paper of the three, again using intellectual standards to judge which paper is best. This might take several class sessions.

Part Three: Writing the Research Paper

After working through the logic of their research in part one, students will then write a final composition paper which must be 10-12 pages. Students are required to use a minimum of five primary sources and may use an unlimited number of secondary sources. Pages must be numbered with one inch margins on each side, and text must be double-spaced. References must follow the APA format. The assignment should be completed in stages.

Part Four: Student Feedback on Each Segment of Their Papers

Students give feedback to their peers on each segment of their papers as assigned, using the format in part two of this instructional strategy. Students may submit a segment of their work, with peer and self-review commentary, to the instructor for an evaluation of progress.

Instructional Strategy Four: Daily Review

Objective

This practice will improve students' understanding of the elements of thought and of intellectual standards by integrating them into routine discussions about the readings, class discussions, and other media content related to history.

Outcomes

1. Students will successfully respond to questions that target critical thinking tasks.
2. Students will generate questions that reference elements of thought and intellectual standards.

Discussion

If students are to learn to think historically, they must engage in learning at every moment, in every class, and in working through every assignment. One important way of engaging students in meaningful learning is to structure a brief review period at the beginning and/or end of each class that helps deepen students' understanding of historical content. These review periods should entail explicit focus on the elements of reasoning and intellectual standards so students come to see history as a mode of thinking.

A review at the beginning of class might entail the following reflective questions based on the elements of thought:

1. What was the author's **purpose** in composing the material?
2. What **questions** was the reading trying to answer? What questions should be raised about the reading that are not yet answered or not answered well?
3. What **information** is central to the reading? What additional information might be *relevant* to understanding the issue or topic?
4. What key conclusions or **inferences** does the author make? Does the author point to any *important* insights for further consideration?
5. What **concepts** is the author primarily concerned with? What main ideas drive or inform the author's work?
6. What key **assumptions** does the author make? What does the author take for granted?
7. What are some *important* **implications** of the author's assertions? What consequences might follow if readers agreed with the author's conclusions?
8. What is the author's **point of view**? Does the author have a personal stake in the assertions? Are there other *credible* perspectives on the matter? What points of view does the author present? Are these viewpoints presented fairly?

Reviewing the lesson in the last several moments of class can be organized along a similar checklist:

1. What was the **purpose** of this lesson? What important **questions** were we trying to answer?
2. What new **information** did we learn today and where did that information come from?
3. What made the source of the **information** *credible*? Or was it?
4. What **inferences** were we able to make today, and what evidence supports them?
5. What **concepts** did we work with today and how are they defined?
6. What **perspectives** and interpretations were included in the lesson today? Which ones need to be further explored? Why?
7. What **questions** or issues have emerged from our discussion that we might explore in our next lesson?

These prompts are salient discussion points that can easily be converted into whole lessons or writing exercises such as a 1-10 minute response to check students' understanding, or a multiple page reflection to check students' thinking and writing skills.

Instructional Strategy Five: Graphic Organizers

Objective

While historiography is a complex subject, it is vital to our understanding of how historical narratives are created and how they function. As there are dozens of historiographical schools, a deep understanding of them requires course work dedicated to historiography itself. Because this is not likely to happen in one or even a few courses, and because general education history courses in higher education are typically not dedicated to historiography, it is helpful to introduce students to the various historical schools of thought. Such an introduction can elevate their awareness of the fact that history is deeply connected with interpretation.

The purpose of using graphic organizers is to help students understand historiographical schools, their unique features, and what they have in common. Graphic organizers are designed to clarify information by showing chronologies and relationships, identifying examples, and illustrating procedures. Graphic organizers can be as simple as a time-line or as complex as a concept map; they might include outlines, flow charts, hierarchies, pictures, and diagrams.

Diagrams

Learning that there are many interpretations of history, and several schools of historical perspective, is sometimes confusing and frustrating for students. Popular representations of history in mainstream media are generally not prefaced with a great deal about whose perspective is included in the narrative and how that perspective differs from other views. While the differences may readily emerge for some students after they read various narratives on the subject, others require more than narratives to grasp the idea.

