

Past Looking: Using Arts as Historical Evidence in Teaching History

Yonghee Suh
Old Dominion University

This is a comparative case study of how three high school history teachers in the U.S.A. use art in their practice. The following research question was investigated: How do secondary history teachers incorporate the arts—paintings, music, poems, novels, and films—in their teaching of history and why? Data were collected from three sources: interviews, observations, and classroom materials. Grounded theory was utilized to analyze the data. Findings suggest these teachers use the arts as historical evidence roughly for three purposes: First, to teach the spirit of an age; second, to teach the history of ordinary people invisible in official historical records; and third, to teach, both with and without art, the process of writing history. Two of the three teachers, however, failed to teach historical thinking skills through art.

Keywords: history, history instruction, art, interdisciplinary approach, thinking skills, primary sources.

Introduction

Encouraging historical thinking in students is not a new idea in history education. Since the turn of the 20th century, many historians and history educators have argued that history consists of not only facts, but also historians' interpretation of those facts, commonly known as the process of historical thinking, or how to analyze and interpret historical evidence, make historical arguments, and engage in historical debates (Bain, 2005; Holt, 1990; VanSledright; 2002; Wineburg, 2001). Many past reform efforts in history education have shared this commitment to teach students to think historically, in part by being engaged in the process of historical inquiry (Bradley Commission on History in Schools, 1988; National Center for History in the Schools, 1995).

One potential tool to help students learn both historical thinking and factual knowledge is art. Researchers have argued that art can be a powerful pedagogical vehicle for engaging students in the process of historical inquiry and to develop their historical thinking (Crawford, Hicks, & Doherty, 2010; Christensen, 2006; Holt, 1990). Others have claimed that when various arts are used, students can better learn how to understand multiple perspectives (Epstein, 1994) as well as more vividly grasp what the past signifies (Gabella, 1994, 1996, 1998). Some researchers also argue that when art is used, students acquire a wider range of background knowledge and become more interested in learning about history (Barton, 1994; Levstik, 1990).

While the arts could be a pedagogical tool for historical thinking, there are concerns that simply interacting with the arts does not automatically enhance students' historical thinking. Previous research, for instance, found that when the arts are not carefully used, students are easily deceived by the creator's first-hand voice. Students do not question the credibility of the source (Gabella, 1996; VanSledright, 1998; Wineburg, 2001) and become confused about the boundaries between fiction and historical fact (Gardner & Boix-Mansilla, 1994). Some researchers also suggest that the effectiveness of the use of the arts depends on the ways teachers might use arts in their teaching (Levstik, 1990; VanSledright, 1998). In order to use the arts to

promote students' historical thinking, teachers should be more thoughtful about how they use art to teach history: what artwork they use, when, and how. Most previous research on this subject has focused on the student side of learning through the arts rather than the pedagogical reasoning and methods teachers employ to incorporate art into their teaching, asking questions such as: For what purposes do history teachers choose to service the arts in teaching history? To accomplish those purposes, how do such teachers utilize the arts? What kinds of arts do they select to use? What are the constraints that limit the teachers' incorporation of the arts into their practice? Responding to these questions, this study explores the gap in research and describes the way three high school history teachers' use art in their practice and seeks to explain the pedagogical decisions behind their use of art in the classroom.

Theoretical Framework

This study draws its theoretical framework largely from three lines of research: scholarship of art, scholarship of history, and research on teaching history through arts. The first and second lines of research suggest the common ground between art and history, and offer a lens through which to view how history teachers use art and what features of art allow historians and history teachers to use art in their practice. The third line of research identifies the potential roles of the arts in enhancing students' historical thinking, and provides rationales for the focus on the use of the arts in this study.

Defining Art

This study defines the term "art" (also the terms "arts," "the arts," and "artwork") broadly. There have been three major scholarly approaches to defining art. The first focuses on the "art object" itself, for example, a painting or sculpture. Both ancient and contemporary art philosophers argue that art as art object represents the physical and mental world of human beings that is not only personal but also associated with society in general (Bell, 1914/1930; Dewey, 1934; Dickie, 1971; Langer, 1953; Levinson, 1998). The second approach focuses on the process of creating artwork. In other words, while the first approach emphasizes the product of artistic creation, the second emphasizes both the creative process and the artist who created the artwork. Artists such as Percy Bysshe Shelley (1900) and Leo Tolstoy (1897) considered art the process of creating art objects (e.g., writing poems or writing novels) and both pointed out one of the critical features of art is that artists express their personal emotions through art so that the emotions themselves aid in the creation of, and become a part of, the art object. More recently, philosophers of art have provided a third definition of art, which attends to the aesthetic experience, or the quality of experience art objects create. Maxine Greene (1991), for instance, discusses the meanings art evokes through aesthetic experience. She argues that when people hear and see artwork, they do not passively accept what the artist expresses through the artwork. Since it is often difficult to glean the significance of an artwork without proper training or guidance, the audience has to either actively participate in understanding the meanings of the artwork or create their own meanings. Given the three approaches to defining art, this study does not use any one specific definition of art. Instead, it uses the terms "art" and "the arts" interchangeably, and adheres to the following comprehensive definition of "the arts" offered by the U.S. Congress. This definition also aids in outlining the prevalent notions of art in contemporary society:

The term “the arts” includes, but is not limited to, music (instrumental and vocal), dance, drama, folk art, creative writing, architecture and allied fields, painting, sculpture, photography, graphic and craft arts, industrial design, costume and fashion design, motion pictures, television, radio, film, video, tape and sound recording, the arts related to the presentation, performance, execution, and exhibition of such major art forms, all those traditional arts practiced by the diverse peoples of this country, (*sic*) and the study and application of the arts to the human environment (the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Endowment for the Humanities, 1965).

Using Art in the Discipline of History

Similar to art philosophers who define art as “art object,” historians have used art as evidence to learn about the physical and mental worlds of the past. Peter Burke (1991) notes that only during the last three decades have historians broadened their interests to include not only the history of political events, economic trends, and social structures, but also the history of culture, everyday life, and ordinary people. This increasing curiosity about cultural and social history has drawn historians’ eyes to a kind of historical source that they have not traditionally turned to, art. Historians argue that modern advances in technology allow scholars and students of history to access art more easily than before through the Internet and multimedia-based archives.

Cultural historians, such as Jacob Burckhardt, Johan Huizinga, Phillip Aries, and Simon Schama, have used art as evidence to learn about the culture and mentalities of people in the past. Burckhardt (1840/1995) and Huizinga (1919/1996) identified the characteristics—respectively—of the Italian and Dutch Renaissances by examining visual arts and literature as critical sources. Images of children and adolescents in paintings and literature were reviewed to explore how the modern concept of childhood emerged in sixteenth and seventeenth century France (Aries, 1962). More than three hundred paintings were investigated as sources to illustrate what Dutch affluence looked like and how moral sensibilities and patriotism shaped Dutch behaviors in everyday life (Schama, 1987).

