

Stanford University
School of Education
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ED 356: **Memory, History, & Education**

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Of all the human faculties memory is the most tragic. It is sufficiently vivid to remind us of our sorrows, yet sufficiently unreliable to make us doubt ourselves when we would commemorate our achievements. We cannot discount memory, and we cannot count on it. -- David Gordon, 1995, p. 340.

Taken at face value, the results of National history tests portray Americans as an ahistorical horde, arrogantly presentist in orientation, blithely unconcerned about their origins, and woefully unprepared to think about anything more complicated than choosing between a Big Mac or Whopper. Not only does this indictment hang over the heads of today's test takers but if we go back to the 20s, 40s, 60s, and 70s we'll find similar indictments, each more dire than the next. This from 1917: "Surely a grade of 33 in 100 on the simplest and most obvious facts of American history is not a record in which any high school can take pride," wrote J. Carleton Bell at a time when only the elite—less than 10% of the general population—went to high school.¹ Bell fretted about young men going to war ignorant of the history that would convince them of the rightness of their cause. Clearly, we survived the Great War . . . and have done okay since.

So here's the conundrum:

If we're so oblivious to the past, why is it that we tune into the History Channel by the millions; gobble up the latest Steven Ambrose or David McCullough thriller; trip over each other lining up to see *Cold Mountain*, *Glory*, *Saving Private Ryan*, *Schindler's List* or whatever historically-based film Hollywood churns out; spend thousands of precious vacation dollars on a family *hajj* to Gettysburg, the Vietnam Veterans War Memorial, or Historic Williamsburg? How can we be at once so dumb about history and so passionately engaged with it?

As educators, our trouble starts when we equate test scores with an understanding of and engagement with the past. As Michael Schudson writes in *Watergate and American Memory*, the past has a way of seeping into our "cultural pores"

Even if not in a form readily retrievable by seventeen-year-olds answering a quiz. Schoolroom historical knowledge is not without value but to assume that it constitutes all there is to historical knowledge short circuits real analysis of the American sense of the past (p. 64)

¹ J. Carleton Bell & D. F. McCollum (1917). A study of the attainments of pupils in United States history. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 8, 257-274.

If Schudson's right, how, exactly, does all this "cultural seeping" go on? How accurate are those iconic Norman Rockwell images (granddad bouncing Johnny on his knee regaling him with stories of the olden days) in an Instant-Messengerized age of MTV-histories and Oliver Stone seminars?

These are the kinds of question we will consider. Together we'll try to understand how history and memory mix to influence young people's understanding of their world. How do Americans of different ages and different walks of life use the past to construct a personal and collective identity? How do nation-states and their institutions package and present the past, sometimes with little if any connection to the documentary record? How do multiple perspectives and differing interpretations become "official history" as set down by the state's textbooks? How do people—some active, inquiring, and curious; others, credulous and unsuspecting—"consume" the products of memory? What influences them as they construct a historical self and why are some "memory products" more effective than others? This last question, above all, implicates education. It demands that we broaden our notion of the history curriculum from written textbooks and state standards to embrace the much broader and influential "cultural curriculum." It forces us to consider whether there are history teachers in the land more influential than a Ken Burns or a Robert Zemeskis.

To address these questions no single discipline suffices. The literature on memory spans multiple research traditions and invokes disparate methodologies. Consequently, our time together will engage history, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and cultural studies. Together we will try to impose conceptual order on fields of study that in theory ought to interconnect but too often resemble ships passing each other in the night.

Required Texts

- Halbwachs, M. (1992). *On collective Memory* (edited by Louis A. Coser). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Change this to Mary Douglas edition**
- Lepore, Jill (1999). *The name of war: King Philip's war and the origins of American identity*. New York:
- Spiegelman, Art (1993). *Maus I & II: A survivor's tale and Here my troubles began*. New York: Pantheon. (make sure you have both I and II). (also listed as the Complete Maus.)