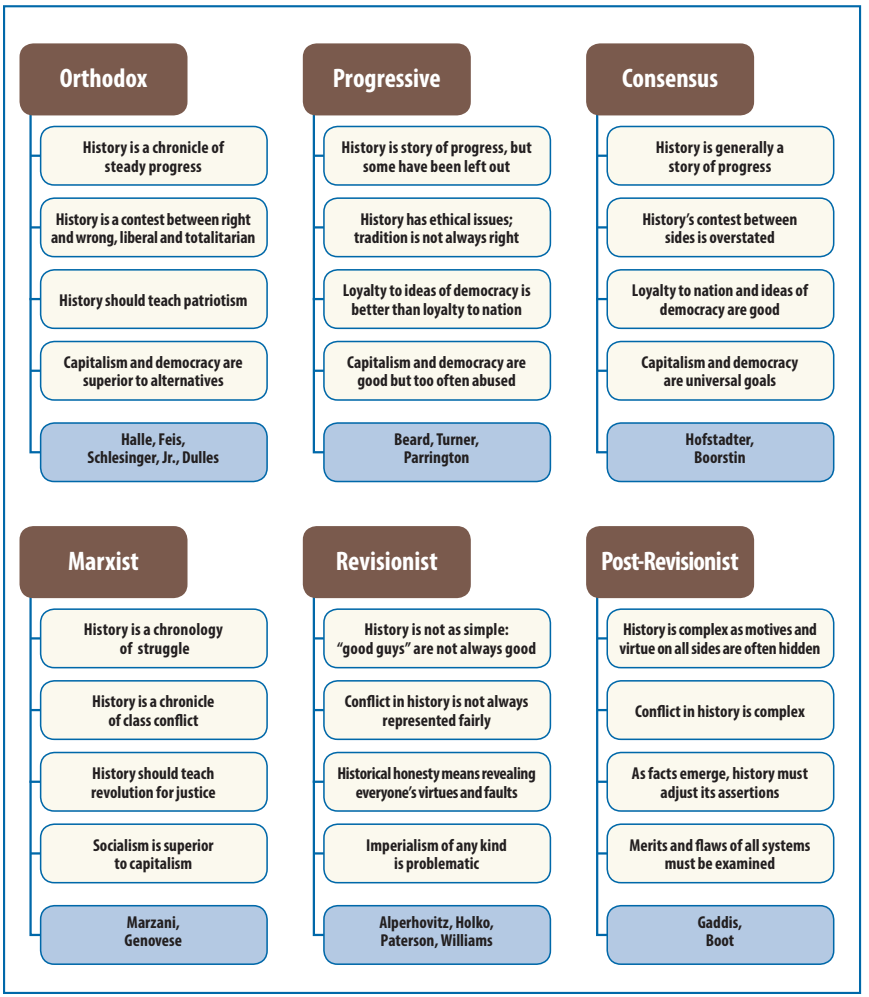
The following is a diagram based on the "Three Textbooks and a War" instructional strategy presented earlier in this guide. Recall that the exercise contained different perspectives and interpretations of the same historical event. To help students see that these perspectives belong to established schools of thought, and that these schools of thought apply their values and assumptions to all topics of history—not just the Cold War—the instructor might use a diagram to represent the schools, and then prompt students to envision how different schools would see other events.

In figure 3, one can see a sample of historiographical schools and how the diagram not only clarifies the content of the schools of thought, but facilitates an easy comparison and contrast of the schools. Instructors who use such diagrams help students understand that two different schools can share common characteristics, and that some historians are not neatly classified as belonging to one school or the other. Historians may change their views in time, or they may have diverse sympathies. Instructors should assist students with the difficult task of distinguishing individual

schools of thought within other, more general, schools.

Revisionism, for example, is an approach taken by Marxists and non-Marxists alike; further, some revisionists are distinctly feminist in their approach, while others are concerned mainly with race and ethnic experiences. While capturing the experiences of people often neglected in orthodox narratives, revisionism has also been used to erase the memory of certain events—as exemplified by Holocaust denial and Stalinist accounts of Russian history. In post-revisionism, some historians accept the notion that America is an empire, while others do not.