Social historians have used art to learn about the culture of socially invisible people (often women or other marginalized groups), many of whom were illiterate and, therefore, not as well-represented in written and recorded artifacts (Bravati, Buxton, & Seldon, 1996; Burke, 1991). Robert W. Scribner (1981/1994), a historian of the German Reformation, for instance, used the visual propaganda found in woodcuts and book illustrations as the main source for his argument in *For the Sake of Simple Folk: Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation*. Scribner maintained that, because most lower class Germans were illiterate (only five percent of Germans were literate in the 16th century), visual propaganda was important for both anti-reformists and reformists in spreading evangelical messages. Thus, he posited that analyzing visual propaganda would be the most helpful way to examine the beliefs and values anti-reformists and reformists wanted to communicate to the illiterate masses, and to understand the messages to which lower class Germans were exposed.

While cultural and social historians have used art as historical evidence, there is a group of philosophers of history, literary critics, and historians who focus on the process of writing history and claim that history is *art*, specifically the art of fiction (Barthes, 1970; La Capra, 1983; White, 1973). Focusing on the process of creating historical accounts and the imagination that such works require, they maintain there is no essential difference between history and fiction

and that, although historians are assumed to objectively document past events, they can never formulate truly objective accounts. Some historians and literary critics, thus, claim that history is “a story about the past that historians create by their imagination” (Jenkins, 1991, p. 26), rather than a record of what really happened.

In sum, there appears to be a loose correlation between the three definitions of art, the different schools of historical scholarship, and how various historians use art. A caveat is in order here. Although the loose associations between the various definitions of art and the various schools of historical thought have been pointed out, ideas about art and its use in history are much more fluid when considered by historians and philosophers of art and history. Much like John Dewey (1934), who pulled together very different ideas under the umbrella of art, historians can conceptualize and use art in a variety of ways, making it nearly impossible to put them in a single cell of any such analysis. This is suggestive of how art and history coningle.

Using Art in Teaching History

Contemporary philosophers of art have become interested in the kind of experiences artwork can evoke. In a similar fashion, education researchers have recently begun to explore what learning experiences art can generate in history classrooms, especially when particular works of art are presented as historical evidence. Some researchers contend that art is a unique pedagogical tool helping students construct a historical understanding of the past, in a way that other sources cannot (Barton, 2001; Epstein, 1994a, b; Gabella, 1994, 1996, 1998; Levstik & Barton, 2001/2005). In a study of her own eleventh grade U.S. history class, Terrie Epstein (1994b), for instance, found that when various arts were used, students developed knowledge that is “human or lifelike” in form, unlike the analytical knowledge that they gain from history textbooks or other non-art sources. She also reported that when art is used as an evaluative tool to measure students’ historical understanding, students who felt uncomfortable expressing their ideas in writing performed better (Epstein, 1994a). Marcy Singer-Gabella (1994, 1996) studied an eleventh grade U.S. history class where works of art, such as photography, film, painting, and music, were used as main teaching resources. The study argues that because art is an expression of human experience, it allows students to acquire a type of historical understanding easily accommodating various perspectives and fosters a degree of empathy for historical actors.

While the first group of researchers highlights the unique features of art as a pedagogical tool, another group of researchers, including historians and history educators, is considering art as historical evidence that can advance students’ historical thinking just as is done by other primary documents. A group of historians published a series of articles in a special issue of *Journal of American History* (Coventry et al., 2006), reporting their experiences in using works of art to teach students. They argued that learning about the past through art requires both teachers and students to be equipped with the intellectual thinking skills they would need when working with other primary sources. History educators confirm this argument and further define historical thinking as the ability to place a piece of artwork in a larger historical context, and to make an argument about the artwork’s place in a particular time period, just as historians do when they inquire about the past by using works of art as historical evidence (Barton, 2001; Desai, Hamlin, & Mattson, 2010).

Despite these arguments for the potential role of art to develop students’ historical understanding, empirical studies on how art is actually incorporated into history classrooms are scarce. The recent existing body of research focuses on a couple of specific genres of art, such

as photography (Barton, 2001; Foster, Hoge, & Rosch, 1999; Marcus & Levine, 2011; Seixas, 1998) and film (Marcus, 2006; Marcus, Metzger, Paxton, & Stoddard, 2010; Metzger & Suh, 2008). Other similar studies focus on the students' side only, asking questions such as what and how students learn history through the arts (Epstein, 1994a, 1994b, 1996; Gabella, 1994, 1996, 1998). Less is known about how history teachers incorporate arts in their practice: what specific artwork and which instructional strategies teachers choose to use, and why. Such scarcity of research necessitates this empirical study of three high school history teachers and their use of the arts in the classroom.

Method

This is a comparative case study (Yin, 2003) of three experienced high school history teachers that aims to produce thick description (Geertz, 1973) of the teachers' use of the arts in their teaching. A chain sampling strategy was used to find teachers for this study (Maxwell, 1996; Patton, 2002; Weiss, 1994), which means that the author was introduced to these teachers through faculty members, colleagues, and friends. The author was introduced to Sharon through a colleague at the graduate school for the reputation of her school's interdisciplinary program. The author met Brandon through a faculty member in the college of education, who was working with Brandon on an independent study in the Master's degree program. Lastly, the author observed Tom and his student teacher, whom she supervised, using arts as they co-taught in the classroom. Because art is so seldom used as a critical tool in teaching history, the pool of potential teachers was small; therefore, the sample is largely a convenience sample. These three teachers were selected for the study because they were willing to participate in the study and used art in some way in a U.S. public high school. All three teachers—Sharon, Brandon, and Tom—are European Americans and have taught for more than ten years. All three incorporate art, such as fine arts, popular arts, music, and literature, into their classrooms. Brandon and Tom work in schools in small, suburban, Midwestern cities, while Sharon teaches in a research university town. In all the representative schools, more than 70% of the student population was European American. These teachers' classes were regular classes. A more detailed description of the participants will follow in the findings section.

Data were collected from three sources. First, two interviews, the "knowledge and beliefs interviews," were conducted. The goal of the first interview was to learn what each teacher knows about the topics in his or her unit. The second interview was conducted to learn what each teacher knew about the artwork he or she uses (e.g., who created it, when, and why) and why he or she believes using the artwork is helpful for teaching the topic. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by the researcher. Second, six observations of each teacher's lessons and three post-observation interviews were conducted. Each class was tape-recorded and field notes were taken during the observation. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by the researcher. The focus of the observations was the artworks used, the topics taught with the artwork, and the instructional strategies employed in using the arts. The post-observation interviews were used to learn what particular artwork the teachers use in order to teach each particular topic, and why. Third, teaching materials (i.e. handouts, textbook passages, assignments, etc.) were collected to complement data from interviews and class observations. Sharon's Renaissance unit, Brandon's 1920s unit, and Tom's unit about the American

Revolution were selected for observation because the three teachers said they most frequently use the arts for these units and felt most comfortable being observed teaching the identified unit.

