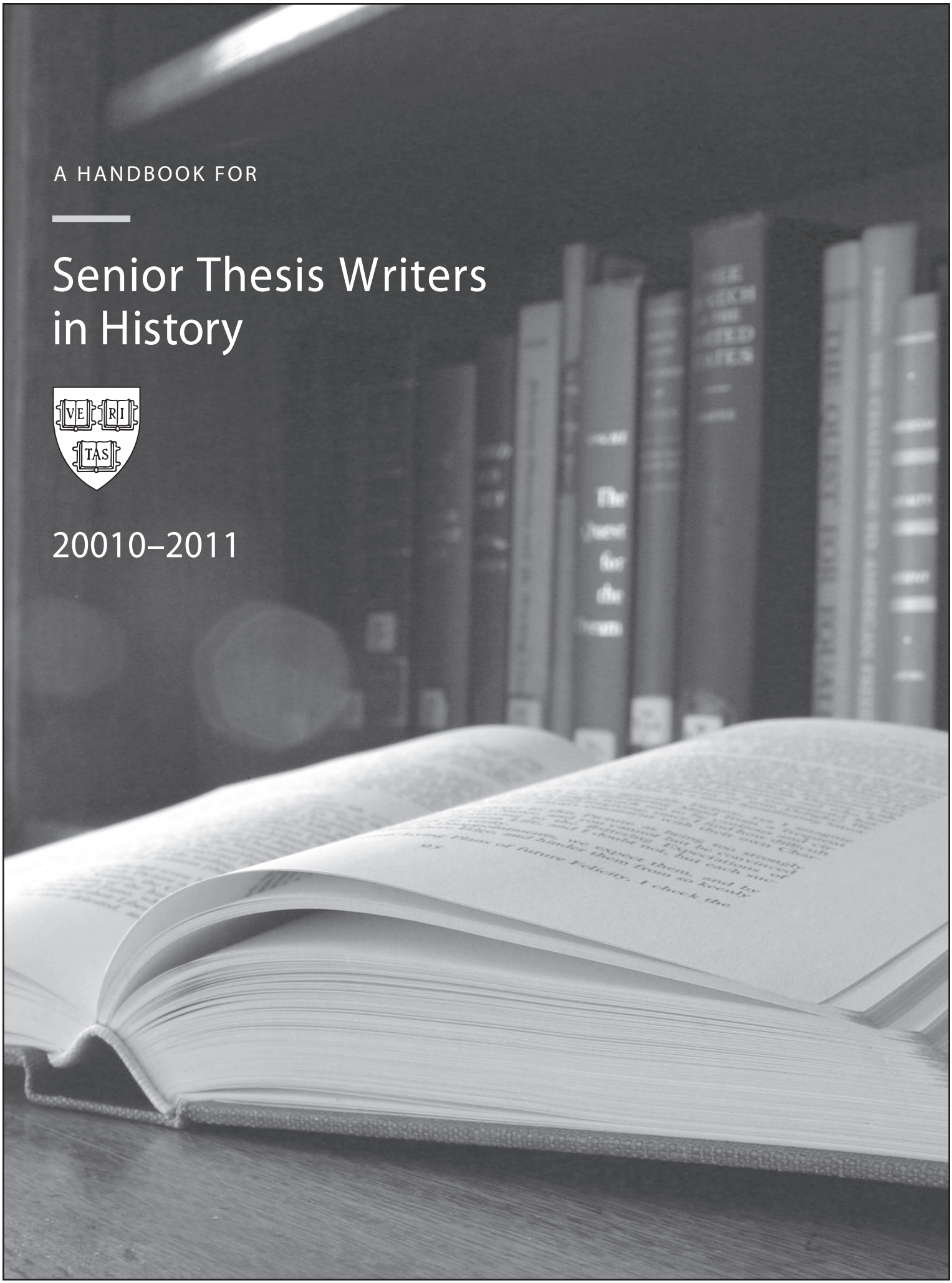

A HANDBOOK FOR

Senior Thesis Writers in History

20010–2011

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Overview of the Thesis Process

Your senior thesis will hopefully become the most memorable experience of your academic career at Harvard. Over the course of several months, you will work in a one-on-one relationship with an adviser and participate in an ongoing seminar with other thesis writers. Near the mid-point of the thesis process, you will present your work-in-progress to the History Department's community of undergraduates, graduate students, and faculty. Though the focus of the thesis experience should be the investigation of a historical subject and composition of an authoritative essay, there are also some practical considerations to keep in mind.

All senior theses are due on the same day in March; however, until then, progress on each thesis will vary depending on a number of factors. Two of those factors are the personal schedules of your adviser and you. The **Timetable for Thesis Writers** provides a framework for organizing your time during the thesis process. You and your adviser are responsible for adapting the pace of your particular thesis project—which depends on your research agenda and both of your schedules—to the general departmental timetable. If you and your adviser can adhere to the timetable, then you will have nearly one full month to revise your thesis before submitting the final version—an advantage that is often the difference between a merely completed thesis and a good or excellent one.

The syllabus of the **Senior Thesis Seminar** reflects the community element of the thesis experience. While the student-adviser relationship is fundamental, the seminar offers you an opportunity to benefit from the collective wisdom, best practices, and detached objectivity of your peers. You should report on seminar discussions to your adviser as you chart your individual course through the thesis process.

The **check-in sheets** that cover September through March will help you and your adviser identify options before windows of opportunity close on topic development, follow-up research, and thesis composition. Embarking on a senior thesis is exciting—and at times daunting. The exercises that follow break the process down into manageable steps and will help you make the most of your experience.

Timetable for Thesis Writers 2010-2011

Assignments marked with an asterisk (*) are due to the Undergraduate Office (Robinson 101) by 5:00 PM on the date specified, unless in-class submission is noted in the parentheses. All other assignments should be handed in to your adviser.

Note Regarding Chapter Drafts:
There is no standard structure for senior theses. For the purposes of the timetable below, a chapter draft is meant to be a substantial and coherent block of writing. The subject and scope of a thesis will dictate how many chapters are included and how long each chapter will be. Also, the nature and schedule of the research phase may influence the order in which chapters are written. Thesis writers and advisers should discuss plans and expectations for these drafts.

Date	Material Due
1 September 2010	*Thesis Prospectus due (in class)
Week of 20 September 2010	Annotated bibliography of primary and secondary sources prefaced by provisional interpretation
4 October 2010	*Historiographical Essay due to Undergraduate Office, 5:00 PM (drafts available for pickup on Tuesday, 5 October at noon)
Week of 18 October 2010	Outline of conference presentation due
25 October 2010	*Title of conference presentation due to Undergraduate Office, 5:00 PM
18-19 November 2010	Senior Thesis Writers Conference
Week of 29 November 2010	Draft of first chapter due
10 December 2010	*25-35-pp paper due (only students dividing History 99 for half-course credit)
Week of 17 January 2011	Draft of second chapter due
26 January 2011	*Draft of peer-review chapter due to the Undergraduate Office, 5:00 PM (drafts aailable for pickup on Thursday, 27 January at noon)
1 February 2011	*Finalized thesis title due to Undergraduate Office, 5:00 PM
Week of 7 February 2011	Draft of third chapter due
16 February 2011	*Draft of introduction due to the Undergraduate Office, 5:00 PM (drafts available for pickup on Thursday, 17 February at noon)
10 March 2011	Theses Due to Robinson 101 by 5:00 PM
11 April 2011	Theses and readers' comments returned to students
27 April 2011	*45-50-page paper due (only students moving to basic program and taking History 99 for full-course credit)

History 99: Senior Thesis Seminar

Wednesdays, 6–8 PM
http://isites.harvard.edu/k73288

Trygve Throntveit
Robinson 102
throntv@fas.harvard.edu
Office Hours: W 1–5
(Sign up online: http://isites.harvard.edu/historyba)

Jakub Kabala
Robinson L-23
jkabala@fas.harvard.edu
Office Hours: W 10-12

Course Objectives

The Senior Thesis Writers' Seminar has a twofold purpose. The first is to provide you with practical guidance and writing advice as you complete a senior thesis in History. We will discuss many of the common hurdles and pitfalls that past students have encountered. Over the course of the year, we will cover a variety of issues from macro-organization to formatting and polishing the final draft. The second purpose of this seminar is to bring you together with other thesis writers to share experiences, interests, successes, and techniques. Writing a senior thesis can be an isolating experience; comparing approaches, exchanging advice, and simply staying current with the work of colleagues helps to dispel the confusion and frustration often encountered by writers at any level. Indeed, collegiality and intellectual exchange are at the heart of any academic seminar, and those can be the most rewarding aspects of History 99.

The senior thesis should be the culmination of your academic experience at Harvard. It will also be the longest and most complex piece of writing that most of you have ever developed, and you will face a number of new challenges along the way. Consequently, we will focus much of our attention on the process of writing an extended, multi-chapter work. Critical thinking and self-aware writing are inherently linked, and as the seminar progresses we will address matters of style and language.

This seminar will also prepare you for the Senior Thesis Writers Conference, which is attended by History Department faculty, graduate students, and undergraduates. At the conference, each thesis writer will explain his or her thesis project during a 15-minute presentation. The audience will be given 15 minutes to ask questions of and provide feedback to each presenter. This feedback often proves invaluable in sharpening the argument of the thesis.

Course Requirements

Attendance at seminars is mandatory. You must have a valid excuse for missing a meeting and notification must be given in advance for any absence not due to health problems. In the event of an absence, be prepared to provide documentation from your Allston Burr Resident Dean or a clinician from Harvard University Health Services. Unexcused absences may prompt an UNSAT for the fall term and/or exclusion from the spring term of History 99; this could jeopardize your ability to complete your degree requirements and effectively move you to the basic program in History.

At some point during fall Reading Period, you must schedule a meeting with your seminar leader to discuss the progress of your thesis.

Schedule of Course Meetings

• Seminar 1:	Wednesdays, 6-7 PM,	Robinson Lower Library
• Seminar 2:	Wednesdays, 6-7 PM,	Robinson Basement Conference Room
• Seminar 3:	Wednesdays, 7-8 PM,	Robinson Lower Library
• Seminar 4:	Wednesdays, 7-8 PM,	Robinson Basement Conference Room

Sept. 1	**Embarking on a Thesis*** *How to begin your project.*
Sept. 8	**Managing Your Research** *How to make the most of library resources and organizational techniques.*
Sept. 15	**Critiquing a Sample Thesis** *Discussion of Elizabeth David's "History for a Changed World"*
Sept. 22	**Staking out Your Turf** *How to position your project in the relevant historiography.*
Oct. 6	**Putting Pen to Paper: Escaping the Research-Writing Dichotomy** *Peer-review of historiographical essay. [NB: Submit two copies of your historiographical essay to the Undergraduate Office by 5:00 PM on Monday, Oct. 5. Drafts will be available for pickup on Tuesday, Oct. 5 at noon.]*
Oct. 20	**Explaining Your Thesis** *How to structure your conference presentation.*
Nov. 8	**Preparing for the Big Show** *[NB: This meeting takes place on a Monday night.]* *How to give an effective oral presentation and invite helpful feedback.*
Nov. 18-19	**Senior Thesis Writers Conference** *Presentation of works-in-progress.*
Nov. 24	**Taking the Next Step** *How to write your first chapter.*
Dec. 3-10	**One-on-One Meeting with Seminar Leader** *Discussion of progress in fall and agenda for spring.*
Feb. 2	**Chapter Workshop** *Peer review of a body chapter. [NB: Submit two copies of your chapter draft to the Tutorial Office by 5:00 PM on Wednesday, Jan. 26. Drafts will be available for pickup on Thursday, Jan. 27 at noon.]*
Feb. 9	**Revision Workshop*** *Refining your argument, writing your introduction, and packaging your thesis.*
Feb. 25	**Finishing Touches*** *Review, check, and double-check requirements, peer-review of introduction. [NB: Submit two copies of your introduction draft to the Undergraduate Office by 5:00 PM on Wednesday, Feb. 16. Drafts will be available for pickup on Thursday, Feb. 17 at noon]*
Mar. 10	**THESES DUE TO ROBINSON 101 BY 5:00PM**

*Seminars 1 and 3, 2 and 4 meet together, 6 PM

Monitoring Thesis Progress

History 99 has no formal course requirements of regular readings, response papers, and examinations. Such independence comes with a great deal of responsibility because you and your adviser must devise a plan that accounts for your research agenda, the Timetable for Thesis Writers, and your individual schedules. As you and your adviser set (and likely adjust) a calendar for thesis progress over the next several months, the following series of check-ins will suggest ways to balance scholarly ambitions with practical considerations as the latter change from week to week and month to month. The questions, timely reminders, and scheduling tips in these check-ins emerge from the actual experiences of former thesis writers and their advisers.

Rehearsing the Three Thesis Tricks

Get into the habit of explaining your thesis project clearly and succinctly. This takes a lot of practice because you have to be able to explain it to various audiences. As you and your adviser meet, you will likely focus your attention on specific issues, such as the books you just read or documents you just gathered. Often, there is little time to discuss the big picture so do the following (in conversation or by e-mail) for other thesis writers, roommates, and family members: state three sentences about your historical topic; raise three analytical or historiographical questions about your topic; and describe three collections of primary sources you intend to investigate.

Setting Weekly Thesis Goals

During the fall term, you should set two to three weekly thesis goals in consultation with your adviser—discrete tasks that require three to four hours of sustained focus:

- Reading secondary works. Familiarize yourself with a couple of books or articles and then write summaries. You do not necessarily need to read every page of a secondary work to extract what you need from it.
- Researching primary sources. Set research goals based on estimates of what is achievable in a three to four hour block. For example, if you plan to scan a certain periodical for your thesis, you might aim to get through a particular run of six months.

During January and the spring term—if not earlier—you should establish a consistent writing schedule. Keep the following points in mind:

- Write early and write often—no writing is wasted. Don't wait to "finish" your research before you start processing it on paper, or you'll never get to the processing part. If you're stuck, try writing out the three thesis tricks above, or free-write for half an hour. Carry a notebook wherever you go and jot down thoughts, outlines, or questions whenever they enter your head. There is no requirement that everything you write ends up in the thesis, no guarantee you'll remember an idea an hour after you have it, and no writing that doesn't refine your thinking.
- Schedules work over time—if they are followed. Deviate as little as possible from your schedule. Theses are not written in a day, or a week, or even a month, but emerge from many individual hours of sometimes prolific, sometimes apparently futile writing. If you write regularly, preferably a few hours every day, the law of averages will work in your favor.
- You're writing your thesis, not reinventing yourself. Productive scholarship depends on regular habits that work for you. Now is not the time to become a morning person if you do your best writing at midnight, or to take notes on your laptop if your longhand is faster and just as precise. Experiment with new techniques if you like, but remember that the finished project alone is graded; no style points are awarded for the work that goes into it.

September

Thesis Progress Check-In

Establishing the Advising Relationship

As soon as the semester starts, make sure that you and your adviser share the same expectations for your working relationship. This relationship will evolve over time and depend on your personal styles, but it is worth trying to establish some basic parameters so there is no confusion or frustration for either party:

- How often will you meet during the fall term? Weekly? Twice per month? Whenever you have findings to report?
- What does your adviser expect you to do in preparation for your meetings? E-mail ahead of time with notes on the latest sources you have consulted or writing you have done? Merely come to meetings prepared to discuss these things?

Choosing Courses

As a thesis writer, you have many factors to consider when shopping for courses. While your thesis should not dictate every choice you make, keep the following in mind:

- Assignment Schedule. When deciding between equally appealing courses, consider picking the one with paper and exam dates that fit well with the Timetable for Thesis Writers (e.g., avoid major assignments due at the time of the Senior Thesis Writers Conference).
- Synergy with the Thesis. Will taking the course help you with your thesis? A course in History might provide you with helpful background for the specific subject of your thesis, while a course in another department could provide you with methodological tools for the analysis you hope to perform in your thesis.
- Degree Requirements. Avoid taking extra unnecessary courses in the spring as you complete your thesis. Every year, students misunderstand their degree requirements and are forced to take certain courses to graduate. Consult your House Adviser, to confirm your remaining concentration requirements. Also, consult your Resident Dean and/or online student record to confirm your remaining core and overall requirements.

Meeting with a Research Librarian

If you and your adviser find that your research agenda is a bit unfocused, make an appointment with a librarian. Fred Burchsted (burchst@fas, 5-4093) is the Department's liaison to the Harvard College Libraries. He is an excellent resource for finding sources (physical and electronic). In addition, Fred can refer you to librarians that oversee special collections around the University, such as at Harvard Law School, Harvard Medical School, and the Radcliffe Institute for Advanced Study.

Before scheduling a meeting, read Launching the Thesis Project, page 29—especially the section on librarians.

Considering Models for Your Thesis

While your thesis will be a unique product of your research and insights, there is value in studying the work of other thesis writers. The broad guidelines for theses give you a lot of flexibility, but this means you have to come up with a way to organize your thoughts and sources. Doing so now will make your research more time-efficient. For example, if you plan to offer three case studies, then be careful about immersing yourself in research for the first without leaving time for the third. Such an imbalance in the early stages will affect your analysis and writing. Talk to your adviser about this before preparing your annotated bibliography.

Browse Learning from Model Theses, page 49, for useful examples of strong thesis work.

Compiling the Annotated Bibliography

Confirm with your adviser a list of must-read secondary sources (e.g., books, articles, dissertations) to include in your annotated bibliography. For practice, write a summary of a secondary source in relation to your thesis proposal, latest thesis tricks, or provisional argument. Show it to your adviser and confirm that you are on the right track before completing the rest of your bibliographic entries.

See Situating the Thesis Topic, page 33
and
Preparing an Annotated Bibliography, page 61.

September | 2010

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
		1 ✳ **Embarking on a Thesis** *How to begin your project.*	2	3	4	5
6	7	8 ✳ **Managing Your Research** *How to make the most of library resources and organizational techniques.*	9	10	11	12
13	14	15 ✳ **Critiquing a Sample** *Discussion of Bicky David's "History for a Changed World".*	16	17	18	19
20 ✳ **Annotated Bibliography**	21	22 ✳ **Staking Out Your Turf** *How to position your project in the relevant historiography.*	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30			

Making the Most of Your Off Weeks

Beginning in late September, the Senior Thesis Seminar meets only biweekly through the first third of November. This series of "off weeks" is not a license to loaf, but is timed to maximize progress on your thesis. The first four seminars prepared you to turn your topic into a thesis. Now, in early- and mid-October, you need to produce two substantial documents (the historiographical essay and an outline of your conference presentation) that demonstrate real steps forward. You and your adviser should make a concrete plan for this period in the semester, because mid-term assignments in other course can make it tempting to postpone thesis exercises with flexible deadlines. The seminars that follow, on October 20 and November 8, will focus on refining your presentation outline and skills for the Senior Thesis Writers Conference. You must have made sufficient progress in your research to take full advantage of these sessions and deliver a presentation polished and substantive enough to elicit useful feedback. The conference presentation and the first draft you deliver in November will be the basis for deciding whether you can continue History 99 in the spring.

See Maintaining Momentum while Researching, page 37.

Writing the Historiographical Essay

Review the entries in your annotated bibliography. Which secondary works seem to agree with or complement one another? Which differ strongly, and how? Is the difference one of focus, methodology, choice and interpretation of evidence, or a combination? Create a list of four to six authors that, based on your reading, would have a particularly lively conversation about your general topic. What are the basic arguments, the major strengths, and the signal weaknesses of each participant's contribution? What do we learn from the conversation you construct among them that we would not learn by reading each author in isolation? Finally, what remains unexplained, unexplored, or under-appreciated—that is, how might other historians enhance the conversation? Write out answers to all these questions, and use them as the basic building blocks of your essay.

Planning Your Thesis Presentation

Four main objectives should guide you as you plan your presentation at the Thesis Writers Conference:

- Explain your basic topic and convince your audience of its importance
- Explain the contribution you hope to make to the scholarship on that topic, by 1) posing the question or questions you intend to answer and 2) articulating the argument you will advance to answer it
- Explain the means by which you will make your contribution, including the order in which you will present your main questions and ideas, the evidence you plan to marshal, and the methods you plan to employ in analyzing it
- Elicit specific and constructive feedback that will help you refine your argument and methods and boost your momentum

Outlining Your Thesis Presentation

Begin outlining your presentation by tackling the four presentation objectives, one at a time and in whatever order seems easiest, and then arranging the results. Some hints:

- When trying to explain your topic and its importance, review your annotated bibliography and historiographical essay—you wrote them for a reason!
- The same documents will help you explain your contribution to the field, as will a review of your notes on primary sources. While you may not have a stable argument by conference time, you will be expected to state the questions you seek to answer and the patterns in the evidence you have found thus far. Explain those questions and patterns to a listener, and write down the results.
- Similarly, few will have all their evidence analyzed and organized to reflect the extended argument that will ultimately emerge. The conference is a chance to begin systematizing your work. Consider what you have found and how you think it all fits together, and plan to share with your audience any continuing struggles to find sources, interpret evidence, or organize your thoughts.
- The best way to elicit useful feedback is to put maximum thought and effort into achieving the other three objectives. The clearer your presentation, the more time your audience will spend engaging with rather than deciphering your ideas.

October | 2010

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
				1	2	3
4 * **Historiographical Essay Due**	5	6 * **Putting Pen to Paper** *Peer-revisions of historiographical essay*	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17
18 * **Outline of Conference Presentation**	19	20 * **Explaining Your Thesis** *How to structure your conference presentation.*	21	22	23	24
25 * **Title of Conference Presentation**	26	27	28	29	30	31

Rehearsing for the Senior Thesis Writers Conference

In the past, thesis writers have found various ways to practice their presentation and get feedback. Consider relying on the following audiences: yourself (with a mirror or recorder); your thesis adviser; your roommates; your family members (by phone if necessary); or, your House Adviser. If there are multiple thesis writers at your House, talk to your House Adviser about scheduling a group practice session with as many tutors as possible. Not only will you receive feedback from people with different specialties, you will also be able to learn how your peers are approaching their presentations in terms of content, structure, and style.

Preparing for the Q&A at the Senior Thesis Writers Conference

As you work on your presentation and practice it, try to anticipate some potential scenarios that might arise during the Q&A session:

- Given your subject, what historical and thematic tangents might audience members pursue with their questions?
- If questions seem to imply that you are overreaching, how can you draw boundaries around your project to make clear to the audience what you are not purporting to accomplish in your thesis?
- If someone bluntly asks "so what?"—or some polite variation of this question—after your presentation, what talking points will you have ready for your response?

Talk to your adviser about these scenarios. You will be more relaxed if you have answers in mind (or, even better, on a page of notes) when you are in front of the audience.

See Presenting Your Work to an Audience, page 39.

Reflecting on the Senior Thesis Writers Conference

What questions were you asked at the conference? This will tell you how an audience of historians reacted to your subject, research, and argument as you presented it. You and your adviser should determine which questions (if any) require follow-up research or adjustment of your arguments, and which questions can be chalked up to the constraints of an oral presentation relative to a written thesis. Talk to your adviser about how to address the audience's questions as you move into the writing phase.

See Getting Ready to Write, page 43.

Writing Your First Chapter Draft

Discuss the following questions with your adviser before sitting down to write your first draft chapter:

- Which chapter to write? Starting with the introduction can build your momentum because by now you can easily explain your topic, provide historical background, review the historiography, and outline the rest of your thesis. However, introductions often require heavy revision to fit the final thesis. Starting with a body chapter may seem daunting, but you might feel better after writing up one of three case studies or covering a third of your narrative. Just be sure to outline what will come before and after.
- How long should the draft be? This depends on the likely length of your entire thesis. Can your argument be made in 70-75 pages? 90-95? 110-115? After working out an estimate, decide how long each chapter should be. For example, a 70-page thesis likely does not need a 20-page introduction, unless you and your adviser think extensive historical and theoretical background is critical for readers to appreciate the focused analysis to follow.
- How polished should the draft be? Have a very explicit discussion with your adviser about his or her expectations. If your adviser is the type of reader who is distracted by sentence fragments or missing citations, you may not get the feedback you need.

November | 2010

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8 * **Preparing for the Big Show** *How to give an effective oral presentation and invite helpful feedback.*	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18 * **Senior Thesis Writers Conference** *Presentation of works-in-progress.*	19	20	21
22	23	24 * **Taking the Next Step** *How to Write Your First Chapter.*	25	26	27	28
29 * **Draft of First Chapter**	30					

Meeting with Your Seminar Leader

Schedule a meeting with your seminar leader in during Reading Period. This meeting is an opportunity to review your progress to date, and talk about your plans for the rest of the way. In particular it will help you plan how best to use Winter Recess and the open month of January to recharge and then get deep into the writing process.

Setting Thesis Goals for Winter Recess

It's okay to take a break after finals if you're feeling ahead of the game, or even a little burnt out. But remember that momentum can take a while to rebuild, and be careful not to let your break slide into January, which is prime thesis writing time.

Before you decide how much thesis work you should try to accomplish over winter recess, take stock of what you have achieved so far:

- Did you keep up with your weekly thesis goals during the term?
- How much research do you have left?
- How polished was your first chapter draft?

Set reasonable goals and do not pack more books and papers than you need to accomplish those specific goals. This way, you can come back to campus in January with a sense of momentum as you continue with writing and conducting follow-up research.

Planning Your January

With finals over and an entire month free of coursework, you can live a thesis writer's dream: four full weeks of concentrated thesis work. As you plan how best to use this time, whether to make up ground or save yourself anxiety come February, ask yourself the following:

- Where will I be, in terms of thesis progress, in January? Consider the goals you and your adviser have set, review your meeting with your seminar leader, and look ahead to the check-ins on pages 20-21. Think about your pace of work thus far and plan your January accordingly. How much time will you need to travel and complete your research? How many hours a day must you write to complete the drafts due in January and February? Do you have extra time, and can you use it to maximize time for revisions later? Draft a schedule reflecting your answers.
- Where will I be, physically, in January? Will you be in Cambridge to access the resources you need, or do you need to collect materials before you head elsewhere? Are there libraries or other institutions where you plan to be that have some or all of the resources you need? (Hint: Check the WorldCat system through the Harvard College Libraries website.) Your January schedule should advance your thesis while reflecting the physically possible.

| Thesis Proposal | Annotated Bibliography | Presentation Outline | Thesis Conference | First Chapter | Second Chapter | Third Chapter | Fourth Chapter | Completed Thesis

December | 2009

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
		1	2	3 * **One-on-One Meeting with Seminar Leader**	4	5
6	7	8	9	10 * **25-30 page Paper Due** *(Only for students dividing History 99)*	11	12
13	14	15	16	17	18	191
20	21	22	23	24	25	26
27	28	29	30	31		

January

Thesis Progress Check-In

Completing Essential Research

You should finish all of your critical research before February. This category of research includes sources that cannot be ignored without requiring you to narrow your thesis or add significant caveats to your current claims. The period from the first day of the spring term through the thesis deadline has the feel of a sprint and there is little time to gather sources, analyze them carefully, and incorporate them into your writing. The beginning of reading period is a good moment to prioritize research tasks left over from the term. Once you have made your list, explain your choices to your adviser and/or seminar leader and see if they have ideas for additions, subtractions, or reordering.