Class Format

This class will be conducted as a seminar, requiring thoughtful preparation before class and active participation during it. While is impossible to engineer a successful seminar (so much rests on the make-up and chemistry of participants), it is possible to take steps toward making our discussions generative. To align ourselves in the same direction and to provide an initial point of departure, you will come to class with one page of comments ("Response Papers") addressing a question I assign the previous week. Where we go from there depends on our own interests and passions.

I have tried to save on the costs of the Reader by providing URLs to readings that are at the Stanford Library. Please print them out rather than leaving them as files on your computer. I

make this request for several reasons: 1) it takes extra time for people to scroll through a file on their hard drive; 2) when an article is printed out, it is easy to highlight and make marginal comments; 3) when everyone has a laptop open in seminar it is difficult to see faces and engage each other interpersonally.

Presenting your work: Because each one of us will be engaged in the active study of memory practices, I have reserved the last class meeting, June 2, for a mini-conference in which we will all have an opportunity to present our work.

Seminar Paper

Your seminar paper should be a substantive project devoted to the exploration of history, memory, and education as they come together in the hearts and minds of ordinary people. Your paper should be informed by the perspectives we've encountered in this course. In other words, how is the topic you've researched illuminated by (some) of the thinkers and researchers we've encountered over the quarter? This is not a case of "the more authors you cite, the better." Rather, aim to explore your topic by engaging deeply with the insights, findings, perspectives, and questions one or more authors sets for us.

Option 1: Option 1 is a mini-study that examines how ordinary people "consume" the products of memory—whether as film, software, text, or music—or by bodily enactment, such as visiting a monument or museum, making a pilgrimage, or commemorating an event. These projects can assume a variety of forms—oral histories, analyses of museum exhibits, a tour of a Gold Rush ghost town, ethnographies of a Bible study meeting, the viewing of a contemporary film, a content analysis of a textbook, and so on—but *whatever* you do, it should include a brush with real people. The first part of your paper should set your particular topic into context. If you study, for example, how parents and children interpret the same history textbooks, you would frame this question with relevant literature. This means that in addition to the weekly readings, you'll have extra reading to do. I have a pretty good handle on the literature so I can at least get you started. (The bibliography at the end of this syllabus gives you some indication of this literature's breadth and variety.) The middle part of the paper should report what it is you did and what it is you learned in a format that gives voice to how people use, interpret, and re-make memory artifacts. The final section, the last third of the paper, should step back from your findings and address how they inform the literature you drew on in part one. What have you learned? What nuances or challenges can you introduce to the literature? What new research questions arise from your inquiry? I expect most papers to be between 22-25 pages (double-spaced in 12-point type, either Courier or Times Roman, not including references).² Papers can be written using either APA or Chicago style.

Option 2: In some cases your interests and research may lead you to a more traditional review of the literature, which surveys contemporary writing and ends with a proposal for new research. If this is the case, I can also point you in the direction of literature and angles you might not have considered.

² Undergraduate papers are expected to be between 15 and 20 pages in length.

Early on, you should begin to think about the kind of paper you want to write. Next week I will pass out a list of possibilities but this is only to get you to start thinking. At **Week 5**, I will ask for an Idea Sketch and an annotated bibliography of at least three items (in addition to course readings).

Your writing counts. You should prepare your written work carefully and leave yourself enough time to re-write and revise so that what I read is your best work. Some basic things to remember when completing your paper:

- 1) Cite your references using a consistent style. I don't care whether you use Chicago or APA style but be consistent in how you cite the works you've consulted.
- 2) Make sure that your paper has page numbers.
- 3) Staple it in the upper left corner.
- 4) Do not print your paper back to back, as this prevents me from carrying over my marginal comments to the back of the page.
- 5) When I respond to the papers I differentiate comments that related to exposition from those that relate to substance with the designation 'w' ("writing") and 's' (substance).