All data were analyzed using the constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). The data analysis process consisted of three stages. The first stage involved writing memos and coding data while collecting them. New coding categories emerged as the data were being analyzed. An initial set of coding categories came from the research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994) and included categories such as the teachers' definitions of art, their purposes for using art in teaching history, the content taught by the teachers through art, instructional strategies employed by the teachers in using art, and factors that affect their ways of using art. The second stage included writing a single case for each teacher, and then comparing the three cases, along with linking data with theories in the disciplines of history and history education. Writing and comparing cases enabled the recognition of the similarities and differences between the three teachers and their uses of art. Literature in the discipline of history and history education was then revisited to better understand the teachers' logic behind their decisions about why and how they wanted to use art in their teaching. The third stage involved additional analyses and validity. The validity of the findings was checked by searching for discrepant evidence, comparing findings from similar studies, and getting feedback from a retired teacher and two colleagues.

This study has limitations. First, while this study aims to further understand why and how teachers choose to use art in their history teaching, the three cases are not comprehensively representative of the ways in which history teachers use art in their practices. Second, the student population in this study is mostly European American. Thus, this study might miss opportunities to describe cases where teachers use the arts for different populations of students, which, as Epstein's (2010) work shows, may influence the way students perceive art in educational settings.

Findings

The following three cases illustrate key features of how history teachers can use the arts in their teaching. Sharon's case exemplifies how, taking on the role of a cultural historian, the teacher can use art to help students visualize historical events and figures, and to teach the mentalities of people in the past (Gabella, 1994, 1996; Burke, 2001). Brandon's case demonstrates how, like a social historian, the teacher can present artwork to teach the history of groups that are traditionally invisible in written history (Christensen, 2006; Epstein, 1994; Scribner, 1981/1994). Lastly, Tom's case suggests how the teacher can use artwork to teach the process of historical inquiry and help students develop the ability to consider the different perspectives surrounding a given subject (Epstein, 1994b; White, 1973). The common feature of these history teachers' uses of the arts is that all three present artwork as historical evidence that represents the past.

Sharon: Teaching "The Spirit of the Age"

Sharon is a woman in her fifties. She was born and raised in the university town where the high school in which she teaches is located. Sharon has a wide-ranging academic background due to her curious nature and her need to be qualified to teach an equally wide array of courses. She has undergraduate degrees in both English and history, a Master's degree, and an additional 19 credits in art history in order to teach the art history component of the high

school's interdisciplinary humanities course. She is particularly interested in late medieval and Italian Renaissance history and art.

Sharon's high school is large and comprehensive with 2,670 students (71% European American, 13% African American, 6.5% Asian American, and 3% Hispanic American). At the time of data collection, Sharon was teaching art history and European history to seniors in an interdisciplinary humanities program with four other teachers: two in the English department, one in the music department, and one in the history department of which she is a part. Sharon's humanities course is a two-hour block of art history, English, European history, and music, structured as follows.

During the first hour, students have a formal lecture, sometimes a team presentation by several different teachers in the different subjects. All the teachers have different days where they take charge of the first hour. Two days a week during the second hour, the students go to a literature seminar, while two days a week they go to a history seminar (Sharon).

Sharon is in charge of teaching both an art history lecture and a history seminar. In her art history lecture she has 40 students (34 European American, four African American, and two Asian American students) and in a history seminar, she has 20 students (19 European American and one Asian American students). After students listen to Sharon's art history lecture, which serves to give them a general sense of the historical period, they split into two groups and each group takes turns going to English and history seminars where they read literature and historical primary sources created during the time period they are studying.

Sharon uses works of art from the Italian Renaissance in order to teach "the spirit of the Renaissance," as a cultural historian might. According to Sharon's personal website for the class, she considers artwork—in her case mostly visual arts including paintings, sculpture, and architecture—as historical evidence that mirrors the spirit of the age, representing human thought, values, and aspirations. She believes that the history of art brings all of the other disciplines together; the subject matter in art reflects politics and economics, features subjects taken from literature, and visualizes all of these. She uses these works of art for two pedagogical reasons. First, she wants to help students specifically visualize the time period they are studying. She indicated that studying the time period with works of art helps students better understand abstract concepts, such as the spirit of the age. Second, she said that studying history in this way helps make history more interesting to students. More specifically, for the Italian Renaissance unit, Sharon uses the period's visual arts to characterize the spirit of the Italian Renaissance, as humanism. Sharon uses artwork in her lessons deductively, as an illustration of the characteristics of humanism:

My goal for the art history lecture was to have them [students] be able to define humanism and some of its key characteristics. And related to that, it was also to see how humanism represents the revival aspect of the Renaissance and rebirth, but also there is the confidence that they will have new knowledge to build on in the future (Sharon).

A closer look at Sharon's classroom. Sharon's art history lecture usually took place in an auditorium. Sharon lectured using a *PowerPoint* presentation. Images of artwork were shown on a screen, and students were given handouts that included titles of the major works of art and names of the artists. While Sharon lectured, students took notes and, at times, asked questions or made comments on what they saw. During the majority of class time, Sharon talked

and students listened and took notes. Sharon announced that in the lesson observed, students would read and discuss some important historical figures' texts and see how these individuals' views on human beings, and their respect for Greek and Roman culture, was represented in works of art. The first text on the handout was excerpted from William Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Before the students read the piece, Sharon mentioned, in her characteristically deductive manner, that Shakespeare addresses both the greatness and fragility of human beings in the passage. One girl in the front row volunteered to read:

What a piece of work is a man! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action how like an angel! In apprehension how like a god! The beauty of the world! The paragon of animals! And yet to me what is this quintessence of dust? (Humanities History handout: Voices of humanism).

Sharon reread the last sentence and explained that this quotation marked the emergence of a new concept of humanity, placing "a tremendous emphasis on human dignity," while acknowledging the brevity of human life as well. Four more quotations followed from Marcilio Ficino, Vespasiano Da Bisticci, and Niccolo Machiavelli. Each time, a student first read aloud, and then Sharon explained how, the quote illustrated characteristics of Renaissance humanism; human self-awareness, a revival of Greek and Roman ideas in politics and culture, and changing attitudes toward women and learning.