See Maintaining Momentum while Researching, page 37.

Keeping a Writing Timesheet

Keep track of how much time you spend writing each day by maintaining a daily timesheet, which is a simple tool for letting you know whether you are successfully making the transition from the research to the writing stage. With reading and exam periods followed by intersession, January can slip away with little progress made on chapter drafts. Since peer reviews are scheduled for February's seminars, you need to have two presentable body chapters ready to share with fellow thesis writers. Set aside at least one hour per day for writing so you can revise your first chapter draft, finish your second, and start your third.

See Maintaining Momentum while Writing, page 47.

Preparing Body Chapters for Peer Review

Even if your adviser does not mind very rough chapter drafts, you should do at least one round of revisions based on your adviser's feedback before the peer reviews in seminar. By incorporating those comments, you allow your peers to react to a chapter that is one step closer to completion. Thus, they will be able to give you a clearer sense of how much more work you have left to do on that chapter. For example, if your adviser recommended including more direct quotations from sources to illustrate your points, you can find out from your peers if you have added enough by making changes in advance of the chapter exchange.

Choosing Courses

The most important consideration when choosing courses for the spring term is the fulfillment of your degree requirements so you can graduate in June. The next—and perhaps more immediate—issue is whether an instructor makes accommodations for thesis writers. Every year, some thesis writers are horrified to learn that they cannot defer a midterm exam or paper until after the thesis due date. Many instructors state their policies regarding theses very clearly at the first class or on the syllabus; however, some do not and you should ask, rather than make assumptions, about course policies.

January | 2011

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
					1	2
3	4	5	6	7	8	9
10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17 * **Draft of Second Chapter**	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26 * **Draft Chapter for Peer Review**	27	28	29	30
31						

Revise, Revise, Revise!

Mid-thesis students often fail to recognize the vast difference between the 30-page seminar paper they successfully executed in the waning days of reading period, and a 70-120-page thesis held to higher standards of argumentation and presentation. But any good writer will tell you that revision is the key to success: Revision can salvage a foundering project or turn a good thesis into a fantastic one. There is no exact formula for revising, but you can take your cues from your peers and adviser.

Sharing Peer Reviews with Your Adviser

What were the top three pieces of feedback from your peer reviewers? Talk to your adviser about how to address this feedback:

- Is last-minute research necessary? This might mean mustering more evidence to bolster your argument, or more background information for readers unfamiliar with your subject. In either case, avoid open-ended research: Compile a narrow list of sources that will serve particular and limited goals agreed by you and your adviser.
- Should you adjust your presentation? By February, you and your adviser may be so immersed in the thesis that you take for granted the connections between the events described or arguments made. You may need to insert more robust transitions between sections of chapters, and make certain points more explicit so readers can follow your argument.

See Conducting Peer Reviews, page 67.

Local versus Global Revision

Whatever the revisions you and your adviser decide are necessary, they will fall into two categories: local and global.

- Local revision tackles problems like mechanical errors, awkward word choices, or confusing transitions. Local revisions are important: Small mistakes distract the reader's attention and call the writer's other skills into question. But the best theses also get the global treatment.
- Global revision requires stepping back from the entire project and often rewriting or rearranging substantial parts of it. It means more than responding to marginal comments by your peer reviewers. It involves reassessing the ways you have stated and restated your thesis, structured your argument, organized your chapters, and used your sources. It does not, however, require changing all these things or rewriting the whole thesis. Revise to clarify and strengthen your argument. Change is not an end in itself.

Setting a Calendar for Submission and Return of Writing

You and your adviser should agree on a schedule for submission and return of drafts and revisions. This schedule will depend on how closely you have adhered to the Timetable for Thesis Writers, and on your adviser's schedule. Do not assume your adviser will read and return chapters with comments in 24-48 hours. Collaborate on a calendar of writing and meetings that accounts for your goals and reflects your adviser's availability to help.

Drafting Your Introduction

The Introduction may be the most important part of your thesis. Many readers will judge your topic, argument, and method based on the summaries you provide at the start, and even based on your style. Above all, readers will expect to be told what the thesis is about, why you chose to write it, and what you hope they take from it. Otherwise, they may be frustrated and suspicious of your work even before reading the majority of it. If this is your first draft of an Introduction you may spend most of your time answering the "So what?" question. As was true when compiling your Annotated Bibliography, your answer will likely resemble one of the following three scenarios:

- Scenario #1: No one has written about my topic. My thesis explains the significance of this neglected topic and offers a provisional interpretation of this new material.
- Scenario #2: A few scholars have written about my topic, but gaps and deficiencies in the literature exist. My thesis examines new or different evidence to correct these shortcomings.
- Scenario #3: Many scholars have written about my topic. While its importance is established, my thesis calls for a reassessment of the existing literature based on recent findings, new methodologies, or original questions.

February | 2011

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	1 * **Final Thesis Title**	2 * **Chapter Workshop** *Peer review of a body chapter.*	3	4	5	6
7 * **Draft of Third Chapter**	8	9 * **Revision Workshop** *Refine your argument, write your introduction, and package your thesis*	10	11	12	13
14	15	16 * **Draft of Introduction**	17	18	19	20
21	22	23 * **Finishing Touches** *Peer review of introduction*	24	25	26	27
28						

Assessing Your Introduction

Now that you have body chapters for the thesis you provisionally introduced, use this checklist to make sure the introductory chapter fits the actual thesis written:

- ☐ Does your thesis start with a hook that captures the reader's attention? Is the opening of the thesis engaging overall?
- ☐ Does the introduction provide a basic idea of the historical context of the argument? Are all of the most significant characters and issues introduced?
- ☐ Is the argument situated within a historiographical context? Is the argument's relationship to other bodies of scholarship made clear?
- ☐ Does the introduction succinctly spell out the argument of the thesis? Does it make clear the historical questions from which the argument arises?
- ☐ Does the introduction indicate which primary sources form the basis of your analysis? Does it explain why this set of sources best allows you to answer the central historical and historiographical questions posed?
- ☐ Have you answered the dreaded "so what?" question? That is, have you made a good case for the project's significance?
- ☐ Does the introduction give the reader a sense of the layout of the entire thesis? Is there a "road map" that walks the reader through the thesis, quickly summarizing the content and argument of each chapter?

See Getting Ready to Write, page 43.

See Situating the Thesis Topic, page 33.

Assessing Your Conclusion

The conclusion is often the last thing a thesis writer drafts. Since time and energy may be in short supply, use this checklist to make sure your conclusion serves its basic functions:

- ☐ Is there a clear and thorough summary of the argument outlined in the introduction and elaborated upon in each body chapter?
- ☐ Does the conclusion reinforce the fact that you have delivered what you promised at the outset of the thesis?
- ☐ Is the reader reminded that the thesis engaged a significant and interesting topic? How so? Does the thesis challenge some aspect of the historiography? Does it provide seeds for further research? Does it shed light on contemporary issues?

Formatting Footnotes and Bibliographic Entries

Citations are essential elements of good historical writing. If you have not produced formal footnotes or bibliographic entries along the way, start doing so as soon as possible. Incomplete or irregular citations may cause readers to question the thoroughness of your research and analysis. Remember that your readers will have only your final thesis to understand the year-long process that produced it. Do a reading of your thesis in which you think carefully about whether passages need citations. Also, reflect on the sources that informed your thinking, but were not discussed in the body of the thesis. These sources belong in your bibliography so that readers can appreciate the scope of your research and how it led to your final thesis.

| Thesis Proposal | Annotated Bibliography | Presentation Outline | Thesis Conference | First Chapter | Second Chapter | Third Chapter | Fourth Chapter | Completed Thesis

Buying Thesis Supplies

Buy printing paper and a binder for your thesis. At the final seminar, you will receive one used binder from the Tutorial Office so you only need to provide one new binder of your own.

See Instructions Regarding Theses, page 77.

March | 2011

Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday	Sunday
	1	2	3	4	5	6
7	8	9	10 * THESES ARE DUE BY 5PM	11	12	13
14	15	16	17	18	19	20
21	22	23	24	25	26	27
28	29	30	31			

Resources for Thesis Writers

This section offers concrete steps to take when the enormity of the entire thesis project seems daunting. The chapters spell out individual tasks so that you can address them in stages and on a schedule coordinated with your adviser and the Timetable for Thesis Writers. Different students will find different parts of this section helpful. For example, you might not need tips for identifying a topic that interests you, but you might benefit from strategies for turning it into a thesis for your audience in the History Department.

This section is also intended to lead you through the tasks of writing a thesis that often seem fuzzy or interminable. You can find specific suggestions for organizing your thoughts and research materials at different stages of the thesis process. If you are having trouble envisioning how your efforts will become a section, chapter, or entire thesis, then you can learn how past thesis writers accomplished the feat.

You should refer back to this section on a regular basis, especially at those times when you feel that progress on your thesis has stopped. The advice on the following pages has emerged from the experiences of scores of thesis writers and those who advised them; it is gathered in this handbook to guide you through the research and writing stages of your own thesis journey.

Launching the Thesis Project

When the fall term begins, thesis writers are at various stages of getting started on their project. Some are using a past research paper as a springboard into a larger project; they already have a sense of the existing literature and available sources. Others did research over the summer in archives at Harvard or beyond; they have a lot of primary materials, but now need to work with an adviser to sort it all out and situate it in the existing literature. Still others are scrambling for a topic and adviser; they need a project that can be completed between September and March with a heavy reliance on sources available locally. For everyone writing a thesis, however, the same time constraints are now in effect because all theses are due on the same day. The next few pages of this guide will give you ideas for launching your thesis project, regardless of your starting place in September.

The Art of the Possible

Writing a senior thesis in the History Department of Harvard College is a specific kind of intellectual experience. As you consider different research options, remember that a senior thesis is neither a book nor a dissertation. Down the road, your thesis may prove to be the beginning of a larger professional or amateur project, but for this year, it is a stand-alone product to be completed within certain parameters and submitted on a certain day. The structure of History 99 is intended to keep you moving towards a final product appropriate for the capstone tutorial of the Department's undergraduate program. Whatever your topic and whenever you choose it, be sure to leave enough time to edit and proofread your thesis before it is due. While the Timetable for Thesis Writers offers flexibility for working with your adviser on your thesis, the final due date is not negotiable.

Conceiving of a Thesis

There is no definitively right way to look for a thesis topic. Usually, identifying a good topic requires a mix of diligence and serendipity. An abundance of one will often help compensate for a deficit of the other. The most important criterion for success is arriving at a topic that excites you. You will spend the next six months immersed in the study of your chosen topic. While there is time to reframe it, conduct follow-up research, or change your conclusions, there is not enough time to start over in late October, get the most out of the thesis experience, and complete the project on time.

Seek advice from faculty and graduate students who know your field of interest; they are in a good position to talk about options and will serve as a sounding board for your ideas. If you are not sure of whom to ask, consult with your seminar leader, your House Adviser, or the Undergraduate Office staff. When gathering advice on thesis options, remember that acting on this advice is your responsibility.

Anticipating Your Audience

You are writing your thesis for an audience of historians familiar with the History Department's curriculum program. Depending on your topic and the interests of members of the Board of Tutors, the readers of your thesis might have different degrees of knowledge about your specific topic; however, they will all be historically minded when assessing your work. While current events or personal interests may drive your research, readers expect that you will ask historical questions, employ historical methods, and draw historical conclusions. They will also pay close attention to your central argument and your contri-

bution to the body of knowledge about your topic. While familiarity with the scholarly use of sources is important, it is not the sole criterion for evaluation of a thesis. You must convince your readers that you are aware of both the contribution you are making to the field and the limitations of your evidence and arguments. None of this should leave you feeling surprised or constrained. Aside from these fundamental expectations regarding historical scholarship, you are free to shape your research agenda and senior thesis however you like, in consultation with your adviser.

Harvard College Research Librarians

The History Department is fortunate to have a wonderful working relationship with Fred Burchsted, a research librarian for the Harvard College Libraries. Over the years, Fred has guided scores of the Department's undergraduates through research projects for tutorials and other courses involving major research papers. He is eager to help and is a great resource no matter how familiar you are with your topic. Fred can be reached by e-mail *(burchst@fas)* or phone (5-4093). If you plan to do most of your research on campus, then meeting with him is essential to pursuing a thesis.

To ensure that your meeting with Fred will be as productive as possible, follow his suggestions and tips for students beginning theses:

- Exhaust Harvard's catalogs before using search engines for the entire world wide web. The former are structured for research purposes while the latter are organized by commercial considerations and user popularity. Moreover, there are thousands of resources that will appear in Harvard catalogs but not on the world wide web.
- Working with catalogs is not an administrative step to rush through so that you can start checking out books or copying documents; rather, it is the initial process of discovery that can show you how to pursue the thesis you had in mind or lead you to an exciting topic that you had not considered.
- When scheduling a meeting, find a time when you have 2-3 hours free. After the meeting, you can go straight to the stacks or Government Documents to follow up on resources identified during your consultation.
- Browse Hollis by subject heading instead of searching by keyword. Searching by keyword limits you to completely literal returns generated by a computer. Subject headings are more useful than keywords for three main reasons. First, they have a conceptual basis because librarians link items to them based on an understanding of the contents. Second, subject headings facilitate connections to different categories of resources that you can explore. (See sample right.) Third, these headings are based on codes set by the Library of Congress; therefore, they are standardized across libraries in the United States and facilitate research beyond Harvard's collections. Learning the controlled vocabulary of subject headings will lead you to browse electronic catalogs more efficiently than keywords and allow for any backtracking you might need to do.

Tip: Use the "Print/Save/Send" function to organize your catalog exploration and save citations for future reference.

Sample Use of Hollis Catalog

You can take a dizzying array of approaches to studying any historical event, figure, theme, or era. Turning your particular interest into a thesis topic requires placing it in some kind of context. Using the Hollis catalog is one of the first steps in defining the historical subjects (people, events, themes, etc.) of your thesis. The availability of sources is an important factor in determining which subjects you will include in your thesis and how you will prioritize them. To put it in basic terms, the connections between your subjects can provide the post-colon variables for a common formula used in titles of historical work: "Pithy Quotation: Subject 1, Subject 2, Subject 3, Date 1-Date 2."

The example below illustrates how basic Hollis browsing can lead you down avenues for research, provide you with essential sources, and create convenient time-savers when you actually sit down to write your thesis.

Pretend you have taken courses on the Cuban Revolution (Historical Studies B-64) and twentieth-century American foreign relations (History 1650b). You are now interested in the Cuban missile crisis but do not know what has been written, or what angle you want to take in your research. The following is one way to start your investigation:

1) Under **Browse an Alphabetical List**, select **Subject beginning with...** and enter "Cuban missile crisis" in the **Browse for:** field. Then, click the **Browse** button.
2) The heading returned is **Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962** and there are various subheadings revealed in the browse list, samples of which are below.
   a) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962
      i) Clicking on this yields 85 works listed in reverse chronological order of publication. Each entry offers bibliographical information for the work, as well as related subject headings. Subject headings found in the first few entries suggest the extensive options for broadening your view from a specific interest to a thesis topic.

      (1) Kennedy, John F. (John Fitzgerald), 1917-1963

      (2) National Security Council (U.S.)—History—20th Century

      (3) United States—Foreign relations—1961-1963—Decision making

      (4) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Public Opinion

      (5) Cold War—Social Aspects—United States

      (6) Civil Defense—United States—History—20th Century

      (7) Cuba—Foreign Relations—Soviet Union

      (8) Soviet Union—Foreign Relations—Cuba

      (9) Cuba—History—1959-

Continued overleaf

Sample Use of Hollis Catalog

b) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Bibliography

i) Clicking on this yields reference works that contain reviews of literature on the crisis and related documents (both bound and on microform); these would offer summaries of secondary sources and collections of primary sources.

c) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Chronology

i) Clicking on this yields a book that is a chronology of the crisis, which can save you a lot of time throughout the thesis process. In the reading phase, it would let you focus on interpretation over narrative and factual details in other works. In the research and organizing phase, it would save you from having to generate your own timeline. In the writing phase, it would be valuable as a source for the background narrative.

d) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Congresses

i) Clicking on this yields a list of publications containing the proceedings of conferences attended by crisis participants. It may be interesting to compare reflections in these volumes (published between 1989 and 1993) to the 1962 documents on microform you found under **Bibliography**.

e) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Drama *and* **Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Fiction**

i) Clicking on these yields titles to 2 movies (**—Drama**) and 7 novels (**—Fiction**) about the missile crisis. It may be interesting to compare fictional accounts to the historical record.

f) Cuban Missile Crisis, 1962—Foreign Public Opinion, British

i) Clicking on this yields a book about Great Britain's role in the crisis. You might want to look at the crisis as an episode in United States-British relations. Conveniently, the Hollis entry provides the subject headings that you would need to explore that option from either perspective (**United States—Foreign Relations—Great Britain** *and* **Great Britain—Foreign Relations—United States**).

Refining the Thesis Topic

You have now settled on a topic for your senior thesis and have secured an adviser. What next? The question of how to start a *year-long* project can be paralyzing. Remember, though, that you cannot do all of your research and write 60+ pages of your polished historical prose in the first few weeks of the fall term. At this stage, you should focus on how the thesis process is similar to the one you successfully navigated in your Research Seminar. Although the thesis is a different animal than the countless other research papers you have written during your time at Harvard, this section will address the many useful connections between your thesis and your previous historical writing.

Performing the Three Thesis Tricks

Start with the basics. Your first goal is to move beyond simply *having* a thesis topic to arriving at a place where you can articulate the central questions that make your thesis unique. A good way to progress from a thesis *topic* to a thesis *project* is by performing the "three thesis tricks," which are a self-diagnostic exercise you can use to anchor yourself at every stage of thesis work. At the end of each month (and probably more frequently) perform these tricks for yourself and your friends:

1) Summarize and describe your historical topic in three sentences;
2) Raise three analytical or historiographical questions about your topic; and,
3) Cite three collections of primary sources (e.g., personal papers, memoirs, periodicals, government documents, probate records, census data) you intend to investigate for your topic.

If this seems like a daunting task, speak to your thesis adviser or seminar leader as soon as possible. You will have trouble getting started down any research path if you cannot identify a thesis topic, a set of questions, and a collection of sources.

Your thesis tricks may look different in September than they will in December or March because your thesis will continue to evolve. The good news is that these changes will keep you and your friends entertained with fresh acts. Follow the new paths that appear as you engage in additional research, analysis, reading, and advising. For now, performing the three thesis tricks is enough. Some time soon, however, you will need to be able to justify why someone should devote a day to reading the argument you construct from the evidence you have about your topic.

Situating Your Research Amidst Other Historians' Interpretations

Having started down a research path, the next step in thesis work is to situate your topic within a larger historiography. This situating is critical both for your historiographical overview and for defining your unique contribution to the historical literature. Begin exploring relevant historiography by using library resources:

- **Search Hollis.** Are there books written about your precise topic? About closely related topics?
- **Search JSTOR.** If there are no books on your topic, there may be articles. Remember that JSTOR does not include all journals and does not give you access to the most recently-published articles. For the most recent publications, search an e-resource such as "America: History and Life." If your topic falls in a niche not adequately covered by JSTOR or "America: History and Life,"

ask a librarian for the appropriate e-resource to search.

- **Search Dissertation Abstracts.** Have dissertations been written about your topic? If they have, and they did not surface in your Hollis search, request a copy via Interlibrary Loan or download it (if available).
- **Use each of the above to locate still more sources.** Comb through bibliographies and footnotes in books, articles, and dissertations to find other sources (primary and secondary) of interest. In the best-case scenario, you will find a recently-published book with a current and comprehensive list of useful sources in its bibliography.

After devoting some time to the steps above, you will probably find yourself in one of two situations:

1) You find that others have written extensively about a topic closely related—if not identical—to your own. You ask yourself, "Is my topic salvageable if it has been 'done' already by others?"
2) You cannot find anything written about your topic. There is no recent scholarship in book, article, or dissertation form. You ask yourself, "Can I write a thesis on a topic everyone dismissed as uninteresting or not sufficiently compelling? Can I even come up with a viable interpretation of the sources if there is no professional literature to engage?"

The answer to thesis writers in either of the above situations is the same: "Yes! This is a *good* place in which to find yourself." Your next step, however, will differ depending on whether you have a wealth

SCENARIO 1:

When Others Have Written about Your Topic—Differentiating your Argument from the Pack

If others have already "taken" your topic, do not despair. Instead, be proud: you not only selected a viable project, you also hit on one that intrigued other scholars. On a practical note, you can use other scholars' work to track down primary sources and focus on those questions that interest you most.

Because a senior thesis strives to make a contribution, however small, to the historical literature, you will need to differentiate your project from those previously published. There are a number of ways to do this:

1) **Revise.** By examining previously overlooked sources, you may find that your analysis of a given subject can revise the standard interpretation offered in historical literature.
2) **Confirm.** Through a case study of a specific group, institution, geographic area, or moment in time, you may confirm a general trend outlined in the historical literature.
3) **Complicate.** With a combination of overlooked sources and/or a case study, you may complicate an accepted generalization prevalent in the literature.

As you compile a working bibliography of secondary sources and begin to consider which of the above strategies makes the most sense given your primary sources, consult with your thesis adviser, faculty, and graduate students. A brief discussion with those familiar with the subject can save you considerable time by pointing you in the direction of the most influential books and articles. It is not necessary to read everything ever written about your topic, especially if you are taking on a subject well-represented in the historiography.

Tip #1: Read books with the most recent publication dates first because they will likely cite, summarize, and review earlier works on the subject.

Tip #2: Search journals (using JSTOR or other e-resources) for literature reviews, which often take the form of "state of the field" essays or a history of a topic's historiography.

SCENARIO 2:

When No One Else Sees Gold Where You Do— Building a Case When None Previously Existed

At first, it is terrifying to realize that the thesis topic you proposed does not exist anywhere in the published literature. In the past, you always found that if you searched widely enough, if you dug deeply enough, secondary literature appeared. Now what do you do? Rejoice! You have selected a topic that enables you to make an original contribution to the historical literature. Somehow, you discovered sources and arrived at ideas overlooked by countless history professors and doctoral students. While friends and roommates struggle to find something "new" to say, you have an open playing field just sitting in front of you.

Of course, the lack of secondary literature on your topic requires you to be more creative. In order to make your historical argument useful, you must speak to the larger community of historians. How do you do this? The key is situating your analysis within other bodies of historical literature. An example (from an actual senior thesis) will help:

First, **summarize the topic**: the growth of youth summer camps in the United States during the early decades of the twentieth century.

Second, **ask questions** that will narrow the general topic into a subject for research. For example:

- Why did summer camps emerge at this particular time in American history?
- Where did they flourish?
- What were the stated aims of summer camps? What societal problems or needs did they attempt to fulfill?
- How did the movement's promoters describe the goals of summer camp (specifically, what language did they use)?
- Was there a gap between the camps' stated aims and the reality of the camping experience? When did this become apparent?
- Who were the leaders of the summer camp movement, and how they can be characterized (social class, race, religion, gender, geographic region, political views, etc.)? To what other communities did they belong?
- Who were the summer campers? How did they learn about the camps? What attracted them to the camps? What were parents' motivations in sending their children to summer camp?

Notice that these questions rely on the traditional "5 Ws and H": Who? What? Where? When? Why? How?

Third, **use tentative answers** to your questions (drawn, of course, from your readings and analysis of primary source material) as a means of directing yourself to relevant secondary source literature.

- Camp directors and staff often used the terms "progressive" or "progressive education" in describing their aims.

  Check out the secondary literature on progressive education. Does the growth of summer camps coincide with the spread of "progressive education?" Is it an outgrowth of the progressive education movement?

- Summer camps flourished in the North, particularly in rural New England.

  There seems to be a strong "back to nature" thread running through the camping movement. To what degree was the rise of summer camps a backlash against heavy industrialization? Check out literature on progressive reform more generally.

- Summer campers included both girls and boys, but they were segregated into separate "boys' camps" and "girls' camps." Did "back to nature" and "progressive education" differ by gender?

  Acquire a working knowledge of how gender functioned in schools and child-rearing at the time of camps' growth.

Continued overleaf

- There seem to be two kinds of summer camps: ones for middle class children and "charity camps" for poor city children.

  Did gender expectations differ by class? How did camps for middle-class and working-class children differ?

As you can see, tentative answers to your research questions suggest ways to "read around your topic." There may not be a vast literature on the birth of the American summer camp movement, but there is a rich historiography of progressive reform, progressive education, twentieth-century gender roles, and "back to nature" pastoralism. By situating your senior thesis within these larger literatures, you make your analysis accessible to a wide range of scholars. You also lend credibility and sophistication to your particular argument about how an examination of summer camping illuminates wider trends in early twentieth-century American society.

Finally, as you explore the secondary literature hovering around your topic, **look for direct as well as indirect paths linking a particular historiography to your topic**. You may be pleasantly surprised to find that a name you came across in your primary source appears in one or more of the secondary works you are exploring. A summer camp director, for example, may be quoted in a book about progressive reform because he is a member of the YMCA's national board. Or perhaps he studied under a leading progressive educator at Teachers College in New York. In either case, you have more evidence with which you can link your topic to wider trends in American society.

Maintaining Momentum while Researching

At some point—and more likely at numerous points—progress on your senior thesis will grind to a standstill. Simply put, you will feel stuck. If your peers seem to be cruising along while you are idling, do not start worrying about your thesis; they will surely go through the same experience, and may have already done so. It should come as no surprise that everyone's fits and starts occur at different times during the year. After all, each thesis writer is balancing an individualized research agenda with various curricular and extracurricular commitments. If you find yourself in a thesis slump, you must determine what is holding you back so you know where to direct your efforts. Feelings of frustration and anxiety have many causes: too many unread books and articles littering your bedroom floor; too few leads that seem worth pursuing; or, a flood of papers, exams, job interviews, and LSAT courses to take care of first. While there is no magic solution to getting back on track, the following tricks of the trade might help.

Prioritize your readings.

If you feel overwhelmed by the mountain of books in your room, spend two hours sorting books into two piles: "To Return" and "To Read." Start building the "To Return" pile with books that seemed interesting when you found them in the stacks but proved irrelevant when you started reading them at home. Having a lot of books in this category should not be disconcerting; it is a good indication that you have refined your topic and have grown more aware of what is useful for advancing your thesis. Next, flip through books you have not yet skimmed or read. Since you have only two hours, give each book 5-7 minutes of attention; this should be enough to determine if the book is worth more of your time in the days ahead. If a 30-page section of a 300-page book looks useful, mark the relevant pages so you know the size of the task when you include it on your to-do list.

Improve your filing system.