Seminar papers are due on the Monday after our last class meeting.

Idea Sketch

Due Week 5, your idea sketch should be no longer than two doubled-spaced pages. It should be written informally, and you can pose questions to me about ideas you are considering. Attached to it should be an annotated bibliography of at least *three* references (not from our readings) that will inform your final paper. (It is expected that our readings, at least some of them, will inform your paper as well.) Your annotations should be two or three sentences each, and briefly explain why the cited work is key to the topic you want to explore.

Weekly Response Papers

Each week I will pose a brief question about the readings. Each week you will write and turn in a one-page, single spaced response. Response papers are not graded. They are meant to be informal reflections on your reading in which we (you and me) engage in a weekly dialogue. It keeps both of us honest. Response papers should be written in 12-point type (Times Roman) with normal margins on both sides (so I can write comments).

Oral Presentations

During the last two weeks of class, we will use class time to present our work to our fellow classmates. You will be given approximately 7-8 minutes to present your work. We will follow the format widely used in humanities and social sciences conferences--not because it is the ideal form of scholarly communication (it isn't!)--but because it is something that you will invariably have to do during your professional career. Prior to these presentations, we will talk about the aesthetics of an engaging conference presentation, even in a limited 15-minute format.

Assessment

Eight Weekly Response Papers (graded C/NR, but counted as 4.0)	25%
Six-Seven Weekly Response Papers (graded C/NR, but counted as 3.0) ³	
Seminar Paper	75%

R E A D I N G S

(1) Week 1, April 1 **History, Memory, & Education**

Scope, aims, and requirements of the seminar.

Sir Frederic Bartlett, “*War of the Ghosts*” *handouts*

Gourevitch, P. (1995). What they saw at the Holocaust Museum. *New York Times Magazine*, February 12, pp. 44-45.

(2) Week 2, April 6 **MAKE UP CLASS (NOTE: this is a MONDAY!)**

Distinctions: What is the Past?

[with mutual arrangement with Seminar participants, we will have a shortened make-up class Monday afternoon or early evening to compensate for the a missed class due to Passover—April 8—and AERA—April 15]

Lowenthal, David. (1997). History and memory. *Public Historian*, 19, 31-39.

<http://ezproxy.stanford.edu:2197/stable/pdfplus/3379138.pdf>
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/3379138>

Halbwachs, M. (1980). *On collective Memory* (edited by Louis A. Coser). Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (introduction to page 41; 52-83)

Loftus, Elizabeth (1997). Creating false memories. *Scientific American*, 277, 70-75.

<http://psychology.concordia.ca/fac/deAlmeida/PSYC352/Pages/Loftus-1997-false-memories-.pdf>

Fields, Karen (1994). What one cannot remember mistakenly. In Genovieve Fabre and Robert O’Meally (Eds.) *History and memory in African-American culture*. (pp. 150-163). New York: Oxford.

³ Less than six Response Papers, no credit. No late Response Papers are permitted.

(3) Week 3, April 15 **NO CLASS**

[AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH CONFERENCE, San Diego]

(Start to read for week 4, as it is a long reading assignment!)

(4) Week 4, April 22 **Memory in History:
Historians and the History of Memories**

Freud, Sigmund (1914). Remember, repeating, and working-through. Screen memories
<http://www.history.ucsb.edu/faculty/marcuse/classes/201/articles/1914FreudRemembering.pdf>

Olneck, Jeffery K. (2008). The ciphered transits of collective memory: Neo-Freudian impressions.
Social Research, 75, 1-22.
<http://www.virginia.edu/sociology/publications/faculty%20articles/OlneckArticles/cipheredtransits.pdf>

LePore, Jill (1998). *The name of war: King Philip's war and the origins of American identity*.
New York: Knopf.