Figure 1: Historiographical Schools



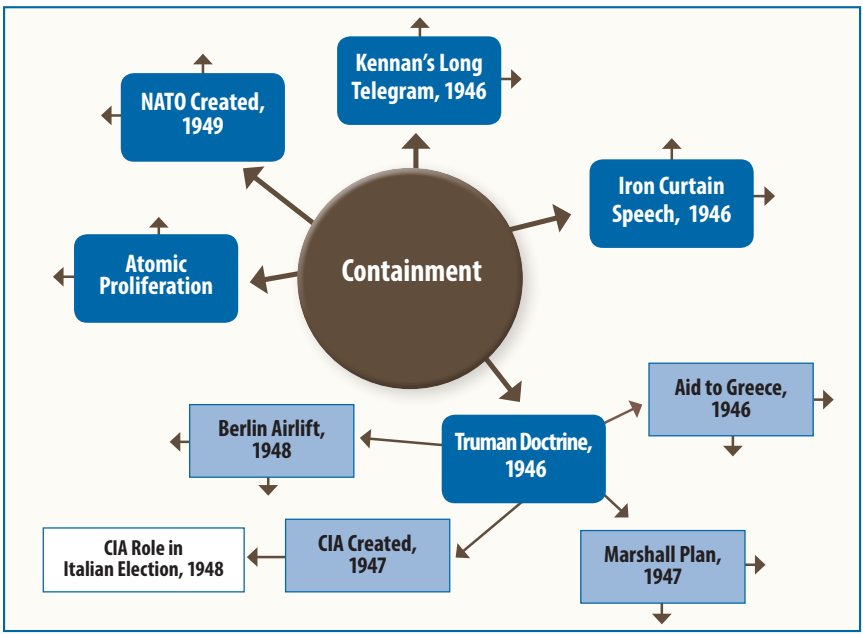
Concept Maps

A concept map illustrates the relationship between concepts, ideas, people, events, publications, and places. The following example is based on a course about the Cold War and addresses the concept of containment. This map could be used as a review tool to help students organize their understanding of Cold War thinking and events. The relationships illustrated in Figure 2 can be the foundation for a class discussion that might be based on the following questions:[H]

1. What is the relationship between Kennan's Long Telegram and containment?
2. How does the Iron Curtain Speech relate to the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO)?
3. How did CIA activity in the Italian election of 1948 reflect principles of the Truman Doctrine?
4. Identify the specific event that led directly to Kennan's Long Telegram, The Iron Curtain Speech, the Marshall Plan, and NATO.

Students should also be encouraged to create and discuss their own concept maps when dealing with complex issues.

Figure 2: Containment in the United States: 1946-1949

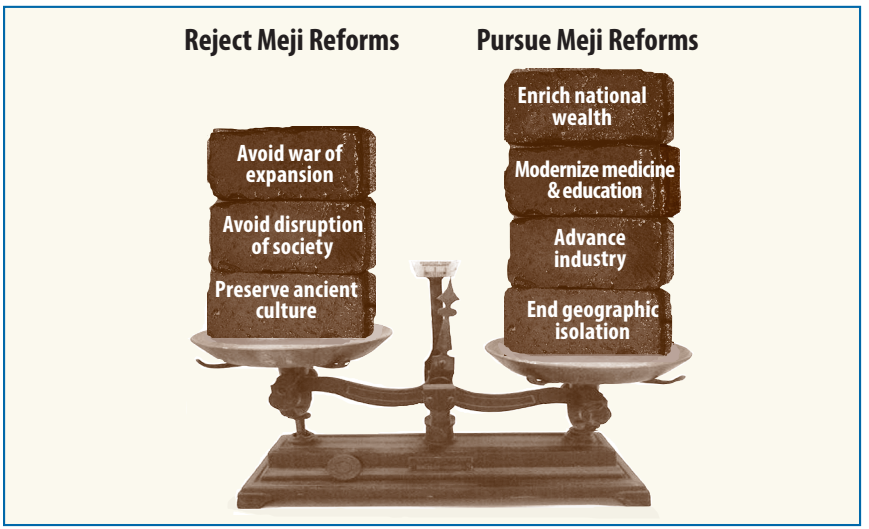


H Containment is the concept of preventing the expansion of communism by way of multiple means. In this map, students can see that the concept was foundational in speeches, alliances, weapon-making, and the Truman Doctrine. These in turn were used to rationalize the creation of other deterrents and reactions to communism, such as the Marshal Plan, Berlin airlift, and the CIA.