If you have photocopies scattered across the floor of your room, sort them by topic and put them into clearly-labeled (in pencil, since they may change) file folders. Do the same on your computer's desktop: create folders and categorize notes by subject, source, or thesis chapter. All of the above can help you feel less overwhelmed and more in control of your project. In addition, you will be glancing at your sources again and may have fresh insights to make note of as you file.

Be an *active* note-taker.

As you take notes, keep a running commentary of your own thoughts. Mark these notes clearly as your own (e.g., bracket them, put an asterisk by them, highlight them) so you can later distinguish them from information taken from a source. For secondary literature, note whether you agree or disagree with the analysis and why (e.g., your primary sources contradict an author's point). For primary sources, note your initial analysis of statements or facts. This will save you time later and keep you on task as you read: Is the information you are recording really useful to you? How does it connect to other information you have gathered?

Write concise summaries of the secondary literature.

Before you can situate your particular analysis within the larger historical literature, you need a clear idea of the arguments others have made, as well as the sources they used to make them. As you read key secondary works (i.e., books and articles useful less as a

source of factual information and more as a representative piece of historiography), create an annotated bibliography. Be sure to note who is talking to whom within the literature. As you create your annotated bibliography, write a few sentences outlining how your developing interpretation differs from or builds on those of others. Continue to edit this paragraph as you add to the bibliography. This exercise will not only help organize your thoughts, but it will also help you prepare the historiographical essay due in October, and ultimately provide you with the basis for the historiographical section of your thesis. *(See Preparing an Annotated Bibliography.)*

Remember that sources can be used in multiple ways. In addition to helping you situate your analysis within a wider historiography, secondary sources might be useful for background information. Even if you are critical of an author's interpretation in your historiography section, you can use the author's research in making your own argument. Discursive footnotes will help you navigate between multiple uses of a source.

Make a list of questions to be answered.

While the early phase of researching involves reading widely as you attempt to pinpoint your topic, your strategy will change as you narrow in on a central argument. Keep your reading and research focused by maintaining a list of questions you still need to answer or information you still need to pin down. Update this list regularly, and keep a copy (e.g., printout in your backpack, attachment in your e-mail inbox, or file on a USB memory stick) so it travels with you to the library and your adviser's office. Before reading any new source, review the list so the ultimate purpose—advancing your thesis—is clear in your mind.

When you start reading a new book or article, you can also refer to your annotated bibliography. This will remind you of why you are including the source in your thesis in the first place, and it will help you focus on the most pertinent aspects of it.

Ponder the piece that does not fit.

When developing your argument, you will often find a piece of evidence that does not fit with the rest of the evidence you have gathered. There are two common reactions to this seemingly aberrant piece of evidence:

- to ignore it because, after all, this source is outweighed by the mass of evidence you have gathered that points in a different direction; or,
- to stop dead in your tracks because this source contradicts the thesis you have developed during your research.

Resist both of these extreme inclinations. Consider the possibility that this awkward bit of evidence could transform your entire argument if you can figure out how to incorporate it into the whole. Historians often find that the piece that does not fit matters more in the end than all of the other pieces put together. Your argument may become more sophisticated and more impressive as you take into account countervailing pieces of evidence.

Tackle one area at a time.

Because the senior thesis is likely the longest paper you have ever written, it is easy to feel pulled in many research directions. If you do not know where to start, go back to your thesis proposal and select one area to focus on first. Then, set manageable goals in consultation with your adviser and schedule a meeting to report on your findings after a reasonable period of time. Know that as you check items off your to-do list, you will be building momentum toward accomplishing larger goals, such as completing a chapter outline or draft.

Presenting Your Work to an Audience

Your presentation at the Senior Thesis Writers Conference in November is your chance to explain your ideas to a group of scholars, and to tell them what you have found and why it matters. You will speak for 12-15 minutes and then take 12-15 minutes of questions from the audience. This exercise can be nerve-wracking, and it may be tempting to adopt a defensive crouch and to hope that no one will challenge your ideas in a way that will embarrass you. In fact, it is most unlikely that anyone will openly dispute your ideas. The conference has traditionally been a forum in which thesis writers are encouraged to refine their arguments, conduct follow-up research, or adjust the scope of their project. The value of the conference has always depended on the mutual commitment of presenters and audience members. The more you invest in the exercise of organizing your thoughts and evidence for the presentation, the more constructive feedback you will get from the audience. If you fail to engage your listeners, the conference will not help you much because your audience will not be paying enough attention to ask interesting and helpful questions. Here are some tricks that can help you avoid that outcome.

Use the first three minutes wisely.

Audiences have a short attention span. If you have not engaged their attention within the first three minutes, they will start to tune you out. By the fifth or sixth minute of your presentation, it will be too late to reel them back in. The introduction of your presentation is like a contract between you and the audience. You have to promise them some sort of enlightenment or knowledge by showing them that you have found something that they need to know about. The rest of your talk will be the fulfillment of that promise.

Hang on to the audience's attention.

If you have done a good job of setting up the heart of your presentation—perhaps by opening with a startling interpretation or an interesting theory—it is likely that you have bought everyone's attention through at least the fifth or sixth minute. If you start to flag, however, you can lose that attention. These tools will help you bridge a strong introduction and conclusion:

- **Signs.** Do not be afraid to use explicit signposting, such as introducing your points by listing them: "I will be making the following three points." This can look amateurish on paper, but in an oral presentation, it is an admirable practice and your audience will appreciate the guidance.
- **Baubles.** Think of your audience as a herd of cats who need constant tempting to stay interested in you. You can entice them by dangling interesting pieces of evidence, by embedding compelling stories into your narrative, or by telling the occasional joke.
- **Reminders.** Do not hesitate to repeat your main points. In a written presentation, repetition is a bad thing, but in an oral presentation, it is necessary. You have to repeat yourself as a way of letting the audience know that you are remaining on track. Besides, some members of your audience may not have been listening the first time you made your points. Repeating yourself is a way of welcoming both figurative and literal latecomers.

Know the difference between an oral and a written presentation.

The oral version of your thesis needs to be simplified and clear because most people find it more difficult to assimilate information through hearing than they do when reading. In an oral presentation, you have to lay bare the logic of your thesis and make explicit the connections between each part of your argument.

Long, complex sentences can be read and re-read in a written work, but your audience at the conference will not ask you to repeat yourself. Shorter sentences with clear transitions will serve you well for your oral presentation, even if they look like unsophisticated prose on paper.

Many scholars, including experienced historians, find that a written text is a nice safety net while giving a paper at conference. If you are relying on a written text (as opposed to notes or a structured outline), it is worthwhile to depart occasionally from your text in a spontaneous fashion. This can surprise and intrigue the audience, as they wonder whether you are going to be able to survive this high-wire act now that you have moved away from your safety net. You can also use this moment to look up from your text and make eye contact with your audience, as this also will help to recapture their attention.

Tip: When rehearsing your presentation, experiment with making extemporaneous comments. You will get more comfortable with practice and feel confident about departing from your text at the conference.

Vary your delivery.

Nothing puts an audience to sleep like a monotonous delivery. As you write and revise your notes or text, use these simple techniques to your advantage:

- **Pause occasionally.** The best presenters know how to use pauses for dramatic effect. There is nothing wrong with pausing for two or even three seconds between one part of your talk and the next, while you take a sip of water or a deep breath. Such pauses can feel like an eternity, but a couple of seconds will make an audience take notice: "Did he run out of things to say?"; "Has he lost his train of thought?"; or, "Is it over?" Of course, none of this is true; you have just made an important point or concluded a segment of your presentation. Now, you can move on with the audience's attention refreshed.

Tip: As you rehearse for an audience, ask for suggestions about where pauses would be helpful for emphasis or breaks in the delivery. Then, write "PAUSE" in between notes or paragraphs so it becomes part of your presentation.

- **Ask questions.** When preparing notes or writing prose, people tend to rely on declarative statements. Some statements present the historical problems or historiographical issues being addressed in a research project; however, some of these statements can be rephrased as questions. In an oral presentation, the occasional question (accompanied by emphasis on a keyword like "why" or "how") will grab the audience's attention by changing the tone of your delivery and creating anticipation of an answer.

- **Speak slowly.** Be sure to speak slowly enough that listeners can follow you. The temptation is always to rush so that you can fit more information into your talk. Resist this temptation, but do not speak too slowly either.

Tip: Rehearse your speech for friends so they can tell you whether you are speaking too slowly or too fast. As you rehearse, insert time marks (e.g., "9 MIN") in your notes or text at various points to see if you are on pace, or going too fast or too slowy.

Conclude on time and on point.

Part of your implicit contract with the audience (including your fellow panelists) is that you will not go over time. If you break this part of the contract, you will have forfeited some of your audience's goodwill, and you will not have been fair to the other panelists. To be sure that you end on time, rehearse your speech in advance and mark the half-way point and the three-quarter point in your text.

Tip: Bring a watch to the presentation so that you can time yourself as you are speaking.

If you find that you are halfway through your paper, and you have used three quarters of your time, cut some material that you have identified in advance as dispensable. It is a good idea to signal that you have reached your conclusion with a phrase such as, "So what have we found?" Once you have announced the beginning of the end, wrap things up within a minute or two. Audiences tend to prefer short, punchy conclusions to long-winded ones. Also, a conclusion that is well-constructed, speculative, and provocative will pay immediate dividends.

Tip: It is usually a bad idea to end with an anecdote. If you want to tell a vignette that highlights your careful research, do so at the beginning of the talk (to lure the audience in) or in the middle of the talk (to refocus their attention). Save the end for your own claims or recapitulation of the framework of your thesis.

Use the Q&A to your own advantage.

Now that you have given an engaging talk, varied your delivery, and concluded on time, you will have earned a scholarly reward: three or four provocative and thoughtful questions that defy easy answers and cause you to think harder about your project. How you answer these questions is less important than how you listen to them and reflect on them later. When you get an intriguing question, take a moment to make sure that you have fully understood what the questioner is saying. If necessary, ask for clarification or rephrase the question and confirm that you are on the same page. If you find a question to be particularly helpful, conclude by saying, "Have I answered your question fully?" This neat trick invites your questioner to comment on your answer. Typically, the questioner will then tell you outright what he or she was getting at with the initial question. This is also a chance to feed you insights or information that can end up being crucial in the development of your ideas. Since time is short, you want to maximize the opportunities for valuable questions. Be alert to a couple of common traps during the Q&A:

- **Unhelpful Questions.** Some questions will not be helpful so answer them quickly—but not abruptly—and move on. People commonly ask questions related to their expertise or current methodological interest, even if the link to a presentation is tenuous at best. Assume the motivation is scholarly curiosity, but entertain it for only as long as it spurs fresh thinking that could influence your thesis. Politely explain that you will have to give the question further thought, or take the opportunity to reiterate the limits of your research and claims.
- **Unhelpful Answers.** You just gave a lecture on your thesis topic so do not spend your Q&A period giving mini-lectures on related topics with which you are familiar. With so much research unrepresented in your talk, you may be tempted to show off your broad knowledge during the Q&A. Give useful answers—that is, answers that reveal the depth of your research and the novelty of your interpretation, rather than your command of historical trivia. Your answers might prompt the next intriguing question from an audience member.

Tip #1: Take a pen and paper with you so that you can write down all the questions as they are asked.

Tip #2: Remember that any one of the faculty members or graduate students in the audience could end up being one of your thesis readers. Their input is particularly important, because if you do not follow up on their suggestions, you may find them repeating the same suggestions over again in their comments on your thesis.

Getting Ready to Write

The transition from research to writing is often difficult for thesis writers. How will mounds of evidence and notes become fluid prose and coherent chapters? Since senior year is so busy, some thesis writers feel they have little time to meditate over sources, ponder broad questions, or outline the thesis before drafting it. In fact, some thesis writers cut corners on preliminary organizational steps with the assumption that they can do everything at once while drafting. Even if you have made time for your thesis each week of the semester, it is worth pausing before opening that blank document in your word processor. This section addresses the universal need to ground yourself in your subject before writing and the common desire to start writing on page one.

Getting Reacquainted with Your Subject

The luxury of time that comes with a senior thesis—nearly seven months of the academic year—can also be a curse. Whether you started research over the summer or in September, you will likely begin drafting your thesis some number of months after your initial discovery of documents and preliminary reading of relevant scholarship. The informal (e.g., three thesis tricks) and formal (e.g., the annotated bibliography) exercises in this handbook are designed to bridge this gap and help clarify your thesis in anticipation of the writing stage.

Are you still asking the same historical questions?

It is rare for a senior to write the exact thesis he or she proposed in September. Though the proposal may have been based on solid background reading and reasonable speculation about what primary research would reveal, the actual process brings obstacles, diversions, and complete surprises. The moment before you begin drafting your first chapter is a good time to reaffirm or reassess the goals of your thesis, so that the note-taking and free writing you've been doing to process your thoughts does not end up dictating them. Except for the most natural and gifted writers, producing good prose is hard work. Therefore, at the drafting stage, you only want to write in the service of your argument *as it currently stands*. Still, it is possible that even after your conference presentation you still cannot articulate this succinctly or confidently. Rather than panic, retrace your steps:

1) **Review your thesis proposal.** What historical questions did you begin with? What sources did you think you would need to consult in order to answer these questions? You may have been working all along in the service of these questions and simply lost sight of or internalized them. If so, you can now infuse your writing with this sense of continuity. Your research probably has yielded a well-ordered set of sources that you can analyze as part of your answer to these original questions.
2) **Review your annotated bibliography and historiographical essay.** At the top of your bibliography, you wrote a provisional argument based on early research. Was this argument a tentative answer to the questions raised in your proposal? Or, had your research already

started leading you in a different direction? Which direction did your essay take—and was it fruitful. Did a narrow or subtle aspect of your proposal's questions emerge as your focus? If so, rethink earlier—and, perhaps obsolete—plans for the structure of the written thesis and which issues you will emphasize in your writing. You may want to dispense with your original questions in a few paragraphs and then get right into your more specific and sophisticated concerns.

3) **Review your conference presentation.** This document should be your most recent and most articulate summary of the questions you plan to answer in your written thesis. Compare the questions and claims to those in your proposal, bibliography, and essay. To what extent has the nature and scope of your inquiry changed? Identifying these differences for yourself will enrich your writing. As a self-aware author, you will be able to convey to your reader the process of discovery and refinement. In addition, you will be able to direct your writing toward fulfilling the latest iteration of your argument rather than an earlier version.

What do your sources really say?

As suggested above, a lot has happened since you were digging through archives and roaming around library stacks. You may have formulated new questions, found unexpected evidence, had an analytical breakthrough, or experienced some other pleasure of historical research. Hopefully, you were meticulous along the way about taking notes. There are, however, a couple of questions to address before beginning to write: Are you unknowingly taking your sources out of context to advance a line of argumentation developed while working exclusively from notes? And, on the flip side, are you extracting the best information from your sources to support your line of argumentation? These issues matter for all sources:

- **Secondary sources.** When reading books and articles for your historiographical review, you no doubt transcribed or paraphrased passages that highlighted a point to dispute, a gap in evidence, or an oversight in analysis. Months later, however, you may be focusing on a slight variation of your earlier inquiry or on something quite different (though still related). When revisiting your notes on secondary sources, you will look at them through the lens of your current concerns and may misinterpret or over-interpret a book or article's argument because you have only excerpts that you pulled when thinking about other issues. If another scholar's work is important for your historiographical discussion, go back to the source and make sure you represent it accurately.
- **Primary sources.** It is in your own best interests to check your primary sources in between refining your questions and starting to write. The notes you took months ago may not serve you as well now as they did then. On the one hand, historical actors, like authors of secondary sources, deserve to be portrayed fairly and your original excerpts and paraphrases may be out of context for the questions you are now asking. On the other hand, you may be missing out on valuable information that did not seem worth noting when you read sources earlier—that is, when you had less specific questions in mind. Revisiting sources you already have may yield critical evidence for your argument. Beginning to write with this information in mind will produce more consistently self-aware prose than adding these insights later in the writing process.

Depending on your topic and schedule, you may feel that you have too many primary sources to perform a comprehensive review. If this is the case, decide which sources are critical for your historical analysis and go back to these original documents (or close reproductions, such as photocopies or scanned images).

Choosing an Opening Gambit

As the assignments for your chapter drafts make clear, you do not have to start your writing at the beginning of the thesis—some people start with chapter two because their evidence and thoughts for that chapter are better organized and, thus, represent an easier point of entry. Many thesis writers, however, feel strongly about starting from the beginning. Some want the satisfaction of having a well-crafted opening on paper before the long march of drafting the body of the thesis. Others want to have a point of reference to give direction to their later writing. Regardless, at some point, you are going to have to write page one of your thesis—the first page that your readers will encounter. There is no one right way to begin a thesis; each topic may lend itself to a different approach. Here are some of the most common introductory gambits used by historians:

The Anecdote.

Historians love anecdotes. A well-chosen anecdote brings your argument to life, and many of the best historians have made their careers by writing "micro-histories" that often read like long, extended anecdotes. A poorly chosen anecdote, however, can lead to disaster, dulling your argument and rendering it incomprehensible. If you decide to begin with an anecdote, make sure there is a close connection between that introductory narrative and what you are about to argue. Above all else, avoid the dreaded "pointless anecdote"—not only does it leaves friends scratching their heads in conversation, it also causes thesis readers to turn back a page and wonder if they missed something. There are two ways to use an anecdote and your choice should depend on the length of the anecdote:

- **Short Story.** If the anecdote is a couple of paragraphs or less, you can simply plunge the reader straight into the action: "On the tenth of May, 1869, a hammer fell on a spike in the Great Basin Desert of Utah." The Roman poet Horace famously termed this narrative technique "*in medias res*," which is Latin for "into the middle of things." If you employ this technique, your first sentence will immediately begin with a miniature narrative about a particular person, place, or time. While dramatic, this kind of opening provides the reader with no context for understanding the bigger picture. If you go on for too long, it can leave the reader feeling lost—and even anxious for the start of your argument. Opening *in medias res* is most effective when you wrap up your anecdote quickly and then tell the reader why that story matters.
- **Long Story.** If the story or anecdote that you want to tell is long (more than a page), you probably should not start *in medias res*. Instead, you can turn to another ancient author, Homer, whose opening to the *Iliad* is

instructive. In your thesis, you will need to start with a brief statement of purpose; something with the message of, "The reason why I am telling you this story is..." will establish you as the narrator, and will make clear that you know where you are going. So, before launching into a long anecdote, write a short paragraph explaining why the story you are about to tell is meaningful or significant. Once you have oriented your reader, you can then immerse him or her in the lengthy story.

The Funnel (a.k.a., "The Bait and Switch").

One way to lure your reader in is to find something that is important to him or her, and to announce that you are going to write about it. This "funnel" technique is essentially the opposite of the anecdote: instead of starting with something small, and then widening out, you start with something big, and then narrow down. Once you *bait* the reader with questions or a subject of general interest, you can then *switch* to the more specific aspect of that topic that you will address. The most difficult moment in any "bait and switch" routine is the transition because the process should be imperceptible to the audience. In the case of your opening, you have to lead the reader from a large idea to your narrower topic. Therefore, your transition might involve multiple steps so the reader does not have to make one big conceptual leap, which can be jarring. Also, the transition—no matter how many steps it contains—must make clear exactly how your specific topic relates to the large idea that served as the bait. Otherwise the reader will feel cheated, and it will look like you are claiming that your thesis topic is more historically important or broadly relevant than it really is.

The Paradox.

With a paradoxical introduction, you can immediately pique your reader's curiosity by announcing that there is something unusual about your topic, and that you will be exploring the unexpected. By fostering your reader's sense of adventure with a paradox, you are implicitly promising that your thesis will resolve the paradox: "Politics can find no stranger bedfellows than X and Y"; or, "Harvard is often cited as a paradigm of American education, but in X area it is far from being typical." Though artful, this gambit can be difficult to sustain for more than a sentence or two. Even the best writers can probably keep it going for one paragraph at most. If you do it right, however, it can be one of the strongest ways of opening your thesis. Moreover, if you begin the writing process with your opening, the labor of establishing the paradox will help shape your approach to organizing and drafting later chapters.

Maintaining Momentum while Writing

No amount of planning will eliminate all obstacles from the writing process. Everyone struggles through passages that are complex, yet critical to the analysis. Also, when writing a lengthy chapter, it is easy to lose track of the central argument of that chapter or how it serves the overall thesis. This section offers strategies for staying productive throughout the writing stage—even if the actual technique involves taking a step back, leaving a task for a later date, or having a conversation.

Make a schedule and stick to it.

If you plan to start writing on Monday, then start writing on Monday, even if you do not think you are ready. In some respects, you are never ready to write: there is always one more book you could read, one more article you could download, one more microfilm reel you could scan. This will be true at the beginning of every section and every chapter. When you reach the brink of the writing phase, additional research—especially additional secondary research—can be more of a hindrance than a help. Never do more research as a means of avoiding writing. You will only compound your problems by gathering more information that must eventually be discussed in a chapter you cannot bear to start writing in the first place. Decide that you will spend a set number of hours each day *writing* your senior thesis. The following guidelines will help:

Never do more research as a means of avoiding writing.

- Keep track of your hours at the computer. Even if those hours prove unproductive on some days, in the end they *will* add up to a completed draft.
- In tallying your hours, count only time spent in front of the keyboard actually composing. Do not count time spent getting books from the library or reading articles.
- Avoid being overly critical of your prose as you write because you will impede your progress. You will be able to refine your argument and polish your prose once you have a draft.
- Write the central argument of your section, chapter, or thesis in big letters at the top of your computer screen so it is waiting to confront you at the beginning of each writing session.

Perform the three thesis tricks.

Although you think you know precisely what your thesis is about, you may find that you have difficulty explaining it to someone else. You should be able to summarize your research project, along with the questions motivating you. Practice this whenever someone asks you about the topic of your thesis. Your answers have probably changed several times already; this likely reflects increasing awareness of your initial topic, but avoid hopping around from subject to subject in the writing stage. While talking to faculty, graduate students, and peers is imperative, you will also find it useful to explain the project to a friend or family member who has little knowledge of the subject. Continually repeating the central goal of your investigation and analysis in clear, understandable language will help focus your writing.

Create a reverse outline.

If you have been writing diligently for several days and feel like you are rapidly going nowhere, consider backing up and creating an outline of what you have already put on paper. Can you identify an argument? Is this argument supported by evidence? Do the various pieces of the argument flow together? Taking

time to edit what you have written and clarifying its purpose can often propel you into the next five pages of writing.

Start on a fresh page.

If you find yourself overwhelmed by your own prose—20 pages of analysis that pull you under like a whirlpool—save what you have and open a blank document. Sometimes starting on a fresh page is incredibly freeing; you no longer have to worry if you are wandering off track. Start writing a new section or new chapter from the beginning. Later, you can cut and paste the pieces together and smooth out transitions.

Tell yourself, "This is just a draft." (Repeat as needed.)

Any senior thesis writer will be overwhelmed if he or she stops to think, "This is supposed to be the masterpiece of my entire Harvard education." It is more accurate (and fair to yourself) to think of the thesis as the capstone experience of your undergraduate training. All of the skills you have learned—from Expository Writing through History 97 and your reading and redearch seminars—will help you complete the process a rewarding one. Like any other paper, the senior thesis is written in rough drafts that are gradually polished by editing, additional research, and the helpful comments of advisers, writing tutors, roommates, and friends.

Visit the Writing Center (Barker Center 019)
http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~wricntr/

Talking with a Writing Center tutor—someone who knows about writing, but not your thesis topic—might help you structure a chapter or articulate a complex set of ideas. If you feel stuck late at night and want some immediate help, then the Writing Center website has useful tools for writers working through common challenges, such as incorporating counter-arguments into writing.

Do not break your rhythm.

Allow yourself to write a *draft*. If the prose is flowing, do not stop to look up a quotation, ponder the right word choice, or format a block quote. At most, type in "[insert quote here]" or "[look up page number later]" or "[add footnote]." You can polish, elaborate, refine, or trim another day. The important thing is to get a draft on paper sooner rather than later. Having a draft enables you to edit and fill in blanks when inspiration ebbs. Once you have a draft of a chapter or section, you can tinker with it, reflect upon it, and seek feedback. Nine times out of ten, you will be pleasantly surprised when reading a rough draft for the first time.

Learning from Model Theses

You may wonder how others before you have tackled the same, seemingly insurmountable challenges inherent in writing a thesis. This section highlights model aspects of Hoopes Prize-winning theses to help you better understand how past thesis writers came up with effective approaches to introductions, incorporation of sources, analysis, and organization. Browse the headings regularly because you may not realize the utility of an entry until you encounter a particular challenge in your research or writing.

Prize-winning theses from the last couple of years are available for you to peruse in the lobby of Lamont Library; earlier winners are available at the Harvard University Archives. Some winners from the History Department have generously provided electronic copies of their theses. You can access these theses via the course website.

INTRODUCTORY MATERIALS

Organizing an Introductory Chapter

Melissa Borja (2004) begins with a colorful anecdote in her well-written introduction to a thesis exploring religious change among Hmong refugees in Stockton, California. After capturing the reader's interest, she takes the next few pages to develop her central research question: "What has triggered the rapid and widespread conversion to Christianity by Hmong refugees in the United States?" (3) With the historical puzzle presented, Borja proceeds to situate her research, a case study, within the established historiography. She follows this by introducing her case study's setting and discussing her theoretical framework and use of oral sources (9-11). Borja acknowledges some challenges with her research method and location and her ways of handling them (11); such a discussion reflects her self-awareness as a researcher and writer of history. Finally, she concludes with the layout of her thesis chapter by chapter.

Jakub Kabala (2004) begins his thesis by introducing his place and subject, Guibert of Nogent, a medieval monk in France. He explains that his thesis provides a close analysis of several books written by Guibert in order to understand the "nature of ambition in a medieval career at the dawn of the great Twelfth Century" (2). After describing his subject and methodology, Kabala outlines the various editions of Guibert's works and then summarizes successive interpretations of these works over the years. Kabala handles a massive historiography effectively by categorizing the extensive literature into three camps and discussing how each scholar influenced others (4-9). He then indicates how his research question differs from prior scholarly explorations. Next, Kabala discusses his goals and themes chapter by chapter while revisiting his methodology and restating his research question.

Explaining a Theoretical Framework

Jakub Kabala (2004) provides an explicit discussion of his own theoretical framework: a close reading of two books written by Guibert of Nogent. He refers to previous scholars' works that have used this approach and sets his research questions and his findings apart from theirs. He divides his analysis into "comparative" and "psychological" approaches to Guibert's language and vocabulary (15). Chapters 2 and 3 contain especially good examples of Kabala's close reading and linguistic analysis.

Victor Ban (2005) sets out his framework in his introduction: "the integration of textual, social and philosophical modes of analysis and critical response to these approaches" (10) in looking at several texts by Plato and their translation and reception in early twentieth-century China.