Wood, Gordon (1998). The bloodiest war. *New York Review of Books*, v. 45.
<http://dev.nybooks.com/articles/895>

5) Week 5, May 6 **Postmodern Memory**

Due in class: Idea Sketch & Annotated Bibliography

Spiegelman, Art (1993). *Maus I & II: A survivor's tale and Here my troubles began*. New York:
Pantheon. (make sure you have both I and II). Also listed as: "the Complete Maus."

Young, James (1998). The Holocaust as Vicarious Past: Art Spiegelman's *Maus* and the
Afterimages of history. *Critical Inquiry*, 24, 666-699.
<http://links.jstor.org/sici?sici=0093-1896%28199821%2924%3A3%3C666%3ATHAVPA%3E2.0.CO%3B2-R>

Baudrillard, Jean (1988). Simulacra and simulations. In *Jean Baudrillard, Selected Writings*.
Mark Poster (Ed.) (pp. 164-184). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
http://www.stanford.edu/dept/HPS/Baudrillard/Baudrillard_Simulacra.html

(6) Week 6, May 6 **The Cultural Curriculum: Filmmaker as History Teacher**

Thelen, David (1994). The movie maker as historian: Conversations with Ken Burns. *Journal of
American History*, 1031-1050.
<http://ezproxy.stanford.edu:2197/stable/pdfplus/2081444.pdf>

Foner, Eric 2002. Ken Burns and the romance of reunion. (pp. 189-204). In Eric Foner *Who
owns history? Rethinking the past in a changing world*. New York: Hill & Wang.

Wineburg, S., Mosborg, S., Porat, D., & Duncan, A. (2007). Common belief and the cultural curriculum. *American Educational Research Journal*, 44, 40-76.
<http://aer.sagepub.com/cgi/reprint/44/1/40>

Seixas, Peter (1993). Popular film and young people's understanding of the history of Native American-White relations. *History Teacher*, 26, 351-369.
<http://ezproxy.stanford.edu:2197/stable/pdfplus/494666.pdf> or <http://www.jstor.org/stable/494666>

(7) Week 7, May 13 ‘Official Memory’: The State Writes History

Fitzgerald, Francis (1979). *America Revised* (excerpt)

Ansary, Tamim (2008). The muddle machine: Confessions of a textbook editor. *Edutopia*
<http://www.edutopia.org/muddle-machine>

Loewen, James. *Lies My Teacher Told Me* (excerpt)

Zinn, Howard. *A Peoples' History of the United States* (excerpt)

Kazin, Michael (2004, Spring). Howard Zinn's history lessons. *Dissent*
<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=5&hid=116&sid=a8714f05-a211-4418-8add-bb1d9426f771%40sessionmgr108>

Zinn, H. Response to Kazin
<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=aph&AN=13798087&site=ehost-live>

Ravitch, Diane (2003). *The Language Police* (excerpt)

(8) Week 8, May 20 Official Knowledge in Places of Conflict

Pingel, Falk (2008). Can truth be negotiated? History textbook revision as a means to reconciliation. *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*,
<http://ann.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/617/1/181>

Wertsch, J. (2008). Collective memory and memory templates. *Social Research*, 75(1), 133-155.
<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=3&hid=109&sid=b944124d-0f65-4278-9b2b-649afaa03c24%40sessionmgr108>

Gitlin, Todd (1995). "A dubious battle in Oakland," from *The Twilight of Common Dreams: Why America is wracked by culture wars*. New York: Metropolitan Books.

Freedman, S. W., Weinstein, H. M., Murphy, K., & Longman, T. (2008). Teaching history after identity-based conflicts: The Rwanda Experience. *Comparative Education Review*, 52(4), 663-690.
<http://ezproxy.stanford.edu:2477/toc/cer/2008/52/4>

Rüsen Jörn (2004). How to Overcome Ethnocentrism: Approaches to a Culture of Recognition by History in the Twenty-First Century, *History and Theory*, 43(118).
<http://ezproxy.stanford.edu:2197/stable/pdfplus/3590639.pdf>

(9) Week 9, May 27 The Cultural Curriculum, Part II: Street History

Rosenzweig, R. (2001). How Americans use and think about the past: Implications from a National Survey for the teaching of history. (pp. 262-283). In Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (Eds.), *Knowing, teaching, and learning history: National and international perspectives*. New York: NYU Press.