Balancing Bench

Understanding the motives behind critical decisions in history is not always easy. Graphically illustrating the competing interests helps students understand the issues more clearly. Because this graphic organizer only has two sides, it is recommended that for highly complex matters in which multiple sides were taken, instructors help students' understanding by adding another dimension (or other dimensions) to the illustration and by distinguishing the subtle differences between each perspective. In figure 3 are the competing interests and rationales for and against Japan's Meji Reforms (1868).[I]

Figure 3: Rejection or Pursuit of Meji Reforms



The balance bench can be used as a foundation for class discussion that prompts critical thinking by asking students the following:

1. Who did not want the Meji reforms in Japan? How did they define and value social and economic stability, and how did their perspective differ from those who favored the reforms?
2. What was the geo-political context in which these reforms were introduced, and how did it affect thinking on both sides of the issue?
3. How did those who favored the reforms *conceptualize* "progress," and how did this differ from those who rejected the reforms?

I The Meji Reforms in Japan were initiated by the government to industrialize Japan and enable it to extend hegemony over Asia in the way that European nations and the United States had extended hegemony over India, Africa, and Latin America. During the Meji reforms, Japan adopted western models of public education, banking, weapons manufacturing, communication and transportation infrastructures, and military organization. These reforms enabled Japan's industrial revolution and its subsequent invasions of China and Pearl Harbor.

4. What *information* did those opposed to the reforms use to justify their assertion that reforms might lead to war, social disruption, and loss of culture?
5. What *problems* were those who favored reforms trying to solve? What *assumptions* did they make about the impact reform would have on Japan?
6. What were the important long and short-term *implications* and consequences of these reforms?

Engine Gears

Sometimes, explaining why conditions are slow to change requires an illustration that depicts the way discrete elements contribute to a whole phenomenon. For example, the condition of serfdom in Russia existed for hundreds of years, and was firmly intact even while Europe underwent drastic changes including democratic revolution and industrialization. Students can see on the engine gears that three major factors contributed to the existence of serfdom. In using this graphic organizer, the instructor must ensure that students understand the concepts of absolutism, religious orthodoxy, and agricultural economy. Figure 4 can be helpful to facilitate discussion based on the subsequent questions.[J]

1. In what way was religious orthodoxy used to keep the economy centered on agricultural production? In what way did it secure the authority of the Czar?
2. In what way did the Czar use authority to keep the economy centered on agriculture?
3. What might happen to the authority of the Czar or the condition of serfdom if religious orthodoxy were removed from the gear box?

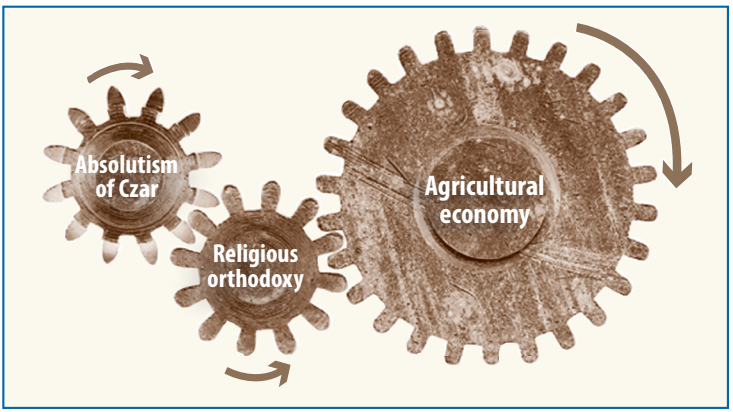


Figure 4: The Gears of Serfdom

J The gears work together to ensure serfdom remains intact. In the 19th century, while Western nations and Japan industrialized rapidly, Russia retained a primarily agricultural economy. This meant that Russia had no class of factory workers and a very small middle class. The society was polarized, as a small percentage of the rich ruled the vast majority of the peasant class. Religious orthodoxy kept serfdom in place because it taught that God wanted people to obey their rulers, and to wait for a reward for hard work in the next life; religious orthodoxy thus justified the Czar's authority as well as the peasants' place in the natural order of life.