Reviewing a Small Historiography

Melissa Borja (2004) does a good job with sparse historiography. Little has been written on the subject of religion and Hmong refugees in the United States, and because of the recent nature of her subject (1975-1990), most work has been in sociology or anthropology. Therefore, Borja opens her field of vision to include more general works on religious experience and immigration to the United States (5). This approach allows Borja to compare and contrast parts of the Hmong religious experience in the United States. She also discusses the barriers to historical scholarship among the Hmong (8). While the thesis is strong, it could have been more explicit and persuasive about how her work overcomes these barriers.

Reviewing a Massive Historiography

Nathan Perl-Rosenthal (2004), in his thesis on seamen and the American Revolution, expertly lays out how interpretations of the Revolution have changed over time with different "waves" of history (2-5). He properly addresses the massive historiography by relegating many of the titles to footnotes and authoritatively discussing how his thesis engages with the major historiographical questions of the current field (6-11). (His thesis contributes to the very current historiography on the Atlantic World.) Perl-Rosenthal also notes which historiographical questions his thesis does and does not address (11-12).

VARIETIES OF SOURCES

Using Unconventional Sources

Melissa Borja (2004), with an interpreter, conducted over 30 interviews with Hmong refugees. These interviews formed the backbone of her research. Because the Hmong did not have a written language in Laos, she also "reads" Hmong quilts, a traditional means of documenting Hmong experiences. Borja includes pictures of these quilts in her appendix, along with other photographs of Hmong Christian religious life in the United States.

Christopher Loomis (2004) uses a bevy of different kinds of sources: interviews, correspondence, internet sites, as well as newspapers and archives for his thesis on competition and community in the Junior Drum and Bugle Corps. This reflects an engagement over many months with many of the important figures in the drum and bugle corps community in the United States. Throughout the text, he has reproduced some great visual sources (photographs, diagrams, and brochures) to complement his writing.

Flora Lindsay-Herrera (2005) uses song lyrics as some of her sources and collates them in the appendix with translations. She discusses at length several of the songs in the text; however, it would have been an even more effective use of unusual sources if she had incorporated them more systematically by referring to them in the text or directing the reader to the larger collection in the appendix.

Relying Primarily on an Extensive Source (e.g., Personal Journal)

James Honan-Hallock (2006) uses the expedition journal of Johann Anton Guldenstädt, a Russian naturalist, as the centerpiece of his evidence. While this might seem confining, Honan-Hallock introduces the thesis by establishing how Guldenstädt's late eighteenth-century expedition through the Caucasus emerged from Catherine II's twin interests in expanding Russia's imperial reach and supporting the development of "Enlightened" science. In a substantial introduction, Honan-Hallock links Guldenstädt's expedition and findings to broader historical issues, such as colonialism and the relationship between science and politics. The reader is thus prepared to appreciate the significance of the forthcoming study of the scientist's journey and notes. Over three body chapters, Honan-Hallock explains and analyzes in these larger terms what Guldenstädt wrote and recommended with regard to the Caucasian economy, political situation, and peoples.

Dealing with a Lack of Sources

Johnhenry Gonzalez (2006) tells the fascinating story of the Polish soldiers brought in by the French to suppress the Haitian Revolution, who ended up switching sides and making common cause with the former slaves who led the revolution in Haiti. Unfortunately, Gonzalez was not able to find any letters or manuscripts produced by the Polish defectors, and it is likely that no such documents survive. Nevertheless, he effectively tells their story through several angles by examining the letters written by the French about the Polish defectors, the pronouncements made by the new Haitian government in support of the Poles, and the writings of Haitian historians from the nineteenth century who observed directly the experience of these Poles. Gonzalez is careful not to push any of this evidence too far, and admits the limitations involved in using indirect evidence to understand the motivations of the defectors. With conclusions that are carefully qualified and three different source bases to illuminate the experience of these soldiers, Gonzalez's portrait of their motives is convincing.

Translating Sources

Liora Halperin (2005) has a great introductory note on "transliteration and translation," which explains to the reader how she translated sources from their original Hebrew and Arabic. Her definitions of certain words with thorny meanings across languages are especially impressive and instructive. This effort is especially important for a thesis (entitled "The Arabic Question: Zionism and The Politics of Language in Palestine, 1918-1948") that focuses on issues of language in a historical context.

Representing Statistical Data

Jonathan Abel (2005) uses graphs (through Excel) to show the fluctuation of stock prices in his business history of the British East India Company in the late 18th century. His graphs allow the reader to easily see the tremendous change through the period discussed in the text.

GENRES OF ANALYSIS

Narrative History

Noah McCormack (2004) tells one long political history while he subtly weaves in his argument. He rarely steps out of telling his story because he does not need to—he has laid out his argument in the beginning. His historiographical discussion in the introduction sets up his argument and his conclusion reviews how his narrative has demonstrated his point. Using a number of primary documents (manuscripts, letters, and treatises) he retells the story of the origins of political parties in England in the late seventeenth century, arguing that the first political party was founded earlier than previously thought.

Intellectual History

Thomas Wolf (2005) weaves together case studies of three different public intellectuals (Lionel Trilling, David Reisman, and Herbert Marcuse) and traces their growth in the context of the changing nature of post-war America, paying particular attention to the themes of history and utopia. A solid introduction includes a lengthy historiographical discussion and draws clear boundaries around the aims of the thesis. In an excellent conclusion, Wolfe offers ideas for further work.

Victor Ban (2005) delivers an intellectual history of Plato's reception in China in the early twentieth century. He examines several texts by Plato, the translation and translator of each text, and their reception in the context of early twentieth-century China. He deftly integrates historical background of the era in China with the personal histories of each translator. Each chapter provides a generous context for the texts and translations. Ban ends with thought-provoking and wide-ranging conclusions.

Counterfactual History

Eric Shroyer (2006) provides an instructive model for conducting a rigorous counterfactual analysis. In a study of George Washington's frontier policy, Shroyer considers the implications of simultaneous wars on the Northwest and Southwest frontiers of the new American republic. Shroyer argues that Washington "accomplished a hard-won, complex stability" in the Southwest while there was a war going on in the Northwest (12). He lays out his intentions clearly: "To appreciate Washington's continental strategy, it is essential to ask counterfactual questions about what did not happen on the frontier" (32). To establish the plausibility and significance of scenarios that never materialized, Shroyer examines what members of Washington's administration thought about the prospects and consequences of a two-frontier war and an Indian confederation across the frontiers. He also incorporates the War of 1812, which was still twenty years away, as "a useful historical analog for imagining the scale and scope of a general frontier war in the early 1790s" (37).

CONNECTION TO BROADER THEMES

Treating Race, Class, and Gender in a Thesis not Ostensibly About These Themes

Nathan Perl-Rosenthal (2004) carefully considers race and gender while examining the transmission of revolutionary ideology among American and French seamen. Although he did not set out explicitly to discuss their experiences by these categories, he implies that race and gender had a strong influence on their time at sea, their interactions with other ships, and their time at port. Perl-Rosenthal traces those relationships to the burgeoning discourse about individual rights in France in the late 1700s.

Christopher Loomis (2004) incorporates questions about race and class into his thesis on competition and community in the junior drum and bugle corps. By doing so, he broadens the reader's understanding of the complicated interactions between members and their communities in twentieth-century America

Integrating Diverse Case Studies to Suggest Larger Trends

Nathan Perl-Rosenthal (2004) presents case studies of an American ship and a French ship (chapters 2 and 4) while incorporating his historiographical arguments into each one.

Elisabeth Theodore (2005) utilizes two case studies (Ireland and India) to explore martial law under the British Empire in 1919-1921 in her effort to better understand how it was applied differently and had different outcomes.

Thomas Wolf (2005) looks at three different public intellectuals (Lionel Trilling, David Reisman, and Herbert Marcuse) and traces their growth alongside and with the changing face of post-war America.

Linking the Thesis to a Contemporary Societal Question

Christopher Loomis (2004) writes in service of a current societal question: has the role of competition changed youth civic organizations? By tracing the history of the drum and bugle corps since World War I, he raises interesting questions about young people's changing connection to civil society. Loomis ultimately argues that his case study illustrates how the tensions between community, competition, and excellence overlapped and interacted in youth activities from the very beginning.

ORGANIZATIONAL APPROACHES

Signposting in a Long and Complicated Thesis

Christopher Loomis (2004), because his thesis is so long and covers a number of different questions, uses signposting to keep the reader on track. He divides his thesis into three parts, each with several chapters and illustrations. Each part has an introduction and summation, in addition to the introduction and conclusion of the whole thesis. For example, on page 54, Loomis reminds the reader of the time period and question part II will explore, then details the contents of each chapter in this section.

Discussing Secondary Sources in Discursive Footnotes

Will Deringer (2006) has done extensive reading in primary sources to examine the life of William Petty, the seventeenth-century geographer and scholar. He disagrees with much of the previous work done by other scholars who have written about Petty. Instead of structuring his work around those disagreements, Deringer chooses to organize his work around a chronological narrative of Petty's life. This allows him to present his own coherent story of Petty's accomplishments. By confining his critiques of other scholars to the introduction, conclusion, and his long (sometimes too long) footnotes, Deringer frees up the main body of the thesis for his own original analysis.

Conclusions

Jakub Kabala (2004) has a strong conclusion that brings his subject's life to a close, then offers a comprehensive set of conclusions. Next, he revisits the historiography and situates his own work—which was just presented in the body of the thesis—within this scholarship. He also pushes his findings into a wider context by drawing conclusions about the intellectual world of the twelfth century (123). Kabala also reviews his methodology, assessing its utility in further research (127).

Nathan Perl-Rosenthal (2004) uses a "coda" that highlights considerations for future research. Because his subject was the American Revolution, he had a huge historiography with which to work. Thus, he can place his work clearly within the current historiography and show how it challenges the findings of other scholars. Perl-Rosenthal admits that his work is "a beginning more than anything else," and he raises a number of unanswered questions for future research (120).

Liora Halperin (2005) devotes part of her conclusion to integrating her personal experiences with writing the thesis with suggestions for whole new categories of analysis for the future. She effectively ties her history in with the present day to convince the reader of the subject's importance.

Exercises for Thesis Writers

The goal of each exercise in this section is to guide you through a fulfilling intellectual experience and toward a piece of scholarship you will always remember with pride. Though there is no universal prescription for producing a thesis, you and your adviser should consider these exercises as important components of the thesis process. The schedule of exercises coordinates with the Senior Thesis Seminar's syllabus and the Timetable for Thesis Writers.

The **prospectus** is one of the most important stages in the thesis project. Though no one expects your finished thesis to look anything like your prospectus—your project will almost certainly evolve as you research and write—it is nevertheless important to get your initial ideas down in writing. A well-written prospectus, though it may eventually become obsolete, is like a contract between you and your advisor, and can help you start to plot your research priorities. It is also a contract with yourself, and can serve you as a helpful reminder (especially as deadlines loom) of exactly what you did—and didn't—promise yourself you would achieve.

Reading a **sample thesis** (written by a former History concentrator) cover to cover may be the first time you confront the reality of writing your own thesis. You may ask yourself, "How can I produce something like this by spring break?" This is an important first step for organizing your thesis agenda in consultation with your adviser.

Your **annotated bibliography**, written early in the fall term, will provide a critical tool for assessing research directions. In the spring, **peer reviews** will help you to determine what options remain for improving upon your thesis. At the same time, peer reviews allow you to participate in the community of scholars composed of senior thesis writers. While immersed in unique projects, everyone benefits from exchanging insights about different approaches to historical research and writing.

As you turn your attention to revision, your **introduction** may be the best place to start. In many ways, polishing your introduction can serve as the capstone to the entire thesis project. A well-written introduction will capture your reader's attention, explain your topic, argument, and approach, and establish your credibility as a historian.

Writing a Prospectus

The prospectus is an integral part of the thesis project, and not something that one should throw together the night before the deadline. You might wonder why you should bother putting any effort into the prospectus when you know so little, frankly, about what the finished product will be. It is certainly true that very few theses ever end up looking exactly like the prospectus would have suggested. You will invariably find new and unexpected sources that lead you down slightly different paths than you foresaw in September, and as you write, you will become aware of new arguments implicit in your work that you hadn't really imagined possible. Yet none of this cancels out the vital role of the prospectus.

If you've never had to define or articulate your thesis project before, you will find very quickly how helpful it is to get your ideas down on paper:

- It helps you clarify for yourself what really interests you about your topic.
- It forces you to think through exactly what kind, and how much, research you will have to do to answer your own questions.
- It helps you decide which historiography is, and is not, relevant to your project.
- It helps you to foresee any logical or logistical problems you might have overlooked when you initially settled on your topic. Is it *really* possible to do this topic with the sources available to you? Can you *really* answer *all* these questions in about 90 pages?
- Last, but not least, it gives you something concrete to talk over with your thesis adviser and/or other mentor(s). It can be very difficult for even the most seasoned adviser to give you solid feedback on your project when you haven't committed to anything yet. Everything sounds good when it's just castles in the air! Having your adviser nod his/her head while you describe what you'd like to do is not the same as stepping up and giving him/her something in writing. No one can help you edit something that's never been written.

If you applied for summer research funding, you may in fact already have written something very similar to a prospectus for your grant proposal. You're ahead of the game, but that doesn't mean that this exercise isn't still important. Though you already have something on paper, it is important to use this opportunity to gather your thoughts about the fruits of your summer research. Has your project already begun to change on the basis of things that you found, or didn't find, in your summer reading? Are you still asking the same questions and using the same methodology?

The Parts of a Prospectus

So what goes into a thesis prospectus? The exact presentation may vary according to the nature of your project, but we encourage you to organize your prospectus into the following seven sections:

1. **Research topic.** What is your thesis about? Cuban-Americans during the Cuban Missile Crisis? Biographers of Charlemagne? The history of foreign language teaching at Harvard? It's important to be as specific as possible here (for example, to specify "*Cuban Americans during* the Cuban Missile Crisis" rather than just "The Cuban Missile Crisis"). At the same time, it's *not* expected that you have any sort of argument or thesis statement whatsoever at this early stage. Just knowing what you are, and are not, going to research is enough. The argument will come later, once you're writing.

2. **Major questions.** Brainstorm at least five analytical or interpretive questions you would like to ask. You probably still have some basic factual questions at this point—what happened in 1847?—but it's important to try to push beyond those and formulate some higher-level questions that will guide your research—*why* did that happen in 1847? *How does it relate to* what happened 10 years before? Remember, too, that *not* all interesting questions can be answered in a historical study, and that many questions are of a scope not answerable within the format of a senior thesis.
3. **Preliminary bibliography.** Offer a preliminary annotated bibliography of at least five scholarly works on the topic, to show that you have a sense of where to begin your research and where your project fits into a larger historiographical context. After each reference, summarize in a sentence or two why you think that this work deserves your attention.
4. **Sources.** Identify any archival or primary source materials that you plan to examine. You need not be exhaustive, but describe the most significant texts or repositories in one or two sentences each, explaining what is there and why it interests you.
5. **Relevant coursework.** List at least two history courses (not History 97) taken in preparation for the project, and explain in one or two sentences how you think they are relevant to your plan of research.
6. **Consultants/advisers.** If you have an adviser, name him/her. In addition, or in lieu of an adviser, also name any faculty and/or graduate students with whom you have consulted, and indicate whether they might be potential advisers or mentors
7. **Research plan.** Outline a plan for completing your research in the fall semester. This may be as brief or as long as necessary to fully explain how you intend to complete enough research to make a presentation at the Senior Thesis Conference in November and to produce at least one chapter by early December. If applicable and appropriate, review the research you have already done and how it has shaped your agenda for the fall.

To be approved, a thesis proposal ordinarily must be at least five pages long.

Critiquing a Sample Thesis

On the following pages, you will find a senior thesis written by Bicky David '08. Reading a completed senior thesis is a useful exercise as you embark on your own project for several reasons. First, it proves that it can be done; just like Bicky's, your pages of notes and piles of photocopies can become a senior thesis. Second, the exercise gives you a feel for the distinctive flow of a thesis, which is longer than a scholarly article (or Research Seminar paper!) but much shorter than a dissertation or book.

The sample thesis included in this handbook is by no means "perfect"; however, it does represent strong honors work that can serve as a model for your research and writing in many ways. While there are many impressive aspects of this thesis, do not assume that Bicky's style, organization, or approach is necessarily appropriate for your thesis. You should make decisions about your approach after considering the goals of your project and consulting with your adviser.

As you read the sample thesis, pay attention to its overall structure and consider some of the following questions:

- What is her central argument? What are the necessary sub-arguments?
- What assumptions does Bicky make about her subject?
- What choices of emphasis does Bicky make in presenting her research?
- How does she use her evidence? How does she cite sources?
- How does she situate her argument within a larger historiography?
- What process do you think Bicky went through to arrive at this final product?
- What kind of history has she written?
- What is the thesis really about? What is the subject?

Once you have read Bicky's work and thought about the questions above, consider the strengths and weaknesses of this thesis. Also, ask yourself if the work fits your expectations of a senior thesis. Why or why not?

Use the ample margin space to take notes as you read and reflect on Bicky's thesis. As your own thesis nears completion in the spring, you will find it helpful to look back on these notes. Ask yourself:

- Did you emulate the strengths you appreciated?
- Did you avoid the pitfalls you identified?
- What assumptions and choices did you make?
- Is the argument in your introduction the same as in your conclusion, and sustained through your chapters?

Reminding yourself of how you responded to a completed thesis will heighten your sensitivity to how readers will understand your year-long project when they evaluate your final product.

HISTORY FOR A CHANGED WORLD?

Geoffrey Barraclough, The Campaign for Universal History and the English Historical Profession in the Mid-Twentieth Century

by

Elizabeth Brodie David

A thesis submitted to the
Department of History
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts
with Honors

Harvard University

Cambridge
Massachusetts

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Introduction

"New Ways in History:" A Forgotten Moment in Global History

In October 2006, The Times Literary Supplement devoted a special issue to the present state and future directions of the historical discipline. In the leading article, "New Ways Revisited," the distinguished historian Keith Thomas described the forthcoming emergence of global history. He proclaimed:

> Despite the professional drift to intense specialization, modern realities encourage the study of ever larger units; hence the vogue for Mediterranean history, Atlantic history and Pacific history. Yet even they now seem parochial, as the globalization of economies and communications inexorably generates the conviction that the only true history has to be a history of the world . . . It seems certain that, for the next generation of historians, the relationships between the world's different cultures will be a central concern. Credit must also be given to purely internal campaigns . . . [for] a broader historical coverage.[1]

Many of the contributors to the 2006 symposium echoed Thomas' confidence in global history as a newly materializing, soon-to-be integrated historical study.[2] But, the present-day insistence on the imminent arrival of global history—global history as history's "new way"—is not, itself, new.[3]

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[1] Keith Thomas, "New Ways Revisited," The Times Literary Supplement, October 13, 2006.

[2] In fact, to celebrate the special issue, the Times Literary Suplement organized a forum with its contributors the day of its publishing entitled, "History Goes Global." "TLS Debate: History Goes Global," Times Literary Supplement Online, http://entertainment.timesonline.co.uk/tol/ arts_and_ entertainment/books/article667267.ece (accessed February 27, 2008). For articles from the 2006 symposium, which stressed the global, see Michael Bentley, "Island Stories: The British Historical Tradition and its Afterlife," The Times Literary Supplement, October 13, 2006; Alex Burghart, "Web Works," The Times Literary Supplement, October 13, 2006; Felipe, Fernandez-Armesto, "Green Matters," The Times Literary Supplement, October 13, 2006; Diane Purkiss, "What We Leave Out," The Times Literary Supplement, October 13, 2006. The recent founding of the Globality Studies Journal (2006) and The Journal of Global History (2006) also indicates this increasing interest among historians in the possibility of disciplinary adoption of global approach to the study of the past. See also Patrick Manning, Navigating World History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Bruce Mazlish, The New Global History (New York: Routledge 2006); Global History and International Studies (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006).

[3] This thesis does not attempt to tackle the present-day disciplinary debates surrounding which specific approach—global, international, new global, transnational, world, etc.—will best serve the interests of historians, students and readers. From this point on, I will use the term global history to refer to present-day campaigns to write and study history in a global context. For a detailed treatment of the debates

In fact, the 2006 symposium appeared to mark the fortieth anniversary of another Times Literary Supplement symposium, in which similar concerns had been expressed.[4] Geoffrey Barraclough, in "New Ways in History," the opening article of the original symposium in 1966, had declared, "How strange to us today that apart from a plea by this year's president of the Historical Association [Barraclough] for 'A Larger View of History' no historian should have spoken for the underdeveloped continents, for Africa and Latin America, or (stranger still) for the great historic civilizations of Asia ten years ago . . . There was a parochialism about history ten years ago, which today is at least beginning to shed."[5] He argued that the rapidly changing and increasingly interconnected world demanded a new, universal vision of history, which was truly global in scope. Like Thomas forty years later, Barraclough optimistically contended that despite traditional historiographical Eurocentrism and the newly rising disciplinary emphasis on specialization, historians would respond to the growing globalization of contemporary affairs by studying the history of worldwide encounters and relationships. Barraclough, again like Thomas, stressed that global history represented the way of the *future*, history's *next* stage.

The parallel language and arguments in Barraclough's and Thomas' articles raise questions about global history and its integration in the historical discipline. They compel a confrontation of the conception of global history as a "new way," as permanently in the position of imminently *becoming*, rather than actually *being* part of

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surrounding methods of writing history in a global scope, see Conceptualizing Global History ed. Bruce Mazlish and Ralph Buultjens (Oxford: Westview Press, 1993).

[4] In 1966, Thomas had contributed the article, "The Tools and the Job," which stressed, as did many of the 1966 articles, the imminent methodological "revolution" in the profession. For a detailed analysis of Thomas' 1966 article, see Jeffrey Wasserstrom, "New Ways in History, 1966-2006," History Workshop Journal 64, no. 1 (2007): 271-294.

[5] Geoffrey Barraclough, "New Ways in History," The Times Literary Supplement, April 7, 1966.

the historical profession. Specifically, they force a re-examination of two assumptions, which inform Thomas' present-day optimism about the imminent arrival of global history. The first is that historians will respond to the growing globality of the present by adopting a global approach to history. And the second is that despite the discipline's trend towards increasingly specialized scholarship, the profession will accept and welcome a global view of the past. To investigate these presuppositions and thus to acquire a deeper understanding of the possibilities and problems of the present-day movement for global history, it is both useful and important to return to an overlooked attempt at global history from the past: Geoffrey Barraclough's unsuccessful campaign for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England.[6]

Scholars have generally located the emergence of a professional historical movement for global history in the 1970s in the United States.[7] Prior to this "first" disciplinary push, they argue, global history was the amateur's domain and, in turn, global histories were metahistorical or philosophic.[8] Barraclough's historiographically neglected project to professionalize universal history in England from the mid-1950s through mid-1960s, however, challenges this scholarly chronology. His campaign to

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[6] Jeffrey Wasserstrom has recently compared the 1966 and 2006 symposia in The Times Literary Supplement and the larger developments in the historical discipline in the forty-year interim. While he has noted the similarities between authors' claims in 1966 and 2006 about the broadening of history's scope and the bigger questions they raise, neither Barraclough nor his campaign for global history appears even once in the text. Wasserstrom, "New Ways in History, 1966-2006."

[7] For a detailed treatment of the early rise of the movement to professionalize global history in this period, see Patrick Manning, "Themes and Analyses" in Navigating World History (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 55-78; Gareth Austin, "Global History as a Project: Methodological, Historiographical and Institutional Perspectives" (paper for the "Global History, Globally" Conference, Harvard University, February 8-9 2008).

[8] See Paul Costello, World Historians and their Goals (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993) 5-7.

revise history with a universal vision of the past, a forgotten moment in the history of global history, thus represents a rich area for analysis. Although one might wonder why Barraclough and his promotion of universal history have been overlooked, this thesis does not aspire to be a work of memory studies: an attempt to identify why, when and by whom Barraclough has been forgotten and, on rare occasions, remembered.[9] Rather, it aims to investigate why Barraclough's campaign for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England was unsuccessful. A study of his failure can help us to dig more deeply into the current problematic of the professionalization of global history.

I divide my study into three principal parts: the man, the profession, and the campaign. In the first, I provide a biography of Barraclough and examine the limited scholarship devoted to him. I concentrate on the insufficiency of the dominant historiographical explanation of Barraclough's failed project of global history in England between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s: the notion that Barraclough was an "outsider." Using Stefan Collini's argument that intellectuals, historians prominent among them, describe themselves as outsiders as a way of distancing themselves from the discipline and its conventions, which they criticize, I argue that Barraclough's self-identification as an "outsider" does not prove that he was actually marginalized and thus cannot do the work of explaining why his campaign for universal history was unsuccessful. In the last

[9] Barraclough's campaign for global history has not, of course, been entirely forgotten. While the majority of the infrequent references to him in current scholarship focus on his promotion of the methodological reorientation of the discipline in the late 1960s and 1970s and, most often, his work on The Times Atlas of World History, several scholars have alluded, albeit briefly, to his global history project. See Peter Catterall, "What (if anything) Is Distinctive about Contemporary History?" Journal of Contemporary History 32, no. 4 (Oct., 1997): 442-443; Nathan Douthit, "The Dialectical Commons of Western Civilization and Global/World History," The History Teacher 24, no. 3 (May, 1991): 295; Theodore S. Hamerow, Reflections on History and Historians (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 16; Erez Manela, The Wilsonian Moment: Self-Determination and the International Origins of Anticolonial Nationalism (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), ii.

section of the chapter, I challenge Collini's concentration on the ways intellectuals are described and describe themselves as outsiders on the grounds that it disengages the intellectual from his moment, dislocating and promoting his or her contentions above the historical context of which they were a part. I argue instead that, to make sense of Barraclough's failed project of universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England, it is imperative to investigate the disciplinary dynamics and debates of his period.