Kammen, M. (2000). Carl Becker Redivivus: Or, is everyone really a historian? *History and Theory*, 39, 230-242.
<http://ezproxy.stanford.edu:2197/stable/pdfplus/2677954.pdf> or <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2677954>

Wineburg, S. & Monte-Sano, C. (2008). "Famous Americans:" The changing pantheon of American heroes. *Journal of American History*, 95(1).
<http://www.journalofamericanhistory.org/textbooks/2008/wineburg.html>

Wills, John S. (2005). "Some people even died": Martin Luther King, Jr., the civil rights movement, and the politics of remembrance in elementary classrooms. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 18(1): 109-131.
<http://web.ebscohost.com/ehost/pdf?vid=3&hid=120&sid=11ec15e5-6b8f-4754-aa7e-7c679f5c6e98%40sessionmgr102>

(10) Week 10, June 3 History as Lived/History as Re-enacted:

Thelen, D. (2005). Reliving the past and rethinking history. In Kate Delaney and Ruud Janseus (Eds.), *Over [t]here: Transatlantic essays in honor of Rob Kroes* (Amsterdam).

Thelen, D. (2002). How the truth and reconciliation commission challenges the ways we use history. *South African Historical Journal*, 47, 162-190.

Due: June 8, Final Papers, in my mailbox, Cubberley 1st Floor, by 3 pm.⁴

⁴ In general, I am reluctant to accept papers by Fax or as email attachments *without prior negotiation on or before our last class meeting on June 3.*