End Notes

[1] Carr, E. (1961). *What is History?* New York, NY: Random House, p. 178.

[2] History-Social Science Curriculum Framework and Criteria committee. (2005). *History-social science curriculum framework for California public schools.* Sacramento, CA: California Department of Education.

[3] Barton, K. and Levsick, L.S. (2004). *Teaching history for the common good.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers.

[4] Latham, E. C. (1994). *Bernard Bailyn on the teaching and writing of history: Responses to a series of questions.* Hanover, NH: Montgomery Endowment Dartmouth College.

[5] Stearns, P. (1998). Why study history? American Historical Association. Retrieved from http://www.historians.org/pubs/free/WhyStudyHistory.htm.

[6] Wineburg, S. S. (2001). *Historical thinking and other unnatural acts.* Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

[7] Carr, 1961.

[8] Nash, G., Crabtree, C., & Dunn, R. (1997). *History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past*. New York, NY: Vintage Books.

[9] Hamerow, T. S. (1987). *Reflections on history and historians*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, p. 76.

[10] Iggers, G. G. & Wang, E. Q. (2008). *A global history of modern historiography*. Harlow, UK: Pearson Education Limited.

[11] Butterfield, H. (1955). *Man on his past*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. And also Löwith, K. (1957). *Meaning in history: The theological implications of the philosophy of history*. University of Chicago Press.

[12] Spiegel, G. M. (1975). Political utility in medieval historiography: a sketch. *History and theory, 14*(3), 314-325. And also Breisach, E. (2007). *Historiography: Ancient, medieval, and modern.* University of Chicago Press.

[13] Ross, D. (1984). Historical consciousness in nineteenth-century America. *The American Historical Review, 89*(4), 909-928.

[14] Novick, P. (1988). *That noble dream: The 'objectivity question' and the American historical profession* (Vol. 13). Cambridge University Press. And also Elson, R. M. (1959). American schoolbooks and "culture" in the nineteenth century. *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review, 46*(3), 411-434.

[15] Haines, D. L. (1977). Scientific history as a teaching method: The formative years. *The Journal of American History, 63*(4), 892-912.

[16] American Historical Association. (2007). *A brief history of the AHA.* Retrieved from http://www.historians.org/info/ahahistory.cfm.

[17] Higham, J. (1962). Beyond Consensus: The Historian as Moral Critic. *The American Historical Review, 67*(3), 609-625.

[18] Ross, D. (1984). Historical consciousness in nineteenth-century America. *The American Historical Review, 89*(4), 909-928.

[19] Higham, 1962.

[20] Unger, I. (1967). The "New Left" and American History: Some Recent Trends in United States Historiography. *The American Historical Review, 72*(4), 1237-1263.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Crapol, E. (1987). Some reflections on the historiography of the cold war. *The History Teacher, 20*(2), 251-262.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Crockatt, R. (1995). The origins of the cold war and the problems of synthesis: A review of recent work. *Contemporary European History, 43*(3), 383-392.

[25] Walker, S. J. (1995). The origins of the cold war in United States history books. *The Journal of American History, 81*(4), 1652-1661.

[26] History-Social Sciences Curriculum and Framework Committee. (1996). *History-social sciences framework for California public schools*. Sacramento, CA: California Department of Education. Massachusetts Board of Education. (2003). *History and social science curriculum framework.* Boston, MA: Massachusetts Department of Education. Michigan Council for Social Studies. (2010). *Michigan curriculum framework*. Lansing, MI: Michigan Department of Education. (1994).

[27] National Center for History in the Schools. (1996). *National standards for history*. Retrieved from http://nchs.ucla.edu/standards/thinking5-12.html.

[28] National Council for the Social Studies. (1994). *Expectations for excellence: Curriculum standards for social studies*. Silver Springs, MD: National Council for the Social Studies.

[29] Carr, 1961, pp. 12-13.

[30] Ibid, 14-15.

[31] Ibid, p. 13.

[32] Ibid, p. 12.

[33] Ibid, p. 13.