With the need for such a broader view in mind, in the second part I turn to the profession between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s as Barraclough promoted his vision of universal history. While there is a large historiographical canon that has recorded the practice of, and debates surrounding, the English historical profession between the second half of the nineteenth and the first several decades of the twentieth century, surprisingly few scholars have written on the discipline in the postwar period, specifically, from the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s.[10] This is a particularly significant historiographical lacuna as historians were reflecting and writing about the state of their discipline in Britain with remarkable frequency and seriousness in this period. In fact, many historians between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s declared that the growing disciplinary focus on scientific specialization had disoriented the profession, had

[10] While some historiographical accounts of the discipline that focus on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries claim to reach beyond the Second World War, their treatment of the postwar period is most often confined to conclusions, in which the historian offers generalized conclusions about large trends, which allows him or her to move from, to briefly relate, the historical moment, which is the concentration of their study, many decades earlier, to the present period in which they write. See Michael Bentley, Modernizing England's Past: English Historiography in the Age of Modernism 1870-1970 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Professionalization of Historical Learning," Reviews in American History 14, no. 3 (Sep., 1986): 319-333; Rosemary Jann, "From Amateur to Professional: The Case of the Oxbridge Historians," The Journal of British Studies 22, no. 2 (Spring, 1983): 122-147; John Kenyon, The History Men (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983); Christopher Parker, The English Historical Tradition Since 1850 (Edinburgh, UK: John Donald Publishers, 1990); Reba Soffer, Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870-1930 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).

engendered a crisis in history. This chapter focuses on historians' anxieties about the growing fragmentation of the discipline into ever smaller, scientific sub-specialisms, which, they claimed, had rid the profession of its meaning and relevance. Through the examination of two important incidents—the 1954 publication of the 1200-page cooperative history, The European Inheritance, and the intellectual response to the BBC's 1957 proposal to reduce the broadcasting hours of The Third Programme—and historians' books, articles and lectures on the state of History between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, I argue that a significant conservative movement in opposition to specialization developed within the discipline in this period. This large conservative group of leading historians fashioned themselves as outside of, and opposed to the scientific specialization of the discipline. And, they proclaimed that the way to unseat the newly powerful "cult of the particular" and thus the way out of the crisis in history rested in the reinvestment in the profession's past, specifically in the old liberal tradition of broad Eurocentric history. These reactionaries, entrenched in an internal war with the so-called specialists, were detached or at least unresponsive to the larger struggles and worldwide changes happening outside of the ivory tower, specifically, Europe's dislocation from the center of world affairs. In the last section of the chapter, I examine Barraclough's criticism of the conservative call for the restoration of the broad traditional study of the history of the European civilization. He declared that Eurocentric history failed to reflect the realities of the changing world and that the historical idea of the European civilization was itself questionable and problematized by careful scholarship. I claim this critique demonstrated his ambition to bridge the chasm between the discipline and historical reality and his dedication to the standards of professional scholarship.

These twin commitments, I argue, formed the basis of his campaign for universal history, which I study in the third chapter.

In this third part, I discuss Barraclough's vision of universal history and its reception. I begin the chapter with his rejection of the world historical canon. Barraclough criticized cooperative world histories because they were composed of discrete sections written by specialists and thus, he argued, failed to capture the interconnectedness of world history. He condemned popularizing world histories because they were penned by amateurs who produced accounts of the past that were not based on research or scholarship and therefore, he claimed, did not reflect the actual reality of history. Moreover, he accused virtually all previous attempts at world history for their parochial Eurocentrism. Next, I describe what Barraclough meant by universal history, focusing specifically on his dual insistence that it reflect the interrelated and global reality of history (as opposed to composite world histories) and, significantly, that it be a work of professional history (as opposed to popularizing world histories). Then, I turn to the reviews and responses to Barraclough's universal history. First, I discuss the conservative opponents of it, who figured Barraclough's call for a revision of Eurocentric history to reflect the reality of a global world as a rejection, a "scrapping" of the discipline's traditions, whose restoration, they stressed, could remove history from the crisis engendered by the new focus on specialization.[11] Then, I treat a broader and, in many ways, more surprising criticism of Barraclough's work. Specifically, I discuss reviewers' criticism of Barraclough's universal history as not adequately specialized and hence insufficiently professional. I argue that, despite many historians' declared to the

[11] Pieter Geyl entitled his chapter on Barraclough in his book, Encounters with History, "Geoffrey Barraclough or the Scrapping of History." Pieter Geyl, Encounters with History (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1961), 336-340.

discipline's narrowing of the historical scope of analysis in this period, they were still committed to defending and upholding the other process invested in the term specialization: the performance of original research and the survey of the historiographical canon. While many historians established themselves between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s as disciplinary rebels or reactionaries, adamantly opposed to the discipline's insistence on minutely specialized monographs, the reviews of Barraclough's work on universal history demonstrate that they still insisted on a professionalism of historical writing, which only a somewhat narrowed scope of analysis could provide.

My hope is that my examination of Barraclough's unsuccessful struggle for universal history can shed light on some of the problems surrounding present-day convictions that global history is history's "new way." My thesis tackles merely one attempt in only one context and thus I do not pretend to be able to proclaim the fate of global history or the ultimate success of any its many different incarnations. Rather, my aim is to force historians to reconsider the assumptions that surround and propel current excitement and optimism about global history. As Barraclough's failed campaign for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s demonstrates, a significant movement of historians did not respond to the larger, international changes in the present by revising their scholarship to meet them. And, despite tremendous frustration with, and anxieties about, disciplinary "specialization," historians were not ready to part with careful investigation of the sources and comprehensive knowledge of scholarly literature, which history of a global scope could hardly provide.

Chapter One

Geoffrey Barraclough: The "Outsider?"

Who was Geoffrey Barraclough? Barraclough was born on May 10, 1908 in Bradford, Yorkshire. His father, Walter, was a wealthy wool merchant, whose travels across the globe for his trade and, according to the historian R. H. C. Davis, his distaste for "'petit-bourgeois' narrowness," surely contributed to the breadth of his son's historical interests and his opposition to historical provincialism.[12] Barraclough left home in 1917 to attend boarding school, which he noted, "made a lifelong rebel of me."[13] While he attended four different schools—a prefiguring of his peripatetic academic career—his longest and happiest stay was at Bootham (1921-4), a Quaker School in York. He was enchanted by the school's visits to cathedrals and abbeys and quickly developed a love of the historical, specifically of the medieval.[14]

After a brief stint in the family firm, O. S. Daniel & Co., selling essential oils on the continent—"Whatever essential oils may have been, I soon discovered they were not essential to me"—Barraclough won a scholarship to Oriel College, Oxford.[15] There, under the tutelage of the college lecturer in medieval history and political theory, E. Stanley Cohn, Barraclough won first-class honours and, according to A. J. P. Taylor, who

[12] R. H. C. Davis, "Geoffrey Barraclough and the Lure of Charters," in The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough (Chester: Chester Archaeological Society, 1991), 24.
[13] D. H. Fischer, 'Barraclough, Geoffrey (1908–1984)', rev., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2004. http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30794 (accessed January 8, 2008).
[14] According to R. H. C. Davis, the man responsible for engendering Barraclough's passion for the medieval world was A. Neave Brayshaw, a master at Bootham about whom A. J. P. Taylor, two years Barraclough's senior at Bootham, wrote fondly in A Personal History. Davis, "Geoffrey Barraclough and the Lure of Charters," 24. See A. J. P. Taylor, A Personal History (London, 1983), 49-50.
[15] D. H. Fischer, 'Barraclough, Geoffrey (1908–1984),' rev., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

was two years Barraclough's senior at both Bootham and Oriel, "really learnt history."[16] Following his graduation in 1929, Barraclough won a number of scholarships, which funded his research on the medieval papacy in Munich and Rome. After a half-decade of scholarship in the archives, he published the fruits of his research: Public Notaries and the Papal Curia (1934) and Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages (1935). While Barraclough had devoted a number of years to the careful investigation of the original documents, in his preface to Papal Provisions he stressed that his work was not a "technical and specialized and arid" monograph.[17] Instead, Barraclough here, and throughout his career, proclaimed his ambition to write works of interpretative synthesis, which aimed both to remedy what he considered the parochialism of existing historiography and to communicate his broader, richer view of history to a non-specialized, "general public" that could use history to understand the present.[18]

Barraclough's reputation as a medievalist grew in the late 1930s with another book (Medieval Germany, 2 volumes, 1938), an editorship (Studies in Medieval History), several scholarly articles and the beginning of his very successful teaching career at Merton College, Oxford, and St. John's College, Cambridge. By the eve of the Second World War, Barraclough was considered the leading German medievalist in the English-speaking world. When war did come in 1939, Barraclough joined the Royal Air Force. As a member of the Enigma Project at Bletchley Park, Barraclough used his knowledge of German and his professional training in source analysis to break German

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[16] Taylor, A Personal History, 83.
[17] Michael Burns, "A Wandering Scholar," in Main Trends in History by Geoffrey Barraclough (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1991), ix.
[18] Barraclough, Papal Provisions: Aspects of Church History, Constitutional, Legal and Administrative in the Later Middle Ages (Oxford: Blackwell, 1935), vii.

code.[19] One can imagine that Barraclough's experience employing his skills as a historian to change the actual course of world history worked to strengthen his postwar conviction that history served a broader purpose than producing specialized research for other professionals.[20]

During the war, Barraclough wrote The Origins of Modern Germany (1946), a detailed history of Germany, principally in the medieval period, which he penned largely from memory. The Origins had one eye fixed firmly on the contemporary scene. In the book's preface, he noted, "the present volume is an attempt to establish the wider perspectives of German history, in the hope and belief that wider perspectives will cast a clearer light on present perplexities and problems."[21] While Barraclough had always stressed the need to unearth the relationship between the past and the present, The Origins of Modern Germany announced a new emphasis in his scholarship on the need for history to help man cope in and shape the contemporary world. Attempting to change history to describe this new world and thus to restore history's relevance became the focus of much of Barraclough's scholarship after the Second World War.

When the war ended, Barraclough went as Chair of Medieval History to the University of Liverpool where he taught from 1945 to 1956. Although he was unhappy there and often complained about the low caliber of students and teaching, this was an important period in the formation of his thought. While still teaching, writing and

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[19] While according to David Hackett Fischer's Oxford DNB entry, Barraclough became "first of the watch" in Bletchley's Hut 3, leading the decoding of Luftwaffe dispatches during the battle of Britain, he is not mentioned in F. H. Hinsley and Alan Stripp's book, The Codebreakers: The Inside Story of Bletchley Park (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). D. H. Fischer, 'Barraclough, Geoffrey (1908–1984),' rev.,Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

[20] The educationist Lord Bowden in 1970 attributed much of that the great transformation in university education and academic life in the quarter-century since the end of the Second World War to university professors' experience in the war. Lord Bowden, "English Universities: Problems and Prospects," The Review of Politics 32, no. 1 (1970): 7.

[21] Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany (Oxford: Blackwell, 1946), ix.

reviewing works of medieval history, Barraclough gained public recognition as a critical commentator on the state of contemporary world affairs and the historical discipline with his regular contributions to The Spectator, The New Statesman, The Listener, The Observer and History Today and to the radio on The Third Programme for the BBC. In these media, which addressed a non-specialized, lay audience interested in the larger, more immediately and directly relevant questions of the present day, Barraclough argued extensively for the need to revise and broaden history to keep up with the rapidly changing world, which had so little in common with the old world of Europe. A collection of these articles and talks formed the basis of his 1955 book, History in a Changing World, which attacked the increasingly specialized nature of historical research and the traditional Eurocentric view of history. Barraclough claimed that both failed to live up to history's primary duty: preparing men to deal with the problems of the contemporary world. This new world, he argued, demanded a new, universal vision of history, "a history that looks beyond Europe and the west to humanity in all lands and ages."[22] Barraclough's reconsideration of history, however, was poorly received. Some historians applauded his bold attempt at historiographical revision. Many, however, resisted what they argued was the book's treacherous dislocation of Europe and most rejected the work for its unprofessional reliance on generalizations rather than on original research and a full knowledge of the scholarly literature.[23]

Barraclough's new focus on international history and contemporary politics (and his dissatisfaction with his post at Liverpool) made him a suitable and interested

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[22] Barraclough, History in a Changing World (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 19.
[23] Barraclough argued that the conservative reaction to his attack on Eurocentric history in History in a Changing World had unfairly accused him of "blasphemy against the West." Geoffrey Barraclough, "Universal History," in Approaches to History: A Symposium, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 98.

applicant to succeed the world-historian Arnold Toynbee as Stevenson Research professor of International History at the University of London and director of Chatham House, the Royal Institute of International Affairs, when the joint position, which Toynbee had held since 1919, opened in 1955. Barraclough, however, disliked the post (1956-62), particularly his editorship of The Survey of International Affairs that, while global in scope, was encyclopedic rather than critical or interpretative in character. Barraclough wanted to write and teach world history because he believed that, for history to reassert its relevance and meaning, it had to teach men how to live in the world, and that only a history that was universal could fulfill that function. Barraclough wrote extensively, particularly on his new vision of history, a universal history "concerned with points of contact and with interrelationships" which are worldwide.[24] The British academic establishment, however, continued to receive Barraclough's universal history unfavorably. His attempt to set up a universal history program at Cambridge in 1960 was rejected. Butterfield explained Cambridge's refusal by nothing that there was not a real need for universal history when "the West was the "carrier" of global history" and history departments already taught surveys in European history.[25] Moreover, historians wrote and taught specialized history. A course as broad as world history seemed practically impossible. In 1962, miserable at Chatham House, Barraclough returned to his specialty of medieval history at St. John's College, Cambridge. There, he continued to work under a grant he had received while still at Chatham House from the Rockefeller Foundation to write a work of universal history. The product was An Introduction to Contemporary History (1964).

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[24] Barraclough, "Universal History," 101.
[25] Butterfield to Barraclough, 18 March 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

In that book, Barraclough hardened his attack on the European tradition within history and further stressed the need for a new, universal vision with which to write and to study history. His call for universal history was also performative as Barraclough surveyed the forces and developments that had created the new contemporary world from a global viewpoint. As the title of the book suggests, Barraclough was arguing not only for a broadened geographical historical scope but also for a greater focus on the problems that dominated the present and their history. While many professional historians, like Barraclough, urged the renewing of relevance and historicity to the profession, the dominant share rejected his vision of universal history and his faith in its potential to overcome the crisis of history.

Unhappy doing specialized medieval history at Cambridge, Barraclough fled to America, to a number of posts, first at the University of Texas, Austin (1965), then at the University of California, San Diego (1965–8). In 1968, he moved to Brandeis where he stayed for two years before he was called back across the Atlantic as Chichele Professor of Modern History at Oxford and a fellow of All Souls. Despite the prestige of the post, Barraclough was unhappy there because he was again forced to return to his specialized work on the Middle Ages. After only two years, he returned to Brandeis where he stayed until 1981. In this second half of his postwar career (1966-1984), Barraclough jumped between posts, always frustrated by narrow curricula, rigid syllabi and the feeling that he was on the periphery of the discipline. In this period, his work both returned to old territory (The Medieval Papacy (1968), The Crucible of Europe (1976) and The Christian World (1981)) and took novel directions with a new focus on the methodological reorientation of the discipline and a particular interest in economic history (Management

in a Changing Economy (1976), Main Trends in History (1976), and Turning Points in World History (1979)). He implicitly announced this shift in the symposium he organized for The Times Literary Supplement in 1966 entitled perhaps autobiographically "New Ways in History." Barraclough became a celebrated pundit in America with his Times Atlas of World History (1978) and his regular contributions to The Nation, The New Republic, and The New York Review of Books. However, "British colleagues," as his 1984 obituary in The Times noted, "tended to view his achievements rather more coolly."[26]

The question that runs through this brief biography and the thesis as a whole is why the British historical establishment viewed his work so "coolly." Specifically, why British historians rejected his call for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. Few historical accounts have been written about Barraclough but the majority of those which have taken on the historical analysis of his life and work, particularly his failed push for universal history in England before his flight to America in the mid-sixties, have treated Barraclough as somehow always on the margins of the profession, a rebellious independent, an "outsider."

The simplest account of what it meant for Barraclough to be such an "outsider" relates to his personality. Piecing together Barraclough's correspondence, his reviews and the few, brief historical accounts of him, one constructs a mosaic portrait of a man with a rather difficult character. For example, Barraclough opened many, if not most of his letters with a complaint about his health or the amount of work he had to do or the state of history at whatever institution he was presently performing it. In his

[26] "Prof G. Barraclough: Historian of Broad Vision," obituary of Geoffrey Barraclough, The Times, December 31, 1984.

correspondence with his friend the medieval historian Sir Frank Stenton, he wrote histrionically of his unhappiness with his current post at almost every turn. While Barraclough was, on all accounts, generally ill-tempered, his dissatisfaction was specific. His frustration appears critically related to feeling apart from or somehow outside of the center or the real action of the discipline. He told Sir Frank that he had resigned from his chair at Liverpool in 1956 because he "just couldn't take it any longer."[27] He had had enough of dealing with what he called the "low standards" of the undergraduates at Liverpool.[28] At Chatham House in 1962, he proclaimed that the task of compiling and editing The Survey of International Affairs, which had taken him away from serious scholarship, had forced him into a "state bordering on, perhaps already beyond despair."[29] In 1967, he declared that he felt as if "in exile" in San Diego.[30] Herbert Butterfield, in a 1960 letter to a Professor Miller on Barraclough's campaign for global history at Cambridge, noted that the ferociously ambitious Barraclough "is a man who would be content with nothing less than Oxford or Cambridge."[31] Barraclough, Butterfield contended, yearned to be at the top of the profession, in its elite, inner circle. But when Barraclough realized this ambition in 1970 with his Oxford Chair he was again disappointed. As his close friend, the historian David Hackett Fischer noted, Barraclough felt "confined by the curriculum, oppressed by the ambience of All Souls, and disliked by colleagues who expected him to resume a narrow specialty in medieval history."[32] Fischer's description of Barraclough's experience at Oxford as the Chichele professor

[27] Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 2 June 1956. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.
[28] Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 2 June 1956. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.
[29] Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 12 January 1962. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.
[30] Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 3 April 1967. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.
[31] Butterfield to Professor Miller, 23 March 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[32] D. H. Fischer, 'Barraclough, Geoffrey (1908–1984),' rev., Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

(1970-1972) implies that even when Barraclough reached the peak of his scholarly career and admission into the profession's most exclusive club (All Souls), he still considered himself a kind of outcast from the discipline.

Barraclough not only felt like a disciplinary outsider but also criticized much of what other historians wrote. He understood reviewing as an essential aspect of his role as a historian and thus penned hundreds of reviews throughout his career, twenty-nine in 1958 alone.[33] While it is rather hard to name prominent historians (particularly British and German ones) who published in the twenty years following the Second World War whom Barraclough did not review, it is more trying to produce even a relatively short list of those whom Barraclough reviewed favorably.[34] In his critiques, nothing and no one escaped what Butterfield called, "the lash of [Barraclough's] tongue."[35] Barraclough's reviews sometimes soured existing friendships or at least destabilized professional alliances. Butterfield in his 1955 recommendation of Barraclough for the Stevenson Research Chair cited Barraclough's scathing critique of the historian Gerhard Ritter, which had weakened some German historians' "affection" for, and "understanding" of him.[36] That Butterfield included this in the recommendation suggests he believed that Barraclough had the real and dangerous potential of isolating other historians with his

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[33] Davis, "Geoffrey Barraclough and the Lure of Charters," 31.

[34] When I asked the historian James Cronin, Barraclough's dissertation advisee (1973-78), the question, "Which historians did Geoffrey Barraclough truly admire?" he struggled to come up with even several whom he could guess Barraclough to have liked. James Cronin, in discussion with the author, Harvard University, February 21, 2008. On rare occasions, Barraclough did review a historian's work with praise and reverence. See Barraclough, "The Middle Ages," History Today III, no. 7 (1953): 513.

[35] Herbert Butterfield, recommendation for Geoffrey Barraclough for the position of Stevenson Research Chair of International History at the University of London to James Henderson, Registrar, University of London, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[36] Butterfield to Henderson, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library. The historian Walter Prescott Webb opened his rather laudatory 1957 review of History in a Changing World with a note that it was somewhat odd that he, as an Americanist, was asked to review a book on the 'death' of the old European order but far stranger that he had chosen to review it as Barraclough had criticized Webb's book, The Great Frontier, in a review the previous year. Walter Prescott Webb, Review: History in a Changing World by Geoffrey Barraclough, The American Historical Review 62, no. 3 (Apr., 1957): 594-595.

reviews. Few would debate that Barraclough was difficult and that there were, as Butterfield noted in the Stevenson recommendation, "some . . . historians probably against him."[37] Moreover, Barraclough's correspondence also indicates an unease with feeling always somewhat on the outside of the discipline. It perhaps makes sense therefore to consider the disappointments in Barraclough's career, notably his failed campaign for universal history from the mid-1950s through mid-1960s in England, as the product of his being an "outsider."

The few brief accounts of Barraclough's career are compromised by the isolated treatment of the rebellious iconoclast, "the solitary traveler."[38] They provide only a superficial examination of the intellectual context in which Barraclough was writing and to which he was reacting. The only journal article devoted to Barraclough, Kenneth C. Dewar's 1995 paper, "Geoffrey Barraclough from Historicism to Historical Science," similarly fails to provide a rich and meaningful analysis of the dynamics within the discipline and within the broader intellectual moment in which Barraclough wrote. As his title suggests, Dewar stresses Barraclough's methodological reorientation in the latter part of his career. He uses Barraclough's championing of a scientific approach to history, his rebellion against historicism and the common-sense approach to history from the late-1960s until his death in 1984, as emblematic of the larger revolution within the historical profession in favor of an interdisciplinary approach. However, Dewar never offers a

[37] Butterfield recommendation to Henderson, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[38] Burns, "A Wandering Scholar," ix.

clear picture of this movement or where Barraclough fit within it: is Barraclough simply supposed to "exemplif[y]" it?[39]

While Dewar's nominal focus is on Barraclough's methodological reorientation in the 1960s and 1970s and history's methodological borrowing from the social sciences, he devotes a great deal of space in the article to the first half of Barraclough's postwar career, specifically his attacks on the European tradition within history and his fight for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. Dewar provides the clearest and most comprehensive summary of Barraclough's arguments on the urgent need for a revision of European history and a universal historical vision to meet the demands of a radically changing world. He treats Barraclough's ideas, however, almost as if they were produced in a vacuum. He makes no mention of their reception and only infrequently alludes to the arguments Barraclough opposed or to the broader disciplinary and intellectual dynamics, which informed both Barraclough's contentions and scholars' reception of them. While Dewar successfully avoids the problematic characterization of Barraclough as an "outsider," he reproduces the central problem with the rendering of him or the intellectual, more broadly as an "outsider": the failure to contextualize the individual's arguments within a broader set of debates.

Although Barraclough's claims that history had to be altered may be interesting on their own terms, they possess no intrinsic historical relevance when divorced from the intellectual context in which they were generated. Barraclough's criticism of history and his urgent call for its revision responded to trends and directions in the discipline and provoked reactions within it. To provide insight into the bigger questions of

[39] Kenneth C. Dewar, "Geoffrey Barraclough: From historicism to historical science," The Historian 56, no. 3 (Spring 1994): 449.

Barraclough's historical moment and the larger problematic of instituting global history, it is essential to consider Barraclough's arguments for universal history *inside* the framework of contemporary disciplinary debates.

While the historiography on Barraclough is thus remarkably small, in most of the accounts written about him the idea of Barraclough as an "outsider" is a recurrent theme. If Barraclough's being an "outsider" is to do the work of elucidating his failures, specifically his failed campaign for universal history in England from the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s, it is important to understand what meanings and associations are invested in the term "outsider." Barraclough, as the historiography indicates, was "a very individual character . . . essentially 'his own man.'"[40] He was a "solitary traveler through historical time and space,"[41] who consciously and consistently opposed the discipline's *status quo*, never "prepared to kowtow to the academic establishment."[42] As the medieval historian Norman Cantor noted in 1971, Barraclough "always stood outside the conventional ideas of the British academic establishment."[43] Barraclough resisted the profession's conformities and was a critic of the discipline but he was not the "outsider" the historiography and even his complaints in his correspondence suggest. He regularly contributed to the media in which the most important and respected historians and intellectuals of the period presented their ideas and debated. He was on the editorial board of Past and Present (1952-1962), which, though originally Marxist in politics was not marginal.[44] And he was the president of the Historical Association (1964-67), which

[40] Davis, "Geoffrey Barraclough and the Lure of Charters," 23.
[41] Burns, "A Wandering Scholar," ix.
[42] Davis, "Geoffrey Barraclough and the Lure of Charters," 23.
[43] Norman Cantor, Perspectives on the European Past: Conversations with Historians (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 340.
[44] For a detailed history of the early history of Past and Present and the group of rebel historians who founded it, see Christopher Hill, R. H. Hilton, and E. J. Hobsbawm, "Past and Present, Origins and Early

is hardly a role for a professional "outsider." As his dissertation advisee the historian James Cronin noted in an interview, "he was very well-connected. That's how he got to write all of those articles . . . He was not an outsider."[45] In the photograph of Barraclough that accompanies The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough, a sort of festschrift for him, Barraclough appears in profile, dressed in a checkered shirt, dark tie and tweed jacket, with this right hand confidently grasping a pipe. He appears not "a lifelong rebel" but the embodiment of the standards of the discipline, the very image of the postwar English academic establishment. (Figure 1)

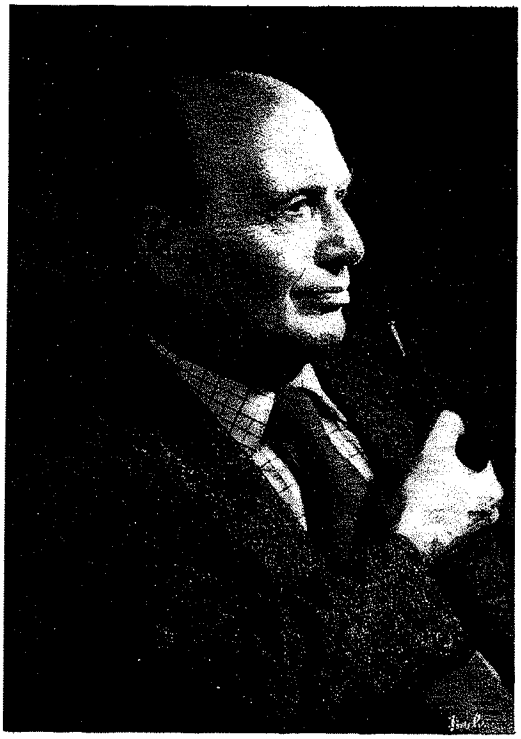

Figure 1[46]

Years," Past and Present, no. 100 (Aug., 1983): 3-14.

[45] James Cronin, in discussion with the author, Harvard University, February 21, 2008. In 1963, Liddell Hart wrote to Barraclough to tell Barraclough how "interest[ed]" and "impressed" he was by his articles, particularly a recent contribution to International Affairs. Captain B. H. Liddell Hart to Barraclough, 14 February 1963. Liddell Hart Papers, Liddell Hart Center for Military Archives, King's College London.

[46] Photograph reproduced from The Earldom of Chester and its Charters: A Tribute to Geoffrey Barraclough.