Whenever possible, Sharon presented the author's portrait. For instance, Sharon showed Machiavelli's portrait while a student read from his work:

When evening comes, I return home and go into my study. On the threshold I strip off my muddy, sweaty, workday clothes and put on the robes of court and palace and in this graver dress I enter the antique courts of the ancients and am welcomed by them, and there again I taste the food that alone is mine and for which I was born. And there I make bold to speak to them and ask the motives of their actions, and they in their humanity, replay to me. And for the space of four hours I forget the world, remember no vexation, fear poverty no more, tremble no more at death. I pass indeed into their world.

(Humanities History handout: Voices of humanism).

A couple of students giggled at the portrait, remarking that he appeared to be wearing choir clothes. Sharon also laughed and pointed out, "Yes, in the portrait, he is in that choir dress and he has his hand on a book. But don't you think he looks pretty happy and content?" Sharon explained that, along with respecting and following the ancient works, humanists enjoyed studying and valued scholarship.

Sharon then pointed out that admiring Greek and Roman culture was another characteristic of the Renaissance humanists. Sharon illustrated this point by considering a quotation by Leonardo Bruni, a humanist scholar and politician in Florence. Bruni respected the writing of Cicero, a Roman writer and politician, as an example of the perfect use of the Latin language. Sharon noted, "He [Bruni] traced the history of the Latin language and established parallels between the Latin language and the history of the Roman republic and empire." Bruni's quotation read:

Francesco Petrarch, who first had such grace of talent and who recognized and restored to light the ancient elegance of style which was lost and dead, although in his it was not perfect, nevertheless by himself he saw and opened the way to this perfection by recovering the works of Cicero. (Humanities History handout: Voices of humanism).

As well as reading quotations, Sharon explained that students could see the Greek and Roman tradition in the artistic styles of the time. For instance, Sharon showed students slides of the Santa Croce Church where Brunni's tomb is located, and a second slide of Brunni's tomb. In each slide, Sharon pointed out Roman stylistic traditions, such as the archways and sculptures within the church:

This is in the church, Santa Croce in Florence. It's one of the number one major Renaissance tombs in that church. As you look, you can see the nice arch that comes from the Roman artistic tradition...[pointing out the arch] You have the arch, and you have a figure shown on top of the funeral bier that has a specific portrait of a specific individual. We saw that in Roman art. His funeral bier is held up by eagles, an important symbol in the Roman republic and the Roman military...An inscription is held by two winged figures, which are often in Roman times represented by feigns. (Sharon).

A portrait of Cosimo de Medici, Brunni's patron as well as one of the most active humanists, also was shown. Sharon again asked which time period the artistic style reminded them of. The portrait imitated the images of emperors on Roman coins, cutting the portrait short below the shoulder. Sharon nodded, adding, "Particularly, look at the face, the contours. It is like a Roman."

Lastly, Sharon wrapped up the lesson by introducing Renaissance ideas that students would learn in the next art history lecture and history seminar. One major topic that students would learn was exploring how Christianity was represented during the Renaissance through various works of art, including Sandro Botticelli's two paintings, *Primavera* and *The Birth of Venus*. Citing Peter Murray and Linda Murray's theory in *The Art of the Renaissance* (1963), Sharon explained that some people believe that the Middle Ages was a religious age and that the Renaissance was a secular age, but that this was an oversimplified view of the Renaissance.

Analysis of Sharon's case. Two patterns emerged in the analysis of Sharon's data. First, Sharon's use of artwork seemed to capture students' attention and bring historical figures to life for them: the students often laughed at the stark contrast of past and present. When Sharon showed the portrait of Machiavelli, however, she seemed to transform a dead man into a relevant historical figure, a flesh and blood person who expressed joy at studying classical scholarship. Sharon explained:

While they are listening to the words of Machiavelli about getting dressed up to study the ancient philosophers, they can see him in this somewhat special elegant dress with his hand on the book, and a smile on his face. That portrait, I think, brought his words to life, and you need that. (Sharon).

One of the distinct features of Sharon's art history lecture was her use of artwork alongside related resources. Sharon's lesson was like a collage. She used a variety of resources, such as slides of the artwork, quotes by the artists, and theories of art historians, to illustrate the *Zeitgeist*, the spirit of the Italian Renaissance: humanism. Through this collage, she demonstrated that humanism was represented in the period's appreciation for individuality, admiration of Greek and Roman culture, and new participation in Christianity. Consider how Sharon had students listen to Brunni's quote and then look at the artistic styles in the Santa Croce church, Brunni's tomb, and the portrait of Medici. By encouraging students to deductively find evidence of humanism in these works of art, Sharon presented the spirit of the Italian Renaissance.

While Sharon's art history lecture was full of works of art that acted as historical evidence and sparked students' intellectual engagement, there seems to be a serious limitation in Sharon's lesson. As history educators and teachers have noted, art is capable of illustrating not only a single historical event but an entire culture, a *Zeitgeist* (Levstik & Barton, 2001/2005; Gabella, 1994, 1998). Sharon taught the *Zeitgeist* of the Italian Renaissance, humanism, implying that a single humanist masterpiece could convey this complex of ideas. Such an implication can be quite problematic. In his book, *Eyewitnessing*, Peter Burke (2001) notes that it is extremely misleading to view a single piece of artwork as a *Zeitgeist*. He confesses that cultural historians have often tended to treat certain images, in particular famous works of art, as representative of the period in which they were created. Though not always, this tendency is dangerous since it assumes that historical periods are homogeneous enough to be represented by a single work of art. What about the lives of ordinary people who lived during the Italian Renaissance, such as the relatively unknown painter who created the portrait of Machiavelli? What would his life have been like? And, what about other cultural groups during the Italian Renaissance? Would they have lived according to the same values and aspirations that Machiavelli had? These questions lead us to Brandon, the teacher in our next case, who wanted to teach the history of people who have been marginalized in and through art.

Brandon: Teaching Diversity with the Arts

Brandon is a male teacher in his early forties who has taught U.S. history and creative art to various grades for 11 years. He taught art for three years at the elementary school level, U.S. history for four years at the middle school level, and U.S. history for six years at the high school level. Brandon's high school is located in a rural area of the Midwest. Besides his Bachelor's degree in history, Brandon has a Master's degree in teaching and learning. Having minored in art, he felt much more comfortable in answering students' questions by drawing rather than by speaking or writing. Brandon's school student population was 82% European American, 11% African American, 5% Hispanic American, 1% Native American, and 0.7% Asian American. According to Brandon, the number of minority students had grown over the last couple of years because, under the school choice program, a lot of parents are taking their kids out of the inner city and bringing them to Brandon's school. Brandon taught the 11th graders the U.S. history when he was observed for the study. In the class where he was observed, Brandon had 26 European American students, four African American students, and one Asian American student.