[34] Löwith, K. (1949). *Meaning in history.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago.

[35] Rosenthal, J. (1955). Voltaire's Philosophy of History. *Journal of the History of Ideas, 16*(2), 151-178. And also Bentley, M. (1998). *Modern historiography: An introduction*. Routledge.

[36] Barzun, J. (1945/1980). *Teacher in America.* Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Press, p. 154.

[37] Gorman, J. (2004). Historians and their duties. *History and Theory, 43*(4), 103-117.

[38] McPherson, J. (2003). Revisionist historians. American Historical Association. Retrieved from http://www.historians.org/perspectives/issues/2003/0309/0309pre1.cfm.

[39] McCorkle, P. (1984). The Historian as Intellectual: Charles Beard and the Constitution Reconsidered. *The American Journal of Legal History, 28*(4), 314-363. And also Diggins, J. P. (1981). Power and authority in American history: the case of Charles A. Beard and his critics. *The American Historical Review, 86*(4), 701-730.

[40] Paul, R. & Elder, L. (2006). *Critical thinking: Tools for taking charge of your learning and your life*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall.

[41] Dulles, J. F. (1950). *War or peace*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

[42] Nitze, P., Reardon, S. L., & Smith, A. M. (1989). *From Hiroshima to glastnost: At the center of decision*. New York, NY: Weidfeld and Nicholson.

[43] Feis, H. (1970). *From trust to terror: The onset of the cold war, 1945-1950.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton.

[44] Halle, L. (1967). *The cold war as history*. New York, NY: Harper & Row.

[45] Schlesinger, A. Origins of the cold war. *Foreign Affairs*, 46(1), 22-52.

[46] Alperhovitz, G. (1965). *Atomic diplomacy: Hiroshima and Potsdam*. New York, NY: Simon & Schuster.

[47] Kolko, J. & Kolko, G. (1972). *The limits of power: The world and the United States foreign policy 1945-1954.* New York, NY: Harper & Row.

[48] Marzini, C. (1952). *We can be friends: Origins of the cold war*. New York, NY: Topical Press.

[49] Williams, W. A. (1959). *The tragedy of American diplomacy*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

[50] Gaddis, J. L. (2005). *The cold war: a new history*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

[51] Pollard, R. (1985). *Economic security and the origins of the cold war, 1945-1950*. New York, NY: Columbia Press.

[52] Paterson, T. G. (1973). *Soviet-American confrontation: Post-war construction and the origins of the cold war*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

[53] Yergin, D. (1977). *The shattered peace: The origins of the cold war and the national security state*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

[54] Leffler, M. (1994). *The specter of communism: The United States and the origins of the cold war, 1917-1953.* New York, NY: Hill and Wang.

[55] Condon, W. & Kelly-Riley, D. (2004). Assessing and teaching what we value: The relationship between college-level writing and critical thinking abilities. *Assessing Writing*, 9, 56-75.

[56] Giroux, H. (1978). Writing and critical thinking in the social studies. *Curriculum History*, 8(4) 291-310.

[57] Andrade, H. (2000). Using rubrics to promote thinking and learning. *Educational Leadership*, 57(5), 13-18.

[58] Wiggins, G. (1998). *Educative assessment: Designing assessments to inform and improve student performance*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

The Thinker's Guide Library

The Thinker's Guide series provides convenient, inexpensive, portable references that students and faculty can use to improve the quality of studying, learning, and teaching. Their modest cost enables instructors to require them of all students (in addition to a textbook). Their compactness enables students to keep them at hand whenever they are working in or out of class. Their succinctness serves as a continual reminder of the most basic principles of critical thinking.