Furthermore, a large number of historians in the roughly twenty years following the Second World War objected to the state of the historical discipline: were they all "outsiders" and (thus) failures? The answer, of course, is no. The many historians critical of the profession in the postwar period, who debated history's perceived crisis, could not *all* be "outsiders." It is interesting to note that the titles of biographies of Herbert Butterfield, Eric Hobsbawm, A. J. P. Taylor and E. P. Thompson stress their rebellion against the discipline; the historian's status as an "outsider."[47] The historian Paul Costello, in his analysis of the life and work of Arnold Toynbee has noted that Toynbee was considered and "recogni[zed] himself as an "outsider" . . . scholastically" but has stressed it would seem paradoxically that "Toynbee's importance in the field of twentieth-century thought can scarcely be exaggerated."[48] These so-called "outsiders" were certainly not failures but were instead some of the most well-respected and successful English historians of the twentieth century. The assumed relationship between Barraclough's position as an "outsider" and the "cool reception" of his proposed revisions of history among the English academic establishment thus appears insufficient and problematic.[49]

Stefan Collini has recently noted that for British intellectuals to consider themselves or to be considered as "outsiders" is "so common . . . that we have almost ceased to realize what an absurd description this is."[50] He argues that the status as an

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[47] Kathleen Burk, Troublemaker: The Life and History of A.J.P Taylor (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000); Robert Cole, A J. P. Taylor: The Traitor within the Gates (Houndsmill: Macmillan Press,1993); Georg Fulberth, "The Rebel Historian," Freitag, June 23 2007; C T McIntire, Historian as Dissenter (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2004); Bryan D. Palmer, E. P. Thompson: Objections and Oppositions (London: Verso, 1994).

[48] Paul Costello, World Historians and their Goals (Dekalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1993) 5-7, 89, 72.

[49] "Prof G. Barraclough: Historian of Broad Vision," obituary of Geoffrey Barraclough, The Times.

[50] Stefan Collini, Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 413.

"outsider" establishes intellectuals, historians prominently among them, as detached from their discipline and the larger world that they criticize. By identifying as an "outsider," the intellectual frees himself from the confines of contaminated and corrupting convention, dislocating himself to a critical distance from which he can legitimately assess the problems of the contemporary scene. The kernel of Collini's argument rests in his contention that self-identification as an "outsider" functions as a type of critical license and therefore does not reveal very much about the actual position or reception of a scholar within his chosen discipline or the broader intellectual community, which he addresses. This problematizes the favored explanation of Barraclough's professional disappointments, notably his failed campaign for universal history in England in the 1950s and early 60s, as a product of his "outsiderdom."[51]

While Collini clearly demonstrates that the perception and/or self-definition of an intellectual as an "outsider" does not relate (at least directly) to, and therefore cannot prove, historical marginalization, he reinforces rather than undermines the most significant problem with the characterization of intellectuals as "outsiders." By concentrating virtually exclusively on the way in which intellectuals describe themselves and are described as outsiders, Collini promotes the individual's objections above the historical debates of which they were a part. This artificially disconnects the intellectual from the ideological-historical context to which he belongs. Collini replicates the historiographical error of treating the intellectual's status as an "outsider" as an explanation of the marginalization of his ideas by severing or at least overlooking the historically important and illuminating relationships between the intellectual's position and the intellectual climate of the historical moment. This disengaging of the intellectual

[51] Collini, Absent Minds, 414.

"outsider" from the historical context removes the historicity and relevance from the analysis of the individual. Ironically, this detaching of the individual from the larger intellectual-historical environment, reproduces what Barraclough and the many historians who opposed specialization in the 1950s and sixties considered to be the problem with specialization: the dislocation of the fragment from the whole. In both cases, the partial view of the past obscures history's larger meaning and thus its ability to help its students and readers understand and change the world. It is to that larger meaning, in its broader context, that I now turn.

Chapter Two

The Specialization of the Discipline: Rebels and Reactionaries

In the leading article of the Times Literary Supplement's 1966 symposium on "New Ways in History," Barraclough declared that "the most serious problem confronting history today is [the] fragmentation . . . which, if given rein, will rob [history] of relevance and meaning."[52] Such criticism of specialization did not render Barraclough a disciplinary "outsider." In fact, fears about the growing disintegration of the historical profession were an essential aspect of disciplinary debates in England as Barraclough campaigned for universal history between the mid-1950s and the mid-1960s. Historians had decried the stultifying effects of specialization since history's institutionalization in the mid-nineteenth century.[53] But, in the twenty years following the Second World War, specialization grew and historians' anxieties about the increasing fragmentation of their discipline into scientific-subspecialisms swelled. C. P. Snow in his sensational 1958 Rede Lectures at Cambridge on "The Two Cultures" proclaimed that "England's fanatical belief in educational specialization . . . is much more deeply ingrained in us than in any country in the world, west or east."[54] Moreover, he argued that

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[52] Barraclough, "New Ways in History," The Times Literary Supplement, April 7, 1966.
[53] Collini, Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 452-4. For detailed treatment of the debates surrounding specialization in the 19th century, see Theodore S. Hamerow, "The Professionalization of Historical Learning," Reviews in American History, 14, no. 3 (Sep., 1986): 319-333; Rosemary Jann, "From Amateur to Professional: The Case of the Oxbridge Historians," The Journal of British Studies, 22, no. 2 (Spring, 1983): 122-147; John Kenyon, The History Men (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1983); Christopher Parker, "History as Science—More or Less" in The English Historical Tradition Since 1850 (Edinburgh, UK: John Donald Publishers, 1990), 83-103; Reba Soffer, Discipline and Power: The University, History, and the Making of an English Elite, 1870-1930 (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1994).
[54] C. P. Snow, The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 18.

while the fragmentation of academe endangered the whole of English intellectual life, it particularly threatened the arts, notably history.[55]

Herbert Butterfield also decried the problems of specialization and proclaimed the need to return to the broader, general histories of the disciplinary past in his 1955 Wiles lectures at Queen's University, Belfast published later that year as Man On His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship.[56] E. H. Carr in What Is History?, his seminal 1961 book on the profession condemned the discipline's insistence on "minutely specialized monographs" and blamed it for the confusion and disorientation of the profession, signified in the question, which he repeated throughout the book almost as a refrain: "What is History?"[57] In his introduction to the 1964 book, Crisis in the Humanities, J. H. Plumb declared that the "crisis . . . is worst of all in my own subject—History. For this reason: it has lost all faith in itself as a guide to the actions of men: no longer do historians investigate the past in the hope that it may enable their fellow men to control the future . . . the whole sickening deadening process of increasing specialization within history destroys its value for education in its broadest and best sense."[58]

Between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, English publishing houses and journals produced reams of books and articles by historians who bemoaned the discipline's insistence on narrowly focused monographs and the crisis in the profession it had engendered. Barraclough and the large numbers of scholars in this period who opposed specialization criticized the discipline's contracting of the scope of historical analysis, its

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[55] C. P. Snow, The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution, 19.
[56] Herbert Butterfield, Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), xi, 122.
[57] E. H. Carr, What is History (New York: Random House, 1961), 14.
[58] J. H. Plumb, "Introduction" in Crisis in the Humanities ed. J. H. Plumb (New York: Penguin Books, 1964), 8-9.

subdivision into increasingly narrow specialized fields. They rebelled against the discipline's growing focus on minutiae that they claimed had stripped historical scholarship of its ability to communicate the larger picture of reality to a broader audience. In criticizing the problems of scientific specialization, which they argued had produced the discipline's disorientation, these historians fashioned themselves as somehow removed from, outside of the discipline's corrupting "cult of the particular."[59] From the critically distanced position of the rebel or the reactionary, they argued that to redeem history, to restore its relevance and meaning, the fragmented profession required re-integration. But what would this synthesis look like?

This chapter deals with the ways professional historians responded to the disciplinary problem of specialization. It does not offer a detailed examination of the opposition to specialization, which came mostly from outside of the profession, from amateur historians who criticized the discipline's reduction of history to academic quibbles cloistered in ivory towers. While the historiography of history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s is remarkably small, some scholars have argued that the debates on specialization in this period reproduced the mid-nineteenth-century disputes on history's academization between amateur historians, the men-of-letters, and academic historians, the professional specialists in the universities.[60] Such a rendering of the scene, however, simplifies the intellectual context by overlooking the major impetus to overcome the

[59] Barraclough, "The Larger View of History," Times Literary Supplement, July 6, 1956.
[60] John Kenyon, 298-9. Hugh Trevor-Roper in his inaugural address as Regius Professor of History at Oxford in 1957, "History: Professional and Lay," also stressed the continuity or at least reproduction of the Victorian debates between the amateurs and the professionals in his own time. Hugh Trevor-Roper, History: Professional and Lay (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1957).

discipline's crisis, which emerged from within the profession. Furthermore, by treating the opposition to specialization between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s as a continuation or reemergence of the nineteenth-century divide between professionals and amateurs, historians have not given enough attention to important professional reactions and trends that emerged within the English historical profession between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, on which the intra-disciplinary debates on specialization in this period can shed light.

Barraclough and many important and well-respected historians in this period wrote in opposition to the narrowing of the scope of historical analysis and thus the audience of history, which as Barraclough wrote in 1956, had confined the discipline to the "ivory tower; and no one was satisfied except the technical historians who diligently took in each other's washing."[61] While these opponents of specialization agreed that the discipline needed revision, specifically that it demanded the re-integration of its many fragmented, specialized fields, they differed as to what this scholarly synthesis ought to be.

In this chapter, I focus in particular on one significant, large-scale reaction to the problem of specialization, its idea of the way out of history's crisis, and Barraclough's response to it. This movement of historians, which included some of the leading English historians of the mid-twentieth century, such as Herbert Butterfield, Christopher Dawson, J. H. Plumb and Hugh Trevor-Roper, claimed that to overcome the discipline's disorientation, which its growing emphasis on scientific narrowness had engendered,

[61] Barraclough, "The Larger View of History." Here, Barraclough demoted specialized history from the peak of scholarly professionalism to the thoughtless chores of housewifery. His feminizing of scientific and technical historical expertise inverts assumptions about the gendering of the scientific versus the literary. While an investigation of the gendered language surrounding debates on historical professionalism in this period is not within the scope of this project, it is worthy of further historical investigation.

required the reinstating of its traditions, a return to its past. Specifically, they argued that historians needed to reinvest in the liberal or general historical study of European civilization. This historical approach, which presented the continuous and progressive history of Europe as a whole rather than in its many fragments, sought to provide students and readers with an understanding of themselves and their place in the world. While liberal history had remained dominant in the universities through the eve of the Second World War,[62] the war's practical need for hard skills, expertise and technological training challenged traditional ideas of the value of the broad, didactic study of history and stressed in its stead the importance of scientific, specialized knowledge and education.[63]

The conservative opposition between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s to specialization's fragmentation of the historical discipline could be understood as little more than a reactionary response to disciplinary change. However, this significant movement, with its call for the reinstating of the traditional liberal study of the European civilization gains new historical importance when understood in the broader, global context of the historical moment. This large group of leading historians pushed to restore the general history of the European tradition when Europe, itself, was being displaced from the center of world affairs. Their arguments for a return to broad Eurocentric history thus failed to consider or at least to respond to the historical reality that was

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[62] Reba Soffer demonstrates the dominance of the liberal ideal of history during the early period of history's professionalization in the mid-nineteenth century and stresses that it continued to maintain its hegemony over historical studies until the Second World War. Soffer, Discipline and Power: The University, History and the Making of an English Elite, 1870-1930, 14.

[63] H. C. Dent stressed this transformation in his 1961 book, Universities in Transition. England's "status as a world power," he wrote, "depend[s] upon its producing a large, and increasing, number of highly educated and professionally trained men and women: chiefly, but far from exclusively, scientists and technologists." H. C. Dent, Universities in Transition (London: Cohen & West, 1961), 92. Harold Silver also describes the shift in this period to an increased focus on specialized, scientific and technological education in his chapters "1950s: 'Modern Needs', and "Ashby: The Age of Technology," in Higher Education and Opinion Making in Twentieth-Century England (London: Routledge, 2003), 127-175.

changing the world outside of their ivory tower, or, at least, their nation. Barraclough rejected the conservative movement's push to reinstate the traditional liberal study of the European civilization. His criticism of this rearguard call to restore the general Eurocentric history of the disciplinary past, which I consider in the final section of the chapter, demonstrated his commitment both to responding to the dynamic changes in the present in historical writing and study and, importantly, to performing the careful research and scholarship that professionals could respect and the intelligent public could use to understand the world.

While it is rather difficult to prove the existence of a group or a large-scale intellectual response in a conclusive way, two events can help to elucidate the formation of a conservative movement of historians and intellectuals as Barraclough campaigned for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. These episodes—the 1954 publication of the three-volume, 1200-page cooperative history, The European Inheritance, and the intellectual response to the BBC's reduction of the broadcasting hours of The Third Programme in 1957[64]—illuminate a reactionary movement of leading historians in this period who called for the restoration of the broad, traditional study of the European civilization as a way of redeeming and redirecting a discipline, which the growing dominance of specialization had derailed.

The European Inheritance was imagined during the war by the British Minister of Education and the Ministers of Education of eight allied governments then resident in London. During a meeting in the winter of 1943, the ministers agreed on the value of a

[64] I was introduced to the BBC's call for the reduction of broadcasting hours of the Third by Stefan Collini's chapter, "Media Studies: A Discourse on General Ideas," in his book Absent Minds: Intellectuals in Britain (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 435-451.

large, scholarly history of the European civilization. Although The European Inheritance was conceived politically, the allied ministers stressed "that The European Inheritance should be a work of independent [historical] scholarship, independently published by a university press, under the direction of an editorial board which would choose and invite the individual contributors, and would thus be freely and solely responsible, along with the contributors, for the form and substance of the work."[65] The distinguished Clarendon Press, which was given the job of publishing the volumes, gathered some of the finest and best-respected English and continental historians to compose a work that could communicate, as the preface indicated, "some sense of the inheritance of Europe and the spread and the influence of that inheritance" to an intelligent audience.[66]

The European Inheritance reproduced the cherished historiographical narrative of European civilizational progress. The ten "outstanding scholars" who reconstructed it, both in the act of contributing to it, and in the actual content of their contributions, warmly affirmed the old, liberal tradition of European history, which the discipline's growing concentration on specialization had threatened.[67] Many historians who reviewed The European Inheritance after its publication in 1954 noted the difficulty of attempting to fit "the huge span" of the history of European civilization into a single work, even one of three volumes and twelve hundred pages.[68] However, despite scholarly hesitations, a significant group lauded the work. Specifically, they praised the contributors' commitment to rendering the broad, traditional historical view of the European

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[65] The European Inheritance eds. Barker Ernest, Clark George, and P. Vaucher (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), v-vi.
[66] The European Inheritance, vii.
[67] Joseph Finkelstein, Review: The European Inheritance eds. Ernest Barker; George Clark; P. Vaucher, The Journal of Modern History 27, no. 2 (Jun., 1955): 177
[68] G. A. Holmes, Review: The European Inheritance eds. Ernest Barker; George Clark; P. Vaucher, The Economic History Review 7, no. 3 (1955): 382. See also Gray C. Boyce, Review: The European Inheritance eds. Ernest Barker; George Clark; P. Vaucher, Speculum 31, no. 1 (Jan., 1956): 130.

civilization. They declared that the historians' dedication to seeing that "the European scene is viewed as a whole" rather than in its many subdivided specialized fields, was "rewarding,"[69] the attempt to survey the great sweep of European civilization "unique" and "admir[able]" amidst the swelling sea of specialized monographs.[70] In fact, one reviewer declared that The European Inheritance was not only a "worthy" and "impress[ive] . . . synthesis," but also, that the very publication of a historical work that offered a broad understanding of the European inheritance for a non-specialized audience was "a tribute to the strength of the European inheritance."[71] Although some historians expressed a certain skepticism about the ability to write history on such a large scale, a significant number applauded the contributors' reinvestment in the disciplinary tradition. In the face of the discipline's new scientific focus on minutiae, these historians welcomed and championed the return to the older way: the classical, historical narrative on the European civilization.

Three years later, in April 1957, leading English and European intellectuals, historians prominent among them, proclaimed that the European civilization was in jeopardy.[72] The crisis, which they argued, "affects the interests of the...nation as a whole, and...vitally concerns the spiritual, cultural and intellectual life of the community," was the BBC's proposal to reduce the broadcasting hours of the Third Programme.[73] The Third, on which Barraclough and many leading historians invested in reaching a non-specialized audience regularly spoke, was a forum for the creation and the

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[69] Denis Hays, Review: The European Inheritance eds. Ernest Barker; George Clark; P. Vaucher, The English Historical Review 69, no. 273 (Oct., 1954): 613.
[70] Boyce, Review: The European Inheritance, 130.
[71] Finkelstein, Review: The European Inheritance, 177.
[72] The leader of the Third Programme Defense Society, which opposed the BBC's proposed cuts, was the Cambridge Historian, Peter Laslett. Humphrey Carpenter, The Envy of the World: Fifty Years of the Third Programme and Radio 3 (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1996), 172.
[73] Peter Laslett, "Future of Sound Broadcasting," The Times, April 26, 1957.

exchange of general ideas. It aimed to overcome the problems of academic specialization in the universities by establishing a space for intellectuals to re-integrate specialized topics into broader meditations on culture, politics and society. Moreover, as radio assumed and required an audience, the Third corrected (at least partially) specialization's narrowing of the audience of academic work.[74] Originally titled Minerva, recalling the classical goddess of poetry, music and wisdom, the Third produced and came to symbolize both opposition to specialization and the longed-for breadth of traditional academic and intellectual culture. Leading historians and intellectuals claimed that "what is at stake" in the moderate decrease of broadcasting hours of the Third "is something fundamental to our civilization...[and that i]f such an enterprise as the Third Programme cannot flourish in our society...such a rejection would...be likely to include our whole tradition of refinement and much else that is taken to be essential to civilization as Europe has understood it."[75] This anxiety demonstrates their extreme investment in maintaining a general discourse for a wider audience that the growing frenzy of academic specialization had already begun to depose in scholarship. And, importantly, it foregrounds, how much the return to the old liberal ideal was critically bound up with ideas about educating a wide audience on the European civilization.

These two incidents—the 1954 publication and reception of The European Inheritance and the BBC's proposal to cut the broadcasting hours of the Third Programme in 1957—illuminate the development of a conservative opposition to

[74] The question of the Third's audience and whom it aimed to reach are much-debated topics in the historiography on the Third Programme. While the Third's intended audience was already educated, it also sought to provide an introduction to, a type of education in, intellectual and cultural life. For more on the audience of the Third, see Carpenter, The Envy of the World, particularly 3-13, 72-96 and Collini, Absent Minds, 434-448.

[75] Carpenter, The Envy of the World, 97.

specialization in the mid-1950s just as Barraclough launched his campaign for universal history. The critical conservative reaction among historians to the disciplinary problem of the growing particularity of scholarship claimed that to restore history's relevance and meaning, it must return to the old tradition of the liberal study of European civilization, which the increasing professional focus on scientific narrowness had endangered and, at least partially, unseated.

The conviction that the "cult of the particular" had broken up the coherence of history and thus its ability to convey the broader picture of reality was essential to arguments on the dangers of specialization. The conservative opponents to the narrowing of the scope of history, in their critical accounts of the problem of specialization and the resultant crisis in the profession, identified disciplinary specialization not only as fragmenting the larger view of history but also as specifically destroying the valuable historiographical tradition of the broad study of European civilization. The discipline's insistence on minutely focused monographs, they argued, had fragmented both the classical liberal approach to history and the common culture it produced and symbolized.[76] While the historicity of a united or common culture engendered by the liberal historical tradition before the postwar explosion of scientific specialization is

[76] Edward Shils, a social theorist and intellectual historian, proclaimed this explicitly in his chapter, "The High Culture of the Age," in the 1964 symposium, The Arts in Society. He wrote that "a specialist who shares little of the inherited culture" had shattered the unity of intellectual life in Britain. He wrote with a sense of longing for the "nineteenth and early twentieth century [in] Britain [when] there was some approximation to the reality of a coherent common culture . . . having some sense of affinity despite all opposition and antagonism. Th[is] unity. . . is desirable because it is important for the maintenance and diffusion of our cultural inheritance." Shils, "The High Culture of the Age," in The Arts in Society, ed. Robert N. Wilson (London: Prentice Hall International, 1964), 348.

questionable, historians' invocation of it clearly indicated a desire to return to the ways of the past.[77]

The historians who formed this conservative reaction proclaimed that to restore direction and relevance to the disoriented discipline, scholars had to return to older ways, specifically, to the broad historical study of the European tradition.[78] In fact, Herbert Butterfield, Christopher Dawson, Pieter Geyl, J. H. Plumb and Hugh Trevor-Roper all causally related the much-feared and oft-alluded to crisis in history to the profession's turning away from the Eurocentric liberal tradition as it increasingly pursued scientific specialization.[79] To overcome history's fragmentation, reinvesting it with meaning and removing it from its crisis, disciplinary reactionaries or self-fashioned redeemers argued that the profession required a re-established commitment to its traditions: a renewed liberal historiographical attention to European civilization.

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[77] The focus on, and longing for, the old intellectual culture was also expressed in Noel Annan's renowned essay, "The Intellectual Aristocracy." In it, he traced the genealogy of the leading families in academic and public life in Victorian England and the common culture they produced and represented. Noel Annan, "The Intellectual Aristocracy" in The Dons (London: Harper Collins, 1999), 304-343. In Stefan Collini's forthcoming book, he details historians' and intellectuals' romanticizing of Victorian England in the twentieth century. Collini, "'The Great Age': The Idealizing of Victorian Culture," in Common Reading: Critics, Historians, Publics (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 211-219.

[78] The historian Christopher Dawson, in his 1961 book, The Crisis of Western Education, stressed that the challenge to "maintain the tradition of liberal education against the growing pressure of scientific specialization" was the chief problem and task for contemporary historians. Christopher Dawson, The Crisis of Western Education (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1961), 145. The Dutch historian Pieter Geyl, a self-proclaimed opponent of "narrow specialisms," declared in his 1961 examination of the crisis of history, Encounters in History, that "the great problem of our day is that of the salvation of Western civilization" in historical education. Pieter Geyl, Encounters in History (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1961), 281, 276.

[79] Herbert Butterfield, in his 1955 Wiles Lectures, contended that "our technique [specialization] is liable to give rise to historians' blind spots, and we may overlook the still greater significance of those elements of culture which have a continuous history, irrespective of the rise and fall of empires." Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), 122-123. J. H. Plumb, in his 1964 essay on the crisis in the historical discipline, "The Historian's Dilemma" linked historians' failure to give the proper attention to the idea of European civilization—"the inevitable [development] of Western knowledge...man's increasing control over his environment...an increase in *civility*"—to the "proliferation of meaningless investigations." J. H. Plumb, "The Historian's Dilemma" in Crisis in the Humanities ed. J. H. Plumb (New York: Penguin Books, 1964), 36-7; 43. See also, Geyl, "The Vitality of Western Civilization" in Encounters in History, 276-290; Trevor-Roper, History: Professional and Lay, 21.

The conservative opposition to the "cult of the particular" upon first glance appears to conform to the straightforward and simple antagonism of old versus new ways: the defenders of tradition versus the champions of technical innovation. Moreover, while the historiography on the debates surrounding specialization and history's crisis between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s is remarkably small, there are accounts that have pointed to the development of a conservative movement that opposed disciplinary specialization and promoted the re-instating of the liberal tradition in this period.[80] Why, then, should we care about this conservative movement, however large, and what does it have to do with Geoffrey Barraclough's campaign for universal history?

Neither this binary opposition between old and new ways nor the limited historiography has adequately taken into account the larger historical context in which these disciplinary debates were conducted. As the conservative opposition to specialization, entrenched in what Butterfield in a letter to Barraclough called a "struggle" with the specialists, declared the need to return history to the traditional study of European civilization, Europe was being displaced from its formerly dominant position in world affairs.[81] While these historians called for the re-establishment of the traditional liberal historical study of European civilization as a way to restore history's relevance, historical reality became increasingly non-European. The conservative call to return

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[80] C. P. Snow explicitly alluded to the movement in his condemnation in "The Two Cultures" of the cultural conservatism of literary intellectuals. Snow, The Two Cultures: and the Scientific Revolution. 5-6; 23-29. Although Reba Soffer has described postwar historical conservatism in her article, "The Conservative Historical Imagination in the Twentieth Century," she fails to analyze in adequate detail its criticism of specialization, its relationship to the changes in the outside world, and its response to the new ways in history. Soffer, "The Conservative Historical Imagination in the Twentieth Century," Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 28, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 1-17. Harold Silver offers the best treatment of the conservative push for liberal Eurocentric history and its relationship to specialization but still neglects the larger historical changes outside of the university and particularly the nation. See Silver, Higher Education and Opinion-Making 133.

[81] Butterfield to Barraclough, 12 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

history to its Eurocentric liberal tradition launched by some of the most important and well-respected English historians of the mid-twentieth century, thus was removed from history as it was happening in the larger world.

It is important to stress that the idea that the English historical discipline or academic culture as a whole in Britain in this period was detached from historical reality is a gross oversimplification. Historians have rightly pointed to the period between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s as a moment in which the British government and what it identified as the nation's "modern needs" began to play an increasingly significant role in university education.[82] The vast expansion of university education—the growth from 50,000 university students in 1939 to 100,000 by 1960 and the development of the civic or "red brick" universities of Birmingham, Bristol, Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield[83]—as well as the increasing focus on scientific and technological education in this period demonstrate the ways in which the universities reflected national social ideals and economic requirements.[84] In fact, the growth of scientific specialization, itself, which so many historians decried, was a response to contemporary notions about the

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[82] Silver entitles his chapter on university education in the 1950s "Modern Needs." Silver, Higher Education and Opinion-Making, 127-151.

[83] Collini, Absent Minds, 188.

[84] The democratization of access to higher education, which the 1944 Report of Committee on Post-War University Education noted was marked by "the great difference between [those in] the sixth form of higher secondary schools, like the best Public Schools, on the one hand, and [those in] ordinary or average secondary schools on the other" reflected the social aims of the postwar state. British Association for the Advancement of Science: Committee on Post-War University Education, Report (London: 1994), 7. The socially minded expansion of higher education was reinforced by the 1963 Robbins Report, which proclaimed that higher education opportunities should be offered to "all those who are qualified by ability and attainment to pursue them and who wish to do so." Higher Education: Report of the Committee Appointed by the Prime Minister (London, 1963), 8. The egalitarian growth of tertiary education was again boosted in 1969 with the founding of the Open University. Collini, Absent Minds, 441.

merit of technical education and the idea that the universities ought to provide students with specific skills.[85]

While it is clear that the growth and expansion of university education in this period reflected national beliefs and projects, what about international developments, global historical change? In a 1960 letter to a Professor Miller, Butterfield wrote that Barraclough's proposed universal history course, which, he noted, clearly had "no chance" at Cambridge, did not have much potential in the newer universities either.[86] Barraclough's "conception of world history" was far more extra-European and truly global than even what historians who were "prepared to break way from routine" in their new universities were willing to do.[87] The conservative movement to restore Eurocentric history in the ancient universities clearly failed to respond to the larger historical reality of Europe's displacement from the focus of world affairs. But, as Butterfield's letter shows, even the new universities, which were the product and symbol of the postwar relationship between the internal world of academe and larger national realities, did not fully confront the broader international historical transformations, which Barraclough aspired to record.