Selected Bibliography

- Ahonen, Sirkka (199) *Clio sans uniform: A study of the Post-Marxist transformation of the history curricula in East Germany and Estonia 1986-91*. Helsinki, Finland: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia.
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- Anderson, Carolyn (2002). Contest public memories: Hawaiian history as Hawaiian or American experience (pp. 143-168). In Gary R. Edgerton & Peter C. Rollins (Eds.) *Television histories: Shaping collective memory in the media age*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Bal, Mieke, Crewe, Jonathan, & Spitzer, L. (1999). (Eds.), *Acts of memory: Cultural recall in the present*. Hanover, NH: University Press of New England.
- Barthes, Roland (1981). *Camera Lucida*. (Translated by Richard Howard). New York Hill and Wang.
- Bartov, Omer (1997). Chambers of horror: Holocaust museums in Israel and the United States. *Israel Studies*, 7, 66-87.
- Bastide, Roger (1976). *The African religions of Brazil: Toward a sociology of the interpenetration of civilizations* (translated by Helen Sebba). Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. (Chapter 11, "Problems of Collective Memory," p. 240-261). BF 2590 B7
- Becker, Carl (1932). Everyman his own historian. *American Historical Review*, 37, 1-36.
- Becker, Carl (1939). Written history as an act of faith. In Hans Meyerhoff (Ed.), *The Philosophy of History in Our Times* [2, **Masters**]
- Wineburg, Sam (2004). Crazy for history. *Journal of American History*, 90, 1401-1414.
- Dimitriadis, Greg (2000). "Making history go" at a local community center: Popular media and the construction of historical knowledge among African American Youth. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 28, 40-64. [**Cultural Curriculum**]
- Berlin, Ira (19xx). *Slavery as memory and history* [3, **Dis. Perspectives, History**]
- Biggar, N (2001). (Ed.) *Burying the past: Making peace and doing justice after civil conflict*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press. [**peace & reconciliation**]
- Blackburn, Gilmer W. (1985). *Education in the Third Reich: A study of race and history in Nazi Textbooks*. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press.
- Blatti, Jo (Ed.) (1987). *Past meets present: Essays about historic interpretation and public audiences*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press. [9]
- Blum-Dobkin, Toby (1994) "Videotaping Holocaust Interviews: Questions and Answers from an interviewer," *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 16:1 (1994): 46-50
- Bodnar, J. (1992). *Remaking America: Public memory, commemoration, and patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. [**Dis. Per., History**]
- Boraine, A (2000). *A country unmasked: South Africa's truth and reconciliation commission*. New York: Oxford. [**peace & reconciliation**]
- Brothers, Caroline. (1997). *War and photography: A cultural history*. New York: Routledge. [**photography**]
- Buruma, Ian (1994). *The wages of guilt: Memories of war in Germany and Japan*. New York: Meridian.
- Buruma, Ian (1999). The joys and perils of victimhood. *New York Review of Books*. [**peace & reconciliation**]
- Byng-Hall, John (1990). The power of family myth. (pp. 216-224). In Raphael Samuel & Paul Thompson (Eds.). *The myths we live by*. London: Routledge. [**families**]
- Carnes, Mark (1998) A conversation between Mark Carnes and Oliver Stone. In Mark C. Carnes, *Past Imperfect*. New York: Owl.
- Caruth, Cathy (1995). *Trauma: Explorations in memory*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Cohen, David William (1994) *The combing of history*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Confino, Alon (1997). Collective memory and cultural history: Problems of method. *American Historical Review*, 102, 1386-1403.
- Connerton, Paul (1989). *How societies remember*. New York: Cambridge.
- Davis, Eric (1999). The museum and the politics of social control in modern Iraq. In John R. Gillis (Ed.) *Commemorations: The politics of national identity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dean, Eric (1997). *Shook over hell: Post-traumatic stress, Vietnam and the Civil War*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard. [**Vietnam**]
- DeCerteau, Michel (1984). *The practice of everyday life*. (translated by Steven Rendall). Berkeley, CA: California.
- Douglas, Mary (1986). *How institutions think*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse.
- Dower, J. (1996). Three narratives of our humanity. In Edward T. Linenthal & Tom Engelhardt (Eds.), *History wars: The Enola Gay and other battles for the American past*. New York: Henry Holt. [**national memory**]

- Dower, John (1999). *Embracing defeat: Japan in the Wake of World War Two*. New York: Norton.
- Dubin, Steven C. (1999). *Displays of power: Controversy in the American museum from the Enola Gay to Sensation*. New York: NYU Press.
- Edgerton, Gary R. (2002). Mediating Thomas Jefferson: Ken Burns as Popular Historian (pp. 169-192). In Gary R. Edgerton & Peter C. Rollins (Eds.) *Television histories: Shaping collective memory in the media age*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky
- Edgerton, Gary R., & Rollins, Peter C. (2001). *Television histories: Shaping collective memory in the media age*. Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Engler, Mira (1993) Drive-thru history: Theme towns in Iowa Landscape, 32, 8-18. [space]
- Fabre, Genevieve, & O'Meally, Robert (Eds.), *History and memory in African-American culture*. [history]
- Fasulo, Alessandra, Giradet, & Pontecorvo, C. (in press). Civilization as a discourse category: A dichotomic versus a multi-layered perspective. In James Wertsch and K. Junefelt (Eds) *Language and identity: Multidisciplinary approaches*. Stockholm University of Stockholm Press.
- Fentress, James, & Wickham, Chris (1992). *Social memory*. Oxford, England: Blackwell. [edited, sociology, psychology]
- Foote, Kenneth E. (1997). *Shadowed ground: American's places of Tragedy and violence*. Austin: University of Texas. [Dis. Per., geography]
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- Frisch, Michael (1989). American history and the structure of collective memory. *Journal of American History*, 75, 1130-55.
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- Gordon, David (1995). Review essay of Patrick H. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory*. *History and Theory*, 34, 340-354.
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