For Students & Faculty

Critical Thinking: Concepts and tools in a 22-page pocket-size guide. **#520m**

Analytic Thinking: Focus on intellectual skills allowing one to analyze. **#595m**

Asking Essential Questions: The art of asking essential questions. **#580m**

How to Study & Learn: Strategies for becoming a master student. **#530m**

How to Read a Paragraph: The art of close reading. **#525m**

How to Write a Paragraph: The art of substantive writing. **#535m**

The Human Mind: Insight into the basic functions of the human mind. **#570m**

Foundations of Ethical Reasoning: Function and nature of ethics. **#585m**

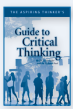
How to Detect Media Bias and Propoganda: Media messages. **#575m**

Scientific Thinking: Concepts and tools, and scientific intellectual skills. **#590m**

Fallacies: The Art of Mental Trickery and Manipulation: #533m

Engineering Reasoning: Concepts and tools, vocabulary, supplement. **#573m**

Glossary of Critical Thinking Terms & Concepts: Defines 170+ terms. **#534m**



Aspiring Thinker's Guide to Critical Thinking: Instructional strategies. **#554m**

Clinical Reasoning: Assessment and analysis for clinicians & clinical students. **#564m**

Critical and Creative Thinking: A focus on both types of thinking. **#565m**

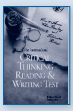
Intellectual Standards: The words & criteria that define them. **#593m**

Historical Guide: Helps students develop reasoning abilities, analyze traits. **#575m**

For Faculty

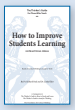
Active and Cooperative Learning: Instruction foundation. **#550m**

Critical Thinking Competency Standards: Assess abilities. **#555m**



Critical Thinking Reading and Writing Test: Rubrics, level outline. **#563m**

Educational Fads: How to get beyond educational glitz and glitter. **#583m**



How to Improve Student Learning: 30 practical ideas for improvement. **#560m**

Socratic Questioning: Mechanics of Socratic dialogue. **#553m**

The Foundation for Critical Thinking seeks to promote essential change in education and society through the cultivation of fairminded critical thinking, thinking committed to intellectual empathy, intellectual humility, intellectual perseverance, intellectual integrity, and intellectual responsibility. A rich intellectual environment is possible only with critical thinking at the foundation of education. Why? Because only when students learn to think through the content they are learning in a deep and substantive way can they apply what they are learning in their lives. Moreover, in a world of accelerating change, intensifying complexity, and increasing interdependence, critical thinking is now a requirement for economic and social survival.

Contact us online at criticalthinking.org to learn about our publications, videos, workshops, conferences, and professional development programs.

Price List for this Thinker's Guide "Historical Thinking":
(+ shipping and handling)

Item #584m

1–24 copies	$6.00 each
25–199 copies	$5.00 each
200–499 copies	$4.00 each
500+ copies	$3.50 each

Prices subject to change.

For pricing for other guides in the Thinker's Guide Library, contact us.

For More Information
(To order guides or to inquire about other resources)

Phone	707-878-9100
Fax	707-878-9111
E-mail	cct@criticalthinking.org
Web site	www.criticalthinking.org
Mail	Foundation for Critical Thinking P.O. Box 196 Tomales, CA 94971

The Foundation for Critical Thinking
PO Box 196
Tomales, CA 94971

About the Authors

Dr. Meg Gorzycki is a faculty consultant at the Center for Teaching and Faculty Development at San Francisco State University. She taught history, psychology, and ethics and media at the secondary level for twenty-three years at the junior college levels; she has also taught in Russia and Saudi Arabia. Dr. Gorzycki's research interests include ethical literacy, the pedagogy of higher education, and the history of the Cold War.

Dr. Linda Elder is an educational psychologist who has taught both psychology and critical thinking at the college level. She is the President of the Foundation for Critical Thinking and the Executive Director of the Center for Critical Thinking. Dr. Elder has a special interest in the relation of thought and emotion, as well as the cognitive and the affective. She has developed an original theory of the stages of critical thinking development. Dr. Elder has co-authored four books on critical thinking, as well as twenty-four Thinkers' Guides.

Dr. Richard Paul is a major leader in the international critical thinking movement. He is Director of Research at the Center for Critical Thinking, the Chair of the National Council for Excellence in Critical Thinking, and author of over 200 articles and seven books on critical thinking. Dr. Paul has given hundreds of workshops on critical thinking and made a series of eight critical thinking video programs for PBS. His views on critical thinking have been canvassed in *New York Times, Education Week, The Chronicle of Higher Education, American Teacher, Educational Leadership, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report, and Reader's Digest.*

ISBN 978-0-944583-48-7 Item #584m

THINKER'S GUIDE LIBRARY