It should be noted that the idea of Europe, its history, civilization and tradition, was central to political projects and discourse between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. In History in a Changing World, Barraclough observed that "scarcely a days goes by without our reading or hearing of 'our inherited cultural tradition', the 'typical values of western civilisation', 'the idea of European coherence'—or, more simply, 'our western

[85] See Robert Anderson "Postwar Revolution" and "Robbins Era" in British Universities Past and Present (London: Hambledon Continuum, 2006); Keith Murray, "The Development of the Universities in Great Britain," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society 121, no. 4 (1958): 391-419, particularly 392-4.
[86] Butterfield to Professor Miller, 23 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[87] Butterfield to Professor Miller, 23 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

tradition,' 'our western values,' 'our western culture.'"[88] It was, of course, in this period that the European Union began to take shape.[89] However, with the European balance of power replaced by a Cold War between two non-European states, and with decolonization dismantling European imperial hegemony, how could a return to Eurocentric history, however broad, restore the discipline's ability to make sense of the larger picture of historical reality?

Barraclough argued that it simply could not. He strongly criticized the conservative movement of historians who, as he wrote of Christopher Dawson in 1957, were "obsessed" with the restoration of the liberal, traditional history of the European civilization as a way of overcoming the discipline's increasing focus on minutiae and the crisis in history it had engendered.[90] He argued in his 1954 review of The European Inheritance for The Listener, that the problem with the reactionary opposition to specialization and its call to historians to return to the general history of European civilization, was that the cry "to 'preserve'...to 'guard' [and] 'maintain'" the classical, and broad study of the European inheritance failed to reflect the historical realities of the rapidly changing world.[91] If the discipline were to reassert its relevance and use, it could not, he contended, retreat into its tradition, into its past as the reactionaries suggested. If it were to overcome the problem of its seemingly continual subdivision into smaller sub-

[88] Barraclough, History in a Changing World, 31.
[89] In fact the BBC's proposal to reduce the broadcasting hours of The Third Programme in April, 1957 came only one month after the signing of the Treaty of Rome, which established the European Economic Community and represented the first step towards the development of a political European union. For a detailed investigation of the political debates surrounding European civilization and unity in the postwar period before the Treaty of Rome, see Shaping Postwar Europe: European Unity and Disunity 1945-1957, ed. Peter M. R. Stirk and David Willis (London: Pinter, 1991).
[90] Barraclough, "History at a Turn?" The Manchester Guardian, October 4, 1957.
[91] Barraclough, "Inquest on Europe," The Listener LII, no. 1323 (1954): 63.

specialisms, historians had to revise their old ways, to develop new, broad approaches to meet the needs of a new world of which "Europe was no longer the center."[92]

Barraclough criticized the conservative reaction to the fragmentation of the discipline and the crisis in history it had engendered not only on the grounds that it failed to offer students and readers a larger view and a deeper understanding of the historical forces operating in the contemporary world. Importantly, he also condemned the movement to restore the broad historical study of the European tradition because he believed that the idea of a united or continuous European civilization did not stand up to historical investigation. In many of his writings between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, Barraclough questioned the historical meaning of the European tradition and the notion of continuity and progress on which it rested. He emphasized the historical problem that Europe was not a defined entity—for example, did it include or exclude Russia? was it the same as the West?—and that what politicians and scholars who spoke in its name associated with this geographical expression did not converge on a single, stable definition.[93]

Barraclough, the rebel, challenged the conservative reactionary cry to restore the liberal historical study of the European tradition by revealing the historical incoherence and inconsistency of the idea of a united and historically continuous Europe. In the 1963 Vogelenzang lecture, European Unity in Thought and Action, delivered at Haarlem, Holland, he noted that while there was at present surely a commitment to, and faith in "the spiritual unity in the West," it was "another question whether the historical record

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[92] Barraclough, "Russian Roots," The New Statesman LXIX, 1786 (1965): 685.

[93] Barraclough argued that while scholars and politicians frequently cited parliamentary democracy as a central feature of the European tradition, they overlooked the history of "autocracy in its various forms from the Greek tyrants to Hitler and Stalin," which notably contradicted the tradition to which they alluded. Barraclough, European Unity in Thought and Action (Oxford: Blackwell, 1963), 4.

points in [that] particular direction."[94] He constructed a narrative of the European tradition, which opposed the notion of the European inheritance as a continuous, direct or clear legacy as the significant conservative opposition to specialization figured it in their promotion of a disciplinary return to its study. Specifically, through careful analysis and original research Barraclough demonstrated that the European or western tradition was not something real or actual to be reflected and recorded in history but instead an idea that was called upon in moments of instability and transformation.[95] He argued that throughout so-called western history, in periods of disorder and rapid change, conservative forces had called for the restoration of tradition, the return to the past as a way of retreating from the changes in the present.

Barraclough's artful and scholarly deconstruction of the historical image of the unity and continuity of Europe foregrounded his significant skills as a historian: his expertise in his own specialized field of the Middle Ages and his ability to synthesize and make larger sense of painstaking, specialized scholarship. Moreover, he expressed a strong commitment to the facts and their inquiry; a faithful dedication to history's ability to help its students and readers understand and act in the world if historians were only

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[94] Barraclough, European Unity in Thought and Action, 1, 2.

[95] He made the case against the historicity of the European tradition and thus against the significant conservative movement's call to restore its broad study by demonstrating that the Medieval Empire was wrongly perceived as a paradigm of European unity. Barraclough, in his masterly and meticulous scholarship on medieval history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, likened the medieval period to the contemporary scene of international instability and European disunity. He related the Middle Ages and the contemporary moment not only on the politico-historical grounds of international disorder but also and specifically in the invocation of an idea of a traditional, former unity to overcome present disorientation. Thus, while critiquing the historical authenticity of an actual European inheritance, he stressed the tradition of calling on the notion of a Western tradition in moments of perceived crisis. See Barraclough, European Unity in Thought and Action; Barraclough, "The Medieval Empire: Idea and Reality," in History in a Changing World, 105-130.

willing to "do without the comforting anchor of tradition" and, instead, confront the complex and sometimes unpleasant reality of history through careful scholarship.[96]

Barraclough argued that the return to disciplinary tradition advocated by the significant conservative movement between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s could not overcome the crisis in history disciplinary fragmentation had produced. Only a novel vision of history, a new way in history that would reflect the larger realities of the changing world, he argued, could restore relevance and meaning to the discipline. He concluded his review of The European Inheritance with the proclamation that the ability to come up with such "a new vision," to think anew constituted the European inheritance.[97] He proclaimed, with a touch of irony, that "the European inheritance [is] not concrete achievements, which can be counted up and handed down, but the spiritual exaltation, the incomparable soaring of the human spirit, the opening of new horizons."[98] He framed his call for a new vision of history, which opposed the book's and, more broadly, the conservative movement's cry for the restoration of the traditional liberal history of European civilization, within the idea of the European tradition. Its definitional ambiguity, its historically unreal character, which he criticized, allowed him to reconsider and bend its meaning. Barraclough, here appropriated and rebelliously reoriented towards the future the idea of the European inheritance, which the reactionaries had claimed for the traditional past.

Barraclough was no outsider in worrying about the state of history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. His condemnation of the discipline's growing disintegration into specialized fields and its failure to reach a non-specialized audience was part of a

[96] Barraclough, "History at a Turn?"
[97] Barraclough, "Inquest on Europe," 62.
[98] Barraclough, "Inquest on Europe," 62-63.

much larger disciplinary discourse in this period. He did, however, oppose the significant conservative historical movement that claimed that the way out of history's crisis engendered by the new emphasis on specialization rested in the return to the discipline's old ways: the broad liberal study of European civilization.[99] He rebelled against this reactionary cry launched by many leading historians between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s because he believed that Eurocentric history failed to reflect the changing realities of an increasingly non-European present and, importantly, was not grounded on the careful, scholarly investigation of the past. He argued that for history to regain its footing, it must both respond to and reflect the larger view of historical reality as it was happening outside of the ivory tower and the nation and base itself on a scholarly engagement with the facts and sources of history. These two interconnecting ideas of what history required if it were to redeem itself from the crisis engendered by specialization formed the basis of Barraclough's vision of universal history, which I discuss in the following chapter. But, could Barraclough write works that reflected the increasing globality of historical reality in his moment and, at the same time, ground his arguments and conclusions in careful scholarship, the professional's painstaking investigation of the data of history? And, what would historians think when they judged Barraclough's own works against the standards he himself proclaimed?

[99] Barraclough was not the only important historian who opposed the conservative historical push for a return to Eurocentric history. E. H. Carr, another disciplinary rebel, proclaimed the need in the mid-twentieth century for a broader view of history and for historians to bring the extra-European world into their field of vision. While this is a *leitmotif* throughout What is History? he devotes the final chapter of his study entirely to the question of expanding the scope of history to include the extra-European world. See Carr, "The Widening Horizon" in What is History?, 177-209.

Chapter Three

"A Damp Squib:" The Campaign for Universal History and its Reception

In a 1956 letter to his friend, the historian Sir Frank Stenton, Barraclough noted that historians had dismissed History in a Changing World. He wrote disappointedly that his incendiary vision of universal history "had gone off like a damp squib."[100] He likened the book to a fizzled firework: with seemingly infinite explosive potential, it never really went off. Barraclough campaigned for the professionalization of universal history for more than a decade in England but the spark never ignited. While the aim of this entire thesis is to uncover the disciplinary dynamics that opposed Barraclough's push for universal history, this chapter examines the project itself.

Barraclough had little respect or patience for previous attempts at world history that he claimed lacked unifying vision, any professional investigation of the sources and data of history or an attention to the world outside of Europe. He argued that some, such as Arnold Toynbee's A Study of History, were deficient in at least two of these three areas. Barraclough believed that universal history, which broadened the scope of history beyond the traditional Eurocentric view and reflected the increasing globality and interconnectedness of historical reality, if written with the professional's commitment to scholarly research, could restore relevance and meaning to the discipline and thereby free it from its crisis.

Perhaps predictably, members of the conservative historical movement that promoted the restoration of the old, liberal, Eurocentric study of history, opposed Barraclough's rejection of the profession's tradition. They regarded Barraclough's

[100] Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 6 February 1956. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.

promotion of a global approach to history, his attempt to re-connect the discipline to the historical reality of the larger world, as a kind of reckless abandonment, a careless disposal of the valuable, broad Eurocentric disciplinary tradition that the new focus on specialization had displaced. More scholars, however, criticized Barraclough's vision of universal history on the grounds that it was not sufficiently specialized. In a period in which so many historians decried specialization and yearned for a larger view of history, this attack is surprising. The criticism of Barraclough's universal history as not adequately specialized forces an investigation of the set of meanings and associations invested in the term "specialization." I argue that, while historians were adamantly opposed to the narrowing of history's scope between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, they still strongly supported—in fact, relied on—professional research and knowledge of the scholarly literature, which specialization allowed, as the sign and symbol of serious historical scholarship. This reaction to Barraclough's work significantly challenges the antagonism that permeates the discourse on specialization between history's rebels and reactionaries and the "cult of the particular." While large numbers of historians in this period opposed and distanced themselves from the disciplinary practice of, and insistence on, specialization and blamed so-called specialists for the crisis in history, these scholars, themselves, demanded specialization of their fellow historians. In the chapter's coda, I examine Barraclough's push for a universal history curriculum at Cambridge in 1960, which was yet another damp squib.

In 1956, The Times Literary Supplement celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the Historical Association with an issue devoted to the present state and future needs of the

historical discipline. Barraclough wrote the leading article. In it, he declared that historians must "seek again, like the great historians of the past, to gain a deeper insight into the processes of universal history."[101] Although Barraclough's language—"again, like the great historians of the past"—implied a return to, and a reinvestment in an older tradition, he declared that his new vision of history broke with the world historical writings of the past. These world histories, he argued, had belonged to two dissatisfying traditions: the composite world history, which compiled studies produced by a number of specialized scholars or popularizing metahistories, which failed to tackle the sources and thus merely philosophized about the totality.

Barraclough rejected the historical value of encyclopedic versions of world history: that is, the non-critical, co-operative compilation of large portions of historical data. Co-operative or composite histories, histories made up of independent sections written by specialists "had proved so disappointing," he contended, because they "lacked a unitary vision and single point of view" and because "points of 'world-historical' significance are almost inevitably lost in the interstices between the different national or regional chapters or the separate accounts of different nations."[102] Barraclough's objection to co-operative or composite world histories reflected and reproduced his criticism of history's specialization. The problem he identified with these attempts at world history rested in the failure to integrate the various fragments of history into a

[101] Barraclough, "The Larger View of History," Times Literary Supplement, July 6, 1956.
[102] Barraclough, "Universal History," in Approaches to History: A Symposium, ed. H. P. R. Finberg (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1962), 94, 91. Barraclough's condemnation of co-operative or composite history as "disappointing" seems both a scholarly criticism—an attack on a form of world-history, which he considered fails to meet the requirements of universal history in his contemporary world—and an implicit autobiographical note. In a letter to Sir Frank Stenton, he proclaimed his own "state bordering on, perhaps already beyond despair," compiling the co-operative history, The Survey of International Affairs, as part of his directorship of Chatham House (1956-1962). Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 12 January 1962. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.

wider view that could at once reflect the increasing interconnectedness and globality of world affairs and make sense of it.[103] World history, he argued, was not merely the collection of narrowly focused monographs but a critical synthesis, which analyzed the relationships among them and thus offered a larger vision of the whole.

He criticized composite world histories on the grounds that the stringing together of a series of specialized studies neither responded to the growing interrelatedness of nations and regions nor provided the broader interpretative vision communicable to a non-specialized audience that gave the discipline its relevance and meaning. He also, however, condemned the tradition of world historical writing that amateurishly fit the complex and diverse data of history into preconceived, procrustean generalizations. Barraclough did not reject the possibility that upon examination of the facts the professional historian might find that there were indeed certain patterns or cycles within the great sweep of history.[104] But, he argued that the "metahistorical" or "philosoph[ic]"-historical approach to world history, adopted by H. A. L. Fischer, Oswald Spengler, Arnold Toynbee and H. G. Wells, failed to tackle the data of history and thus could not provide meaningful contributions to the discipline or to the lay understanding of the world.[105] As these attempts at world history were not based on the professional's research or critical engagement with the sources, the historical lessons or morals they

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[103] Barraclough expressed his conviction of the historical inadequacy of composite histories in a 1956 letter to an assistant on his desire to reorganize the co-operative history, The Survey of International Affairs 1955-1956. He wrote, "world politics now constitute so much a single system that it is hardly possible to produce an adequate account of events if the material is split between . . . specialists." Barraclough to Cora Bell, 9 April 1956. Barraclough Papers, The Royal Institute of International Affairs Archives.

[104] In fact, in History in a Changing World, Barraclough argued that there were important historical precedents for the present state of disorder in both the Middle Ages and, notably, in the final years of Roman imperial dominance. See Barraclough, History in a Changing World (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), particularly 97-130, 232-238.

[105] Barraclough, "Universal History," 89.

presented were not based on reality and thus neither scholars nor the intelligent public could make use of them.[106]

While Barraclough's criticism of this unscholarly world-historical tradition was a large-scale attack, he found Toynbee, his predecessor at Chatham House and the leading world historian as Barraclough campaigned for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s, especially open to criticism. "Dr. Toynbee," Barraclough wrote in his 1954 review of A Study of History, Vols. VII to X for The Listener, "in his haste to point a moral to a sickly world before it is too late, has neither time nor patience for minutiae . . . The factual basis of history is for him simply raw material which must be brought . . . somehow into conformity with his theorems."[107] The extremity and frequency of Barraclough's condemnation of Toynbee evokes the desire of the ambitious "outsider" to destabilize the reputation of the foremost proponent of world history as a way of clearing ground for his own project of universal history.[108] However, Barraclough's critique of Toynbee, specifically, and of the amateurish attempts at world history, more broadly, expressed both his commitment to the discipline's standards for scholarship—the careful investigation of the sources and the scholarly literature—and his faith that world history could be written according to professional standards.[109]

Barraclough's rejection of amateurish, metahistorical and composite, specialized world histories derived from his conviction that world history, if it were to be useful and relevant, must both be studied professionally and reflect the complex, interconnected and

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[106] Barraclough's specific criticism of popularizing world histories reproduced his larger attack on popular history. See Barraclough, History and the Common Man (London: Historical Association, 1967), 7.
[107] Barraclough, "The Prospects of the Western World," The Listener LI, no. 1341 (1954): 639.
[108] See Barraclough, History in a Changing World, 15, 16, 48, 177, 235; Barraclough, An Introduction to Contemporary History (New York: Basic Books, 1964), 230.
[109] Paul Costello stresses the popularizing, amateurish character of the world historical tradition through the 1970s in his introduction to World Historians and Their Goals. See, in particular, 5-7.

changing nature of world affairs. As he believed that history operated globally, he stressed that historians were duty-bound to reflect these changes by broadening their scope of analysis beyond the traditional focus on the history of European civilization. Here, again, Barraclough criticized his antecedents, noting that their supposed world histories were in fact meditations on Europe and its role in the wider world.[110] His rejection of the notion of Europe as the site and engine of history and thus the Eurocentrism of historical scholarship challenged not only much of the world historical canon but also the significant conservative movement within the discipline in this period, which advocated the restoration of the traditional, broad study of European history.

While historians such as Eric Fischer, Oscar Halecki, Hajo Holborn and Alfred Weber had already recorded Europe's dislocation from its formerly dominant position within history and thus problematized the Eurocentrism of historiography, Barraclough framed his universal vision of history as a departure from previous scholarship: a new way in history.[111] He pointed to the work of only a single scholar, the Swiss historian Edward Fueter, as a precedent for his universal history and even this allusion seemed to derive more from a desire to clarify the aims of his work than to classify it within a pre-

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[110] In "Universal History" Barraclough, criticizing the Eurocentrism of Toynbee's world history, declared "most of the people of the world are 'coloured'; not more than four of Toynbee's twenty-odd civilizations have been the work of the unpigmented peoples of the West. Yet there are no world-histories in any language which give one-fifth, let alone the just four-fifths, of their space to these great 'coloured' civilizations living and dead." "Universal History," 97-98. He similarly critiqued Oswald Spengler's rejection of the non-West as a force in world history: Spengler's proclamation that "China and India were incapable of ever again playing a role in world history." Barraclough, Review: Oswald Spengler als politischer Denker by Ernst Stutz, The English Historical Review 77, no. 304 (Jul., 1962): 587.

[111] Eric Fischer, The Passing of the European Age: A Study of the Transfer of Western Civilization and Its Renewal in Other Continents (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1943); Oskar Halecki, The Limits and Divisions of European History (Sheed & Ward: London and New York, 1950); Hajo Holborn, The Political Collapse of Europe (New York: Knopf, 1951); Albert Weber, Farewell to European History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948). Wolf Schäfer has cited Fischer and Halecki as earlier examples of Barraclough's description of the shrinking historical significance of Europe in contemporary affairs and his critique of the Eurocentric tradition within history. Wolf Schäfer, "From The End of European History to the Globality of World Regions: A Research Perspective," Globality Studies Journal, no. 1 (Summer 2006): 2.

existing tradition.[112] His choice of Fueter, however, is meaningful. A 1924 review of Fueter's book, World History, 1815-1920, applauded Fueter's professionalism, his "neutral vantage-point . . . [his] singular detachment and impartiality," as well as his ability to deal with the dense and complex history of close to a century in a single "succinct" account.[113] Although Barraclough hardly held Fueter up as an idol, his likening of his own work to Fueter's again emphasized his commitment to producing a thoroughly scholarly world history.[114] Barraclough's description of his idea of universal history as a professional and original revision of historical scholarship certainly was a product of his self-conception as a disciplinary "outsider" and redeemer. However, in many ways, his work was also a break with past historiography, a conscious attempt to reorient the profession and to transform history in a changing world.

Barraclough began his campaign for universal history with his 1955 publication of History in a Changing World. The book, a collection of 15 essays, most of which were reworked versions of lectures or articles he had written for The Listener, The Manchester Guardian and Past and Present, proclaimed the end of European historical dominance and the urgent need to revise historiography and historical education to meet the needs of a rapidly transforming world. The specific revision he proposed was the enlarging of the scope of history beyond that of "the traditional history of the schools and universities, the history which has western Europe at its center" to reflect "the new constellation of world-

[112] Barraclough noted in a letter to Butterfield that his universal history was "at any rate...world history in Fueter's sense, not in Toynbee's." Barraclough to Butterfield, 16 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[113] "Briefer Notices," The American Political Science Review 17, no. 1 (Feb., 1923): 141.
[114] Barraclough noted that "Fueter's book reads badly today." Barraclough to Butterfield, 16 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

affairs [as] an interpretation which surveys the background to the present almost exclusively from the point of view of western Europe has little relevance to our current problems."[115] His argument for the broadening of historians' field of vision beyond the specialist's myopic focus on the particular or the conservative historian's parochial concentration on the development of European civilization, sprung from his conviction that historical writing and education could and, in fact, must reflect the realities of history. He urged the historiographical inclusion of Russia, Asia, Africa and the Americas because the intelligent public needed to understand their histories to make sense of, and ultimately to shape, the new world in which these non-European powers played an increasingly dominant and historically significant role.[116] Although Barraclough noted that he had written the book not only for specialized scholars but also, and primarily, for those "outside academic circles . . . the intelligent people of all classes and persuasions," he insisted that the broad accounts of history he championed would fail in their function if they were popularizing or amateurish.[117] He emphasized the need for scholars, "the accurate, judicious and highly-trained" to take hold of world history, to write it with the professional's rigorous and unbiased investigation of the sources and deep knowledge of the scholarly literature. His insistence on scholarly professionalism again expressed his commitment to the standards of the discipline and his faithful conviction that world history could be written professionally.

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[115] Barraclough, History in a Changing World, 1.

[116] In History in a Changing World Barraclough argued that the Russian victory at Stalingrad convinced him of the insufficiency of traditional, liberal Eurocentric history. Barraclough argued that despite his education and career as a historian, he knew virtually nothing of Russian history and thus, he realized, was unprepared to confront the new realities of the postwar world. While his idea that Stalingrad was the decisive turning point in the formation of the new world is historically problematic, following the Second World War he became increasingly interested in Russian history. Barraclough, History in a Changing World, 9-10.

[117] Barraclough, History in a Changing World, vii.

While History in a Changing World allowed Barraclough to challenge and deconstruct the myth-history of the European civilization and to launch a cry for a universal vision of the past, he did not clearly define the precise meaning of universal history until his 1962 contribution to the symposium Approaches to History. In his chapter, "Universal History," Barraclough explained that his universal or world history (he used them interchangeably in the text) was not the sum total of specialized monographs (composite or co-operative world histories), a history of civilizations (Toysbeean worldliness) or a retelling of traditional narratives on Europe and its historical place in the world (Eurocentric world histories). Rather, he argued that his innovative vision of universal history was "concerned with points of contact and with interrelationships," which he would treat with the professional's unyielding commitment to precise and detailed research.[118] Specifically, Barraclough's universal history aimed to illuminate the moments of encounter, the historical interconnectedness of nations and regions and the globality of contemporary world affairs. The narrow focus of specialized studies, the unscholarly generalizations of popular world histories and the artificial "geographical [and] cultural frontiers" of Eurocentric world histories failed to capture, record and make sense of what Barraclough argued was the interrelatedness of humanity: the traveling and exchange of commodities, technologies, movements and ideas across global historical space.[119]

Barraclough took the theory of universal history that he had been developing for close to a decade and put it into practice in 1964 in his most widely read book, An Introduction to Contemporary History. He used this work as an opportunity not only to

[118] Barraclough, "Universal History," 101.
[119] Barraclough, "Universal History," 100.

urge his fellow historians to adopt a universal vision of the past but also to demonstrate it. Barraclough surveyed the forces and developments—economic, political, cultural, scientific, technological and demographic—that had created a postmodern or contemporary age, which, he argued, had begun to take shape at the end of the nineteenth century and had fully emerged by 1960. The book delineated the rise of this new global world in which, he claimed, Europe no longer played the pivotal role. Barraclough devoted a significant portion of the book to arguing that European political and cultural dominance had reached its end (most notably in his chapter "Revolt Against the West") and thus the importance of revising traditional, Eurocentric historiography to restore history's relevance and use. He placed particular stress on historians' need to recognize the breakdown of European imperial power, the reality of decolonization and the increasing historical significance of the former colonies "in a postcolonial age."[120] Barraclough refused to assuage European or specifically British anxieties about the death of the old world. The sun, he argued, had set on the British Empire and the European world order of which it was a part.[121] Barraclough dedicated much of An Introduction to Contemporary History and his years of research prior to its publication, to the historical development of the new world, specifically to the non-West from 1890-1960.[122] In his

[120] Barraclough, "That Old World," The Guardian, September 8, 1967.

[121] In a 1967 review for The Guardian, Barraclough proclaimed the particular importance of confronting the postcolonial age for the British people. He wrote, "It is all very well to rhapsodize about our 'glorious past without which we should have no viable present and no future at all' but I may not be alone in thinking that the sooner we get off this particular kind of high horse, the better chance we may have of coping with the very different problems confronting Britain in a postcolonial age." Barraclough, "That Old World," The Guardian, September 8, 1967.

[122] While preparing the book, Barraclough sent frequent requests to his secretary at Chatham House for scores of books on African, American, Asian, and Eastern European history. Barraclough to Secretary, 10 July 1958, 24 March 1962, Barraclough Papers, Royal Institute of International Affairs Archives. Barraclough discussed this research and the need to consider "the genesis of nationalism in Asia and Africa," in a 1964 letter to Eric Voegelin. He proclaimed that "I do not believe now that the subject [of nationalism] can carefully be discussed in [an] almost exclusively European context . . . If I had the time, I

analyses of the developments that had engendered it—scientific advance, demographic explosion, and material and ideological change—Barraclough interwove the history of Europe with the histories of Africa, America, Asia and Russia. He illuminated the relationships and interactions among the various regions of the globe and thus, in a partial sense, realized his vision of universal history.

To the present-day reader, many of Barraclough's arguments for universal history appear established, even assumed aspects of historical scholarship. One could thus argue that what Barraclough's obituarist deemed the English historical discipline's "rather more cool" reception of his campaign for universal history can be attributed to outmoded cultural prejudices or disciplinary trends or perhaps his own shortcomings as a synthesizer of history.[123] Upon closer examination, however, scholars' responses to Barraclough's universal vision of history not only demonstrate the significant contextual disciplinary opposition to his project but also reveal larger problems surrounding the present-day possibility of global history as history's "new way."