Brandon believes that we underrepresent some groups when we write official history. To provide a better sense of what underrepresented groups actually experienced, he asserts that we need alternative evidence, or evidence created by the underrepresented groups themselves. So art, especially art created by underrepresented people, is evidence that better connects us to their experiences of the past and provides us with more "accurate" views of history. Clearly, Brandon held the view that our understanding of the African American experience during the 1920s could be a distorted one, if those experiences were depicted by white Americans:

Before the Harlem Renaissance, you had all these portraits of African Americans done by white painters. It is amazing...[when you see these portraits done by whites and African Americans] the difference is not only the subject matter. White painters are painting these people dancing and other stereotypical things. When blacks are painting themselves, they're trying to explain what their [everyday] life was like. (Brandon).

During the 1920s, many African American artists represented their own experiences through art (Haskin, 2002), particularly during the Harlem Renaissance. Thus, through his unit on the Roaring 1920s, Brandon hoped to teach about African American people's experiences and culture through art.

Brandon had two goals for his unit on the Harlem Renaissance. First, he wanted students to understand what the African American experience was like, using African American art as firsthand accounts from the time period. Second, Brandon brought in the arts to address current racial issues in his school. Since the number of African American students has grown, Brandon stated he frequently observed scenes in which white and black students engaged in verbal and physical conflicts. He hoped that, through directly experiencing the artwork of the Harlem Renaissance, students would be able to see and hear the African Americans' "way of being in the world" at that time. Most of all, Brandon emphasized the importance of empathy for people in both the past and the present. Brandon wanted his European American students to develop empathy for their African American peers by learning African American history through art. Brandon was passionate about teaching this unit. Although, by his own admission, he "pretty much follows the textbook chapter by chapter," he researched his Harlem Renaissance lessons by himself, selected the artwork to use, and taught details that students would encounter in units on other periods.

A closer look at Brandon's classroom. Brandon spent two consecutive lessons on the Harlem Renaissance. In the first lesson, he explained the historical background of the Harlem Renaissance. In the second lesson, he went over each of the genres of art that he would use during the class, and read, examined, and listened to the artwork with his students. To begin his unit, Brandon used the Public Broadcasting System (PBS) documentary film *American Experience: America 1900* to provide background knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance, in particular, through first-hand accounts. Brandon showed his students a five-minute segment of the movie that illustrated African American experiences at the turn of the 20th century. The film mainly used black and white photographs and accounts by Margaret Washington, a renowned African American historian. Brandon's main instructional strategy for this part of the lesson was a lecture with a *PowerPoint* presentation. At the start of his presentation, Brandon asked students to write down the main points from the slide and to think about why the Harlem Renaissance happened. He also occasionally stopped the video to explain terms that were used in the video. Defining the Harlem Renaissance, he pointed out:

Okay, we will stop right there. So the way the white society dealt with blacks was through paternalism. Do you know what I mean by paternalism? It means, 'These people really cannot be successful on their own, so therefore we will be very helpful. We will take care of them.' Of course, they were treated as non-citizens; if they were accused of crime, they would never see the den of the court. (Brandon)

A couple of times, Brandon used *American Experience* as a reference during his lectures. For instance, when he lectured on the Great Migration as a backdrop for the Harlem Renaissance, he noted:

Remember what the documentary said...Nine out of ten African Americans lived in the South and the number was eight million. So this was a very large migration—a million and a half Southern blacks migrated up to the North. (Brandon)

Then, Brandon shared his *PowerPoint* slides. In most of the slides, he included one or two photographs. Brandon's slides covered the historical background of the Harlem Renaissance and the group of African Americans who fought for their equality and rights during the period. His slides also introduced famous paintings, music, and literature from the time period. Twenty-one of 27 slides included old photos of historical events and famous artists during the 1920s, images of their artwork, and excerpts of poems. Brandon went over each slide one by one. While going over the slides, Brandon played the blues, and explained the origin of this musical genre. He asked why African Americans played songs when they worked, and answered: "When they were working on the farm, they sang songs to pass the time. It is the same as when African American slaves were working. That's the way the blues started." Students silently listened to the music. Brandon ended the lesson, saying that students would see more artwork created by African Americans during the following class.

In the second lesson, Brandon used the same instructional strategy. He mainly lectured and used *PowerPoint* slides, each of which contained a title and one or two images of artists or works of art from the Harlem Renaissance. Again, he used three genres of art in this lesson: music; literature, including poems; and paintings. He presented paintings as first-hand accounts of the Harlem Renaissance that illustrated how African Americans represented themselves through their own eyes. William Johnson's *Street Life – Harlem*, Augusta Savage's *Cottage*, and several pieces by Aaron Douglas were presented. With *Street Life*, for instance, Brandon wanted to show students the physical appearance of African Americans when they went out for entertainment during that time, and with *Cottage*, he asked students to imagine the kinds of lives African Americans would have led in that cottage. Brandon explained that the 1920s was the very first time when black artists could actually earn recognition for their own work. He again referenced the documentary film from the beginning of the lesson, and explained:

Before the 1920s, anytime African Americans were the subjects in paintings, it was always through the interpretation of a white person. So you'd have all these stereotypical features of the black person, and it was really kind of a racist thing when whites tried to portray blacks in paintings or songs. (Brandon)

Among all of the Harlem Renaissance paintings presented by Brandon, three by Aaron Douglas, known as the father of African American art, were used to illustrate how experiences of Harlem had influenced artists' styles; how different art forms, such as music and painting, had influenced each other; and how themes of everyday life emerged in paintings. While presenting Aaron Douglas' paintings, Brandon asked students questions such as, "What's the theme of the painting?" and "What's going on in the painting?"

Analysis of Brandon's case. In reviewing the historiography of the 20th century, Lyn Hunt (1989/1994) notes that during the last thirty years, social historians in the U.S. have focused on the "experiences of America's outsiders—the poor, the persecuted, and the foreign" (p. 157). To unveil the experiences of these outsiders, they attend to hidden cultures, for culture seems to be something that shapes social actions as well as emotions and feelings. Thus, it is not uncommon for these social historians to look for new kinds of evidence, and art has become one of the resources historians turn to for retrieving experiences of people who lived in the margins, rather than the center stage, of history. By the same logic, Brandon used different artistic forms to teach different dimensions of the African American experience during the Harlem Renaissance. Duke Ellington's jazz was used to convey the general atmosphere of the 1920s;

Claude McKay's "If We Must Die" was used to express not only the poet's feelings toward mainstream American society, but also those toward his marginalized people. Paintings were used to teach students a more vivid view of African Americans' everyday lives, such as the clothes they wore and the houses where they lived. Brandon used these works of art to help students appreciate the experience of minority groups during the 1920s. Brandon, like many social historians, felt that African Americans, communists, and young people had been silenced during this time period, and so he insisted that students experience their voices firsthand in his lessons. By using the artwork created by 1920s African American artists, he believed he let the authentic voices of this minority group speak about their own experiences.

Despite his good intentions, Brandon's approach of using art also has its limitations, in terms of using art as historical evidence. Similar to other time periods, the Harlem Renaissance is a time period that inspires strikingly different interpretations when it comes to the reconstruction of African American self-identity. For some historians, such as Nathan Huggins (1971) and David Lewis (1986), the Harlem Renaissance was a failure, since even if African American artists created art, "white words were compelled to approve only that view of the Negro that served that image" for white patrons and publishers (Huggins, p. 245). Most of all, given the geographical location of New York City, where artists were active, the kinds of African American experiences and cultures represented in their work were limited from representing the African American cultures across the country. This resonates with what Keith Barton (2005) calls "myths" about primary sources (p.745). Pointing out the common misconceptions about primary sources, he warns that just because a primary source was created during the time of the study or by eyewitnesses, it does not necessarily guarantee the authenticity that makes it reliable. Without being questioned about who created it and why, and in what context it was created, the primary source may represent only a narrow perspective on the event or the time period. In Brandon's case, who were these artists? What were their goals for creating these works of art? How were the African American experiences represented in these works of art different from or similar to those in previous or later periods? How were the images in these works of art representing all walks of the African American experience during the 1920s? These are questions that Brandon should have asked to more fully explore African American experiences during the 1920s. By presenting the artwork from the Harlem Renaissance as all-encompassing historical evidence of the entire African American culture, Brandon also missed an opportunity to teach a more complex and comprehensive view of African American experiences through art.

Tom: Teaching History as Art

Tom is in his early forties. Tom started his teaching career at a private secondary school in a large, Midwestern city and moved a year later to the junior high school where he was observed. He had been teaching an English block for eight years and an English-history block for two years by the time of the data collection. His students were mostly European American students (85%), although the percentages of Hispanic American (6%), African American (4%), Asian American (4%) and Native American (1%) students were growing at the school. Tom has a laid-back personality and likes to make students laugh and feel comfortable. He intentionally uses his sense of humor to make his classroom a casual and comfortable place.

Like Sharon, Tom teaches an interdisciplinary course, a ninth grade English-history block. Teaching both English and history in a single block appears to offer Tom opportunities to include

various primary and secondary sources in his history curriculum. For the U.S. history part of the block, Tom often uses historical fiction such as *Three Sovereigns of Sarah* (1985) to help students understand Puritan perspectives and the Salem Witch Trials, and he uses *The Killer Angels* (Shaara, 1974/1997), *The Red Badge of Courage* (Crane, 1990/1997) and *Bull Run* (Fleischman, 1995) to teach the Civil War.

When asked what artwork he uses to teach the American Revolution, Tom responded that he does not use artwork, except a portrait called *Treaty of Paris* (West, 1783) that he got from the textbook. Tom added, however, that he teaches history as art. For Tom, history is not a list of names, dates, and historical events but a story that is “created by human beings about the past” and “that keeps being revised.” Tom believes that people tell the story that we call “history,” and that various people tell different stories, given their intentions and positions relative to past events. In doing so, they tend to arrange events in a narrative that has a beginning, middle, and ending to describe historical figures as either heroes or anti-heroes. He stated:

History is a story—look at the primary source, and how historians [create] and revise the story. This writing process is part of history... This unit [American Revolution] is related to a lot of stories. We like good guys and bad guys. Because of it, do we oversimplify the elements of history? We like climax. Do we invent climax? Do we place climax onto a story? We have this schema in the brain and use it when we create a story even though we do not have that in reality. (Tom)

For Tom, this process of writing history parallels that of writing novels. The one difference he notes is that historians consider historical events as being central to their work, while novelists create human experience through their imaginations, at times referring to historical events (Boix-Mansilla & Gardner, 1997).

Tom has two goals when he teaches the American Revolution. First, he wants to “give [students] a broader stroke” of U.S. history. Instead of focusing on “small battles,” Tom wants to focus on topics such as “landownership, freedom, equality, and taxation without representation.” Since students take another U.S. history course in the tenth grade, Tom hopes that this unit will serve as an overview of the revolution. Secondly, but no less importantly, Tom wants to emphasize the idea of history as a story through his lessons. Tom does not believe that “students will learn this idea from one or two lessons.” According to Tom, this theme is to be only taught “step by step to a much larger concept that history is a story that people construct either collectively or not, based on historical facts.”

A closer look at Tom’s classroom. Tom has 22 students in his class including 20 European Americans, one Asian American, and one African American. Tom’s American Revolution unit consisted of three parts. During the first part of the unit, Tom read students one section from *The Story in History* (Galt, 1992). Students then read a *New York Times* article called “Good as a Gun When Cameras Define a War” (Kifner, 2003). Lastly, students discussed the newspaper article in relation to the issue of the media during the French and Indian War and how the media at that time framed the American identity. Tom and his students later discussed this issue by creating a conceptual map of the factors that shaped the American identity during the eighteenth century and in the present.

During the second part of the unit, students watched three 20-minute movies about the beginning of the American Revolution. Tom considered these educational movies as “documentary-type movies,” given that their storylines are mainly based on historical facts. He

used these movies because they provided background information about the causes of the American Revolution from different angles. Some highlighted different aspects—such as the economic and legal—of the American Revolution (*Countdown to Independence*, 1993; *The Road to the Revolution*, 2001). Others offered different accounts of these causes from different perspectives, such as an African American one, a Native American one (*Seeds of Liberty*, 1993), and perspectives from different groups inside the colonies (*Cry, Riots*, 1973).

In the third part of the unit, students watched the entire movie *The Patriot*. Before showing the movie, Tom briefly commented that *The Patriot* concentrates on only a part of the Revolutionary War—the end of the war—and that it only describes the war in the South. Tom also told his students that the director had his own perspective on the revolution, and that students needed to look for evidence of these views, as well as possible explanations for them. Toward the end of the movie, for instance, Benjamin Martin, the main character played by Mel Gibson, goes to the battle to kill the British colonel who killed his son. After killing the British general, Benjamin runs through the battlefields waving the American flag with fanfare playing as the background music. At this point, Tom stopped the movie and asked his students, “Why does the director use red as the main color to describe the scene where Benjamin Martin waves an American flag and runs through the battlefield? What are the effects of fanfare as background music on this scene?” Tom wanted students to pay attention to the nonverbal devices that the director had used to recreate a scene from the American Revolution.

The highlight of the lesson was when the movie finished and Tom presented two different accounts of the end of the Revolutionary War: the portrait *Treaty of Paris* and the textbook accounts. He asked students to open their textbooks and look at the unfinished portrait of the men who had negotiated the Treaty of Paris. From left to right were the American officials John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Henry Laurens, and William Temple Franklin. The textbook caption explained that Benjamin West, the painter, began the portrait but never finished it, for the British officials had refused to pose. Tom asked students why the portrait was not finished and what this unfinished portrait suggested about the British view of their surrender to the colonists. Tom explained:

This is another statement by the British about the surrender. Generally, during the signing of a treaty, when a group surrenders to the other, [the group says] yes, you won. The people come to sign it, the people who sign the treaty sit down and pose for the portrait. The British refused to sit. And this is what was finished as a portrait. A lot of people argue that the British didn't really surrender and just said, 'Okay, it's over.' (Tom)

He continued to explain that *Treaty of Paris* also reflects the painter's attitude toward his subjects:

That's one of the funny things about this portrait. If you look at this portrait of all these different things and all these people, if the painter had liked the people in the portrait, he would have made them look good. But if you look at the poles and drapes carefully, you can actually see a word there or something that is nasty. The painter hid little things in the portrait as a way of getting back at the people. (Tom).

Tom and his students then skimmed the chapter on the American Revolution, and discovered that the movie largely ignores the first section titled “Early Years of the War,” instead concentrating on section three in the textbook, entitled “The Path to Victory.” Lastly, Tom listed the main

characters and events in *The Patriot* that were real and asked students to do research on those characters and events. Students were asked to present what they found during the next class when they returned after the weekend.

Analysis of Tom's case. Overall, Tom taught two things: First, the process of how stories about the past are created and why they differ, and second, how to read an author's intention in a work of art. Tom explained:

I think that [*Treaty of Paris* is] a primary source document. It's open to interpretation. It is coming from a specific perspective and it is from a person who has a certain reason for painting. You have to consider what perspective this person is coming from. (Tom)

One way in which Tom differed from Sharon and Brandon was his use of the arts as springboards for class discussion. As Gabella (1994) argues, when artwork is used in class, students tend to more easily identify with the voices of the artists than with those of the textbook. In the case of the portrait, *Treaty of Paris*, Tom noted:

I think that the artist can give us a clue as to where to look for information in places we might not have looked before—like the unfinished painting. That gives us a clue. Did the British really consider the war was over? Or was the War of 1812 really just the final phase of the American Revolution? They are intriguing questions to answer. (Tom).

Walter Werner (2002) notes that to analyze images, we need to focus on what they conceal, as well as what they reveal. The unfinished portrait was used as a clue to glimpse what the British really thought about the end of the Revolutionary War and to get students to talk by asking them to look for clues. Tom, like a postmodern historian, wanted his students to begin to wonder about gaps in stories and to generate new stories from the omissions.

Another feature of Tom's teaching with the arts involved his use of contemporary movies and historical fiction. Compared to Sharon and Brandon, who only used artwork that was created during the time of the study, Tom framed contemporary movies and historical fiction as historical artifact, of both the past and the present. While Sharon was interested in teaching the spirit of the age, including the beliefs and values of a time period, and while Brandon was interested in enabling his students to experience African American culture and experiences, Tom was interested in teaching how stories about a historical event could be told differently depending on different perspectives. Thus, one of the roles that Tom emphasized was the role of the artist in creating stories. He asked who told the story and why, and asked how stories could change depending on different authors from the past and the present. This is evident when Tom showed *The Patriot* movie. What were the intentions of the director? What were the intentions of the photographers? What were the intentions of the painters? Consider the patterns that emerge across his questions. Regardless of the genres, Tom wanted students to think critically about the authors' intentions behind choosing the devices that communicate their ideas. This echoes one of his ultimate goals as a history teacher: he wants his students to be critical consumers of all the information that they run into outside of his classroom by applying the skills they learn from his class.

Discussion

There are similarities and differences across these cases of history teachers using art in their practice. Three similarities were identified. Although it would be unwise to pigeonhole each teacher as one kind of historian, the teachers' goals of using art varied in ways that resonate

with different schools of historical thought. Through works of art, Sharon taught the spirit of the age by visualizing beliefs and values that might have been abstract for students. Brandon used art to teach the first-hand experiences of African Americans, believing that artwork created by African American artists may represent the most authentic images of their experiences. Tom used artwork as primary and secondary sources from the past and the present, and taught different viewpoints about the historical time period that students were studying. By considering history as art, he also taught the artistic aspects of historical inquiry. Regarding the goals that the individual teachers set by teaching history using the arts, the three teachers seem to accomplish their own goals. In her study of a group of fourth graders who learned local history, Shari Levine-Rose (1999) found that under the thoughtful guidance of the teacher, these students were able to think and argue the way historians and sociologists do. Similarly, this study illustrates that the three history teachers' reasons for choosing to use art in teaching history is not separated from the tradition of scholarship in history.

The following instructional strategies were identified as being held in common. All three history teachers utilized artistic conventions and codes as clues to inquire into the past that is represented through artwork (Capozzola, 2006; Davis, 2001; Rosenstone, 1995). Borrowing strategies from art historians, Sharon modeled how to interpret symbolic meanings of the artwork, and taught students how to "read between the lines" of the artwork so that it would "tell them something" about the culture and mentalities of the Italian Renaissance (Burke, 2001, p. 34). Similarly, Brandon wanted his students to pay attention to the changes in artistic style, color, tone, and subject matter in various artworks in order to learn how the image of African Americans in art changed when African American artists depicted their own images during the Harlem Renaissance. Lastly, Tom highlighted the critical importance of deciphering devices such as color, sound, and tone to make sense of the director's messages about the American Revolution when watching the movie *The Patriot*.

Along with artwork, the teachers also used other resources related to the artwork, theme, or time period that they wanted to teach about. Sharon used both the images and words of historical figures so students could *see* the actual creator of the artwork (Mattson, 2010; Jaffee, 2006). She also used the theories of art historians that she had read in her graduate courses to support her argument about the Italian Renaissance. Brandon used documentary clips to offer students background knowledge about the Harlem Renaissance, as well as works of art from different genres to teach different dimensions of African American experiences. Tom used a variety of resources from both the past and the present along with the portrait *Treaty of Paris*. He used Hollywood movies and historical fictions to teach both what happened in the past and how the past was represented from contemporary viewpoints. Textbook chapters were used to identify the fictional elements of some of the resources. In this way, for the teachers in this study, art is not something that they use for a special occasion but a pedagogical tool that they consistently use, along with other resources, throughout the year (Marcus, Paxton, Meyerson, 2005; Stoddard, 2009).

The teachers exhibited differences in their practical application of the arts to teach historical thinking skills. By encouraging students to inferentially find evidence of humanism in these works of art, Sharon presented the spirit of the Italian Renaissance. Although she was skillful at interpreting the symbolic meanings of the artwork, Sharon did not move beyond the artists' intention except to locate evidences of humanism and explain the historical context where

the artwork was created. Unlike Sharon, Brandon did not discuss the general characteristics of the historical period. He, instead, let students delve into African American experiences by appreciating their works of art. Brandon usually limited his lecture to the artists' backgrounds and the titles of the artworks. As seen at the end of the description of his class, the questions that he asked about the artwork included: What is this artwork representing? What do you see? What's going on? Students were left to develop their own understanding about the time period without any intellectual scaffolding. The last teacher, Tom, used artwork differently. As he had broad themes to address in his unit, he presented a variety of resources that represented different perspectives on those themes. These perspectives included those from different ethnic groups, as well as from different times and places (for example, *The Patriot* from the contemporary perspective and *Treaty of Paris* from the British perspective). While the resources he selected were always neither about the American Revolution nor produced during the time period, they taught how the American Revolution was interpreted from different viewpoints, and connected back to Tom's overarching lesson of history as a story.

The findings of this study illustrate that these teachers used one or two of the strategies described here on a daily basis, although they indicated that their use of art as historical evidence is limited in terms of teaching historical thinking skills. Their limitations surfaced in their attempts to move beyond the meanings that artists hope to communicate with the viewer, and in connecting a single meaning to a big, complicated picture of a time period that cannot be explained from one single perspective. Their limitations seem to be related to the personal notions about art that the teachers may have. Sharon appears to believe that art is an artifact that represents the mental and physical world of the past. Brandon seems to highlight the emotional expression of how artists experienced the past. Tom seems to consider art as a representation of the mental and physical world of the past, but at the same time values the kinds of experiences that students have when they are engaged with the works of art, especially the meanings that they can get out of the artwork. These different notions about art influenced what and how each teacher incorporated works of art into their lessons. But, all three teachers were not equally successful in their incorporations. Sharon and Brandon failed to help students "source" the works of art, failing to ask questions about the intentions of the artists as well as the historical context where those works of art were created. Furthermore, they did not "corroborate" with other works of art or resources that represent different perspectives, and thus did not teach the complexities of the various time periods during which the works of art were produced (Wineburg, 2001).

Conclusion

By offering thick descriptions of three history teachers who integrate art into their practice, findings from this study add to the growing body of research that explores the use of various primary and secondary sources in the teaching of history, including: films (Marcus, Metzger, Paxton, Stoddard, 2010; Marcus, 2006), photographs (Barton, 2001; Foster, Hoge, & Rosch, 1999; Seixas, 1998), museums and monuments (Marcus, 2011; Marcus, 2010; Trofanenko, 2009), music, and paintings (Epstein, 1994a, 1994b; Gabella, 1994, 1996, 1998). Despite each study's different research questions and findings, these studies commonly report that students do not automatically comprehend the meanings and significances of primary and secondary sources within a larger historical context. The sources alone do not teach students

about the past, nor do they equip students to think historically. These previous studies suggest that students need intellectual scaffolding from their teachers in order to critically read and interpret primary and secondary sources. In addition, depending on the types of resources that are used, students also need different types of skills to unpack meanings from works of art. Findings from this study indicate, however, that teaching historical thinking through artwork is not an easy task. In his study of four pre-service teachers, Peter Seixas (1998) found that in some cases, teachers do not give appropriate instructions for students to learn from art. Pre-service teachers in the study often did not provide sufficient contextual information, so students could not understand photographs within a larger context. They also tended to explain an event from one historical perspective without considering a variety of interpretations. The study suggested that simply having more teaching experience does not guarantee that a teacher will have acquired the pedagogical knowledge and skills to incorporate artwork in ways that promote students' historical thinking. In-service teachers, who may have more than ten years of experience, struggle to teach historical thinking through artwork as well. To teach history through arts in a meaningful way, teachers need explicit intellectual support and frameworks to identify artwork that is both appropriate and representative of different perspectives.

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Author's Bio

Yonghee Suh is Assistant Professor of Teaching and Learning at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Virginia. Her research interest includes: teaching social studies-history; teacher education; and comparative and international research. She teaches undergraduate and graduate Social Studies methods courses as well as Ph.D. course in education. E-mail: ysuh@odu.edu.

Appendix
Interview Protocols

Part I: Biography Interview

General Background

1. How long have you been teaching?
2. Where have you taught? What grade levels? What subject areas?
3. Why did you become a teacher?
4. How did you get interested in history?
5. How did you get interested in arts?

K-12 experiences

1. Did you like history when you were in elementary and secondary school? Can you tell me why or why not?
2. Can you remember a particular teacher or class that you really liked? Can you describe how that teacher taught or what that class looked like? Or can you remember any particular teacher or class that you didn't like?

College experiences

1. What was your major in college?
2. What kind of history courses did you take in college? Can you remember approximately how many history classes you took in college?
3. Can you remember a particularly interesting class? Can you describe what the class looked like and why you liked that class?

Post college experiences

1. If you took any additional courses in history or art after you graduated from college, can you tell me what they are?
2. Can you remember any particularly interesting course? Can you describe what this course was about and why it was interesting to you?
3. Can you remember any particularly helpful or interesting professional development workshop? Can you describe what it was about and why it was helpful or interesting to you?
4. Do you have any particularly interesting course you have ever taught? Can you describe what it was like and why it was interesting to you?

Part 2: Knowledge and Beliefs Interviews

Knowledge and beliefs about history

1. Can you tell me what this unit is about?
2. What are the major historical events or historical figures that you know you will want students to learn? What would you like them to learn about these events or figures?

3. Can you tell me any topics or big ideas that you know about or are interested in, regarding the given period covered in ___ unit? What kinds of things should students learn about these topics?
4. As an international student who wants to learn about teaching American and European history, can you recommend any authors or books to read in order to learn about this topic before I watch you teach it?
5. Teachers often have multiple goals when they are teaching. Do you have any other goals for your teaching of this unit?

Knowledge and beliefs about art

1. What artworks are you going to use to teach the unit?
2. Can you tell me where, when, and how you learned about this artwork? How did you choose to use this artwork to teach such and such topic?
3. Can you tell me what this artwork is about? Who created it when and why?
4. Can you tell me what you want students to learn about history from these artworks?

Part III: The Observation-Related Interviews

Before the lesson

Overview of the lesson:

1. What is the main topic for the lesson?
2. What is your main goal for the lesson?
3. What activities and art are you going to use?

After the lesson

Reflecting the use of art during the lesson:

1. What is your main goal to use art such as ___ for today's lesson? What did you want students to learn by using art today?
2. Do you think you accomplished that goal? What makes you think you accomplished it or not?
3. What do you think about the students' responses, particularly the use of ____ that you used today?
4. What are the main goals of the lesson in general? How do you think the use of art contributes to accomplishing them?

Wrapping up the unit

1. What do you think about how the unit went?
2. Any part you particularly liked and why?
3. Any part that you would do differently next time you teach? Can you tell me why?