The conservative reaction among historians to the discipline's increasing fragmentation into sub-specialisms called for the restoration of the traditional liberal historical study of the European civilization. This significant group of historians objected to the increasing narrowing of historical scholarship and claimed that for the discipline to regain its footing, to overcome its oft-alluded to crisis, it must reinvest in its own past. Unsurprisingly, historians committed to the historiographical promotion of the western

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would like and enjoy to reconsider the whole question on a world-wide basis." Barraclough to Voegelin, 14 April 1964. Eric Voegelin Papers, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.

[123] "Professor G. Barraclough: Historian of Broad Vision," The Times, December 31 1984.

tradition were critical of Barraclough's campaign for universal history and the rejection of Eurocentric historical scholarship it contained. These scholars treated Barraclough, the universal historian, not as the discipline's redeemer—a scholar committed to the restoration of the profession's relevance and meaning—but as its destroyer—one who wished to "cast all our [history] books onto the dustheap."[124] In response to Barraclough's anonymous lead article to the Times Literary Supplement's 1966 issue on "New Ways in History," Isaiah Berlin noted that he had realized that the piece had to have been written by Barraclough or by "some other furious man, anxious to get into a fight, and knock something down, and blow something up."[125] The historian Pieter Geyl who argued that to overcome history's "crisis" historians must "preserve [their] heritage" and "the vitality and prospects of Western society" in their writings, entitled his chapter on Barraclough in his 1961 book, Encounters in History, "Geoffrey Barraclough or the Scrapping of History."[126] The idea that Barraclough aimed to destroy history, to sever the link between the discipline and its traditions, dominated many of the critiques of Barraclough's universal historical writings.

Reviewers were right to note that Barraclough's early attempts at universal history, specifically History in a Changing World, deconstructed disciplinary conventions as much as they prescribed a precise way out of history's crisis. However, the critical focus on Barraclough's "negative" ideas and "refutations" is revealing.[127] That many of Barraclough's reviewers concentrated on his rejection of the European civilization in

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[124] Geyl, Encounters in History (Cleveland, OH: World Publishing Company, 1961), 337.
[125] Derwent May, Critical Times: The History of the Times Literary Supplement (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2001), 372. Barraclough, in a letter to Arthur Crook, editor (1959-1974) of The Times Literary Supplement insisted that the critique of Berlin's common-sense approach to history not be cut from "New Ways in History." Barraclough to Crook, 2 April 1966. Isaiah Berlin Papers, Archives of The Times.
[126] Geyl, Encounters in History, 337, 338.
[127] V. G. Childe, "The Past, the Present, and the Future," Past and Present, no. 10 (Nov., 1956): 3.

history revealed their commitment to re-establishing the disciplinary tradition even, it would seem, at the expense of maintaining the profession's relationship with its dynamic subject: historical reality.

This conservative group of critics treated Barraclough's call to revise Eurocentric scholarship in order to reflect the increasing globality of history and the shift away from European dominance in world affairs as a form of "pessimism" and "defeatism."[128] Butterfield proclaimed in his 1956 review of History in a Changing World, that the book was a demonstration that "it is possible to lose faith in ourselves."[129] While Butterfield and the other reactionaries certainly opposed Barraclough's rejection of the historicity and present historical significance of "ourselves" as members of the western civilization, they also criticized his having abandoned faith in "ourselves" as protectors of the disciplinary tradition of the general study of European history.

These critics argued that a fundamental problem with Barraclough's universal history was that it would, as Butterfield claimed, "produce a generation that d[id] not even understand its own culture."[130] These conservative historians found the idea of a generation that was ignorant of "its own culture" so troubling because they had responded to the new growth of specialization after the Second World War by reinvesting in the discipline's old ways of the broad study of European civilization, which, as the debates surrounding the Third Programme demonstrated, symbolized and was seen to

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[128] Geyl, Encounters in History, 338.
[129] Herbert Butterfield, Review: History in a Changing World by Geoffrey Barraclough, Cambridge Historical Journal 12, no. 2 (1956): 190.
[130] Butterfield, Review: History in a Changing World by Geoffrey Barraclough, 191. Despite the vastly changed environment of international affairs, Butterfield argued that there was still "relevan[ce]" even "necessity" of studying Metternich and the European balance of power. Butterfield, Review: History in a Changing World by Geoffrey Barraclough, 190. Geyl explicitly declared the need to maintain the study of European history despite Europe's (partial) displacement from power in the present. Geyl, Encounters in History, 337.

reproduce the traditional culture. Barraclough's exhortation to revise history to reflect the new and changing world that Europe no longer dominated had little appeal for conservative historians who had reacted to the new focus on specialization in academe by proclaiming the need to return to Eurocentric tradition.

The historian Gordon Wright summarized the conservative opposition to Barraclough's universal history in his 1966 review of An Introduction to Contemporary History. While he lauded Barraclough for his "imagination" and "audacity," he simultaneously resisted Barraclough's conclusions about the implications of the historical shifts in the contemporary world for the discipline.[131] He wrote,

> Perhaps Barraclough is right about the irretrievable breakdown of liberal democracy, about the outmoded nature of the humanist tradition, about the derivative character of ideologies as mere reflections of socioeconomic realities, about the indigenous sources of Africa's and Asia's resurgence...He may even be right about the stubborn narrow mindedness and conservatism of historians. Happily, the ragged remnants of the old liberal-humanist world still provide us with a temporary refuge within which we can indulge some of our outmoded precontemporary illusions.[132]

He conceded that Barraclough's convictions about the shifting nature of contemporary history might be correct but stressed that historians were content (albeit "temporar[ily]") not to take heed of them. They, or at least a reactionary group among them, had sheltered themselves from this changing reality by confining themselves in the outdated "remnants of the old liberal-humanist world:" the conservative, inward-looking sphere of academe and, specifically, the disciplinary tradition of liberal Eurocentric history. Wright's image of historians cloistered within the protective "refuge" of the old academic world emphasized the conservative attachment to the traditions of the discipline and played with the symbolic distinction between the *internal* world of the ivory tower and the *external*

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[131] Gordon Wright, Review: An Introduction to Contemporary History by Geoffrey Barraclough, The American Historical Review 71, no. 2 (Jan. 1966): 510.
[132] Wright, Review: An Introduction to Contemporary History by Geoffrey Barraclough, 511.

world of historical reality. He warmly, almost triumphantly affirmed the disconnect between the real world in which men and women lived and the academic realm, which historians, or at least the significant reactionary movement among them, inhabited.

Barraclough had believed that the promotion of universal history would bridge the chasm between the discipline and broad, global historical reality. He assumed that those within the profession would begin to alter the ways they wrote and taught history to reflect the increasing globality of contemporary life. Rather, the rapid growth of historical specialization and the crisis in history it produced created a conservative movement between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s committed to reinstating the old ways of the discipline. When the world changed in this period, historians did not, as a profession, confront these external transformations or reconsider history from the dynamic perspective of the shifting present, despite what Barraclough urged and what present-day proponents of global history hope, or even assume, the discipline will today. Instead, a significant group of leading historians, obsessed with reversing the fragmentation and resultant disorientation of the discipline, championed the return to the liberal history of European civilization as if unaware of Europe's dislocation from the center of world affairs.

Although the conservative protectors of tradition objected to Barraclough's call for universal history, a larger number of his reviewers—in fact, almost all of them—noted that his attempts at world history were not adequately specialized. While the criticism of his universal history as not sufficiently specialized appears straightforward, it is actually more complex. The many historians who opposed the discipline's

fragmentation into ever smaller sub-specialisms between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s complained about the problem of specialization. When critics bemoaned the profession's specialization, they referred to the discipline's geographical and temporal narrowing of the scope of historical analysis. This, they argued, had produced little other than scholars' endless quibbling over historical minutiae, the drastic reduction of history's once broad, non-specialized audience, and the profession's sense of disorientation, even crisis. These dissidents rejected the growing professional trend of specialization and thus established themselves as disciplinary rebels or reactionaries revolting against the contemporary convention of scholarship: narrow specialization. These opponents of the myopic approach to history did not, however, object to a second and crucial process, which the term specialization also signified. Specialization also referred to the professional's careful attention to a historical topic or problem, specifically, his or her performance of painstaking original research and engagement with the historiographical canon. While a large group of scholars in this period bemoaned the discipline's disintegration into endless specialties and thus argued for a broader view of history, few, if any, professional historians wrote in opposition to the historian's duty to perform research and to confront the data of history critically. This second meaning invested in the term specialization did not provoke criticism from scholars. Instead, it was widely shared as the mark and criterion of professional historical scholarship.

Reviewers had praised Barraclough for his medieval history in the 1930s, lauding his "impartiality . . . his full knowledge of the continental literature . . . his [demand for]

careful statistical inquiry."[133] His meticulously researched monographs, his wide survey of the historiographical literature, in sum, his specialized professionalism, had made him by the eve of the Second World War the leading scholar in the English-speaking world on Germany in the medieval period. Historians, however, viewed Barraclough's universal history as a decidedly less scholarly effort. Although reviewers often applauded his works on universal history as groundbreaking, even brilliant, and equally often appreciated his cry to broaden the scope of history, they stressed that his work was not adequately professional.[134] Specifically, they condemned, as Barraclough himself had the Toynbeean metahistorical tradition of world history, Barraclough's reliance on large generalizations rather than on the thorough original research and comprehensive knowledge of the secondary literature that was the standard of professional history.[135] Although many historians between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s argued in opposition to the discipline's production of increasingly narrowly focused, specialized monographs and claimed that history required a broader view, they rejected Barraclough's work on universal history, which attempted to survey history through this broadened lens. Scholars who reviewed Barraclough's writing on universal history criticized it on the

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[133] C. Johnson, Review: Papal Provisions by Geoffrey Barraclough, The English Historical Review 51, no. 202 (Apr., 1936): 318.

[134] Reviewers lauded Barraclough's broader vision of history not only in his more scholarly works but also in The Survey of International Affairs under his editorship (1956-1962). In a 1963 review of The Survey of International Affairs 1956-1958 for International Affairs, David Thomson applauded "the more comprehensive "global" approach [...and that the] scope of the survey has been simultaneously widened to give more attention to such areas as Latin America, South and East Asia and (for the first time) to Africa south of the Sahara." David Thomson, Review: The Survey of International Affairs 1956-1958 by G. Barraclough, International Affairs 39, no. 2 (Apr., 1963): 264.

[135] The historian V. G. Childe claimed that "Barraclough treats the most obvious differentia as trivial, just as Toynbee does," to arrive at, and to support his broader, generalized conclusions. Childe, "The Past, the Present, and the Future," 4.

grounds that it was not sufficiently specialized and thus could not be considered a serious work of history, a meaningful contribution to the discipline.[136]

In fact, a number of historians urged Barraclough to give up what they argued were ultimately fruitless attempts at world history and to return to his historical specialty of medieval history.[137] One reviewer of History in A Changing World noted that the book's "quality is uneven and its contradictions many" and concluded that "Barraclough is best in his own field, the Middle Ages."[138] Butterfield's conviction that Barraclough ought to resume his specialized scholarship on medieval history was so strong that he stressed it, rather surprisingly and seemingly inappropriately, in his 1955 recommendation for Barraclough to replace Toynbee as the Stevenson Research Chair of

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[136] The historian Leo Okinshevich noted in his 1957 review of History in A Changing World in the American Slavic and Eastern European Review that although Barraclough offered "some interesting remarks and ideas for...historians," the book was compromised by Barraclough's lack of specialist knowledge in Russian history. Okinshevich claimed "since [Barraclough] is not a specialist in the history of Eastern Europe, we can not blame him for his omitting historical literature in Russian or East-European languages ...but it is strange...It is clear that the author has not become a specialist in this field." He suggested that although scholars ought not to "blame" Barraclough for failing to possess specialized knowledge of Russia—it was, after all, not his specialty—they could not take History in a Changing World particularly seriously because of it. While Okinshevich's focus on specialized knowledge and research could be attributed to the fact that he was writing in a journal for experts in Russian history, the connection he drew between the book's breadth and its limited value as a work of professional historical scholarship appeared in the vast majority of reviews of Barraclough's scholarship on universal history. Leo Okinshevich, Review: History in A Changing World by Geoffrey Barraclough, American Slavic and Eastern European Review 16, no. 4 (Dec., 1957): 560

[137] Barraclough did not cease his work on the Middle Ages in this period or at any point throughout his career. When Barraclough resigned his professorship of Medieval History at the University of Liverpool in 1956 for the Royal Institute of International Affairs and the University of London's Stevenson Research Chair of International History, he wrote in a letter to Sir Frank Stenton later that year that "I have no intentions whatsoever of giving up the Middle Ages." Barraclough to Sir Frank Stenton, 2 June 1956. Stenton Papers, Reading University Library.

[138] Enno Kraehe, Review: The Varieties of History from Voltaire to the Present by Fritz Stern and History in A Changing World by Geoffrey Barraclough, The Journal of Southern History 23, no. 3 (Aug., 1957): 373. The historian Gordon A. Craig, in his 1948 review of The Origins of Modern Germany, similarly remarked that Barraclough's best work was in medieval history. He applauded Barraclough's treatment of the relationship between foreign policy and state formation for medieval Germany as "notable" and "successful" and described his "account of the relations between the princes and the estates and the eventual decline of the latter [a]s a brilliant piece of synthesis." The parts of the text in which Barraclough moved beyond his area of historical specialty, however, Craig argued were largely of inferior, less scholarly and professional quality. He argued that "specialists [will agree] that in [these] accounts... Professor Barraclough loses the objectivity which characterizes the earlier chapters." Gordon A. Craig, Review: The Origins of Modern Germany by G. Barraclough, The American Historical Review 54, no. 1 (Oct., 1948): 16, 17.

International History at the University of London and Director of Chatham House. He wrote:

> There can be no doubt that his achievement in his own section of the field has been quite masterly . . . In recent years he has been moving in new directions . . . as far as I know it has generally been somewhat ephemeral in character . . . I have not the slightest doubt that he is one of the few people amongst us who have flair and a sort of genius and who really know what historical thinking is—who knows how to transmute the results of research and analysis into the kind of knowledge which gives history a meaning. I believe that with genius has gone now a tendency to aberration . . . and some of us have tried to fight his inclination to leave medieval history for modern history.[139]

While Butterfield lauded Barraclough's abilities as a professional historian, specifically his ability to invest his historical writing with "meaning," he indicated and not particularly subtly that Barraclough's efforts were better directed towards specialized studies on the Middle Ages than in pursuit of "the wider aspects of "general history" or the history of civilization."[140] He not only pointed to the flaws in Barraclough's attempts at history outside of his specialty but figured Barraclough's pursuit of world history as an "aberration" in an otherwise highly-respected and highly professional career.[141] Moreover, despite their close friendship and, thus, one can assume, Butterfield's detailed knowledge of Barraclough's intentions for, and commitment to, a fundamental revision of modern history, he characterized Barraclough's campaign for universal history as "ephemeral."[142] Although Butterfield's description of Barraclough's attempt at universal

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[139] Herbert Butterfield, recommendation for Geoffrey Barraclough for the position of Stevenson Research Chair of International History at the University of London to James Henderson, Registrar, University of London, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[140] Butterfield Stevenson recommendation to James Henderson, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[141] Butterfield Stevenson recommendation to James Henderson, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[142] Butterfield Stevenson recommendation to James Henderson, 1 July 1955. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library. While the Butterfield papers only provide correspondence between Barraclough and Butterfield from 1954, the Butterfield-Barraclough letters are written in an informal, familiar style that suggests a deep and intimate friendship. Butterfield's concerns about Barraclough's unhappiness at Chatham House in a 23 February 1960 letter, typify this closeness. Barraclough, Butterfield wrote, "seems to me to be so distinctly unhappy and unsettled where he is; and though I am prepared to discount both the unhappiness and the unsettlement as being perhaps inseparable from his personality, I can't easily reconcile myself to the thought that he is doomed to spend the bulk of his days on the Chatham

history as an "aberration" is unquestionably disapproving, his portrayal of it as "ephemeral" is somewhat ambiguous. He might have believed that Barraclough's efforts were, in fact, "ephemeral," because Barraclough would soon realize that he had to go back to his specialized field of medieval history to maintain his standing as a top-notch professional historian. Or perhaps he thought that in treating them as "ephemeral" rather than as critical to, and prefiguring Barraclough's future work as a historian, he would decrease Barraclough's chances of winning the Stevenson professorship and thus effectively force him to return to his historical specialty. In either case, Butterfield's unfavorable characterization of Barraclough's "new directions," specifically in contrast to his glowing profile of Barraclough's talents as a professional specialist in medieval history, indicated the critical tension between Barraclough's ambition to write history that reflected the globality and interconnectedness of history and his desire to be perceived and received in the discipline as a serious, professional scholar.[143]

Despite scholars' frequent attacks on historical specialization as a, if not *the* cause of the crisis in history, the historians who reviewed Barraclough's works of universal history stressed that the books were not adequately researched, and their engagement with the facts of history too shallow to be serious, potentially transformative works of professional history. Although one could argue that Barraclough simply was not very

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House Annual Survey." Butterfield to Professor Miller, 23 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[143] Butterfield's criticism in the 1955 Stevenson recommendation of Barraclough's work outside of his "section of the field" is significant given his stated opposition to specialization and his commitment to the broad interpretation of history. Butterfield had condemned the discipline's narrowing of the scope of analysis in the same year in his lectures on the history of the historical discipline, Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship. "Our own technique [of specialization]," he wrote, "is liable to give rise to historians' 'blind spots.'" Butterfield stressed that historians ought not "to lock ourselves in some local topic, or burrow in a special field, or isolate a single aspect of history." Butterfield, Man on His Past: The Study of the History of Historical Scholarship (Cambridge, England: University Press, 1955), 123; xi. Moreover, in his personal correspondence he decried the growing specialization of the profession and noted that he had to fight the swelling band of historical specialists at Cambridge to restore the general historical study of European civilization. Butterfield to Barraclough, 12 February, 1960.

good at writing historical synthesis, critics stressed that the trouble with universal history was not only Barraclough's specific inability to bring together its many parts but the sheer difficulty of re-integrating history's fragments into a universal whole with original research and a full knowledge of seemingly limitless scholarly literature. Importantly, this critique of Barraclough's universal history, as Butterfield's criticism suggests, was not limited to "technical historians" or the defenders of specialization. The appraisal of Barraclough's vision of universal history as unprofessional in its generalizations and breadth was a wide-ranging critique, launched even by historians who had written in opposition to "specialization." These scholars likened Barraclough's universal history to the procrustean manipulation of the data of history of the Toynbeean, world historical canon.[144] Although Barraclough stressed that his professional approach to universal history was a departure from the unscholarly practice of popular world historiography, scholars located it within this amateurish tradition. Without original research and comprehensive historiographical knowledge, Barraclough was merely a metahistorian, a philosophical interpreter of the totality.

While, like Barraclough, many historians in this period opposed the fragmentation of the discipline, applauding his attempt to provide a broader view of history, they were not willing to part with the standards of professional history. Despite feverish anxieties between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s about specialization's division of history into increasingly narrow scientific specialisms, its reduction of history's audience to fellow specialists and thus its stripping of history's ability to communicate the larger lessons of

[144] Wright proclaimed that An Introduction to Contemporary History suffered from a "tendency at times to fit the evidence into a preconceived pattern." Wright, 511. Childe similarly noted that "Barraclough treats the most obvious differentia as trivial just as Toynbee does," to arrive at, and to support his generalized conclusions. Childe, "The Past, the Present, and the Future," 4.

the past to an intelligent audience, which gave history its relevance and meaning, scholars still demanded that history be professional: the product of specialized research and historiographical analysis. Historians applauded Barraclough's ambition to enlarge history's scope but deemed his campaign a failed one.

Barraclough's attempts to establish universal history as a university subject met the same disciplinary reception as his universal historical writing. To conservative scholars, his universal history threatened to nonchalantly throw out the valuable Eurocentric traditions of the discipline. To most, if not all historians, professional universal history seemed impracticable.[145] The limited historiography devoted to Barraclough has stressed his impatient frustration with history departments' narrow curricula and rigid syllabi, particularly in England.[146] While these accounts allude to Barraclough's failed attempts to academize universal history, his correspondence with Butterfield, which details one such effort—Barraclough's campaign to establish universal history at Cambridge in 1960—can further illuminate the intellectual context in which Barraclough struggled for the institutionalization of universal history, the forces within the discipline that resisted it and the problems and possibilities of global history today.

Barraclough's commitment to changing the way history was studied and taught at school and particularly at university was essential to his campaign for universal

[145] As noted in Chapter 1, Barraclough, despite his frequent almost frenzied jumping between academic posts, only managed to establish a universal history course at the University of California at San Diego (1965-1968).

[146] David Hackett Fischer, Barraclough's close friend and colleague at Brandeis, noted that Barraclough had left Oxford and returned to Brandeis only two years after his appointment as Chichele Chair with the hope of escaping the conservative inflexibility of Oxford, specifically, and the English academic establishment, more broadly. David Hackett Fischer, in discussion with the author, Brandeis University, February 26, 2008.

history.[147] In 1960, Barraclough proposed the revision of the study of history at Cambridge or, at least, the addition of a course on universal history, which he claimed he "would treat . . . concretely," professionally.[148] In his stereotypically direct, even brazen style, Barraclough declared, "Quite brashly, what I am suggesting to you is that you ought to have a lecturer on world (universal) history in Cambridge; that that lecturer ought to be me . . . shouldn't . . . [you] want an historian to tell scientists why history matters to scientists? It is . . . a sort of desperate attempt to do something worthwhile, while there is still something left."[149] His description of the campaign for universal history as a "desperate attempt to do something worthwhile while there is still something left," bore shades of the autobiographical: the anxiety of the self-proclaimed "outsider" whom the discipline would always reject or at least marginalize. Yet, he also clearly stressed his conviction that universal history could restore a discipline perceived as on the brink of irrelevance, perhaps even of extinction. Moreover, he declared that universal history not only could restore meaning and direction to history but also could communicate it to "scientists." This clearly responded to C. P. Snow's demand, which he had famously pronounced at Cambridge in "The Two Cultures" two years before, for a greater dialogue, precisely more "communication" between the arts and sciences as the "way out" of the "disast[e]r" of increasing academic specialization.[150] Barraclough, perhaps manipulatively, perhaps genuinely, framed his call for universal history, the

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[147] Geoffrey Barraclough, "Long Stop," The Spectator 203, no. 6978 (Mar., 1962): 374. Barraclough stressed the urgent need to revise history in the schools and universities notably in "World Politics," New Statesman LXVI, no. 1688 (Jul., 1963): 81; "The Crisis of Historicism," The Listener LV, no. 1405 (Feb., 1956): 171; "Challenge to Historians," The Manchester Guardian, November 26 1956; Barraclough, History in a Changing World, 1.

[148] Barraclough to Butterfield, 5 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[149] Barraclough to Butterfield, 5 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

[150] C. P. Snow, The Two Cultures and the Scientific Revolution (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 3, 18, 21.

larger view of the past, within anxieties about specialization and its threat to the historical discipline.

Butterfield, however, seemed to miss the bait. In his response, he argued that the disciplinary practice of specialization—that "lecturers now like to start from the very beginning of an extremely short period or an extremely small regional topic and sometimes they never like to move into broader field"—essentially "doomed" the prospect of broader surveys.[151] In fact, he stressed that specialization had made his postwar "general history" of European civilization "rather a great struggle."[152] He foregrounded the problem of specialization and, specifically, the intra-disciplinary "struggle" between the restoration of the liberal Eurocentric historical tradition and the increasing forces of specialization. This reaction, which took no explicit notice of universal history, its merit or aim, exemplifies the ways in which the disciplinary debates in this period between the defenders of tradition and the newly dominant "cult of the particular" seemed to operate at a remove, in seclusion from the larger, international shifts and developments in historical reality.

After some delay, Butterfield wrote with the news that Cambridge would not "alter the curriculum by the addition of global history or its substitution for European history."[153] In his letter, he reproduced his argument from his review of History in a Changing World four years earlier on the value of the Eurocentric history as part of a

[151] Butterfield to Barraclough, 12 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[152] Butterfield to Barraclough, 12 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[153] Butterfield to Barraclough, 18 March 1960. It is interesting to note that from Butterfield's papers, it appears that he never actually wrote to the officers of the board on Barraclough's behalf. In a letter to a Professor Miller, Butterfield noted that he thought there was really "no chance" for Barraclough's "plan" for global history at Cambridge and there is no record in his papers that he made formal inquiries into the possibility of Barraclough's proposal. Butterfield to Professor Miller, 23 February 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

tradition begun in the eighteenth century.[154] By justifying the present practice of the general history of the European civilization on the grounds that historians had chosen it two centuries before, he affirmed both his own and Cambridge's greater commitment to the tradition and the continuity of the profession than to the continual confrontation with, and reflection on, the discontinuous historical reality of the world.[155] Importantly, he emphasized that regardless of his own beliefs about the merit and relevance of European history, universal history was not "practicable" as a university teaching subject.[156] The Cambridge history faculty and any history department, he noted, would have to alter "the structure of [the] whole Tripos" to accommodate it.[157] Moreover, what would the students read? How could they perform research on global subject matter? How, in sum, could universal history be a part of the professional historical discipline?

Barraclough's campaign to professionalize universal history from the mid-1950s through the mid-1960s in England was unsuccessful. The conservative movement of scholars who responded to the replacing of their old ways with the new focus on specialization by calling for a return to the liberal Eurocentric traditions of the profession opposed Barraclough's "scrapping of history:" his desire to revise, to break with the

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[154] Butterfield to Barraclough, 18 March 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[155] Butterfield's promotion of the continuity and tradition of the English historical discipline is somewhat surprising given that he had gained significant respect in the profession with The Whig Interpretation of History (1931), a critique of Whiggish ideas of continuity and progress in English history. A number of scholars have dealt with the ideological transitions in Butterfield's career, notably his shift from criticism of English Whiggism in The Whig Interpretation of History (1931), to what has been argued to be a Whig analysis of English history in Englishman and His Past (1944). See G. R. Elton. "Herbert Butterfield and the Study of History," The Historical Journal 27, no. 3 (Sep., 1984): 729-743; Keith C, Sewell. "The "Herbert Butterfield Problem" and its Resolution," Journal of the History of Ideas 64, no. 4 (Oct., 2003): 599-618; Reba N. Soffer, "The Conservative Historical Imagination in the Twentieth Century," Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies 28, no. 1 (Spring, 1996): 1-17.
[156] Butterfield to Barraclough, 18 March 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.
[157] Butterfield to Barraclough, 18 March 1960. Butterfield Papers, Cambridge University Library.

profession's history to confront the present.[158] The more wide-ranging opposition to Barraclough's universal history came from elsewhere. Despite many scholars' declared resistance to the discipline's narrowing of the scope of historical analysis, they were unyieldingly committed to scholarly research, to the professional's critical engagement with the multitude of original sources and historiographical analyses. And, this professionalism was feasible only for studies, which were at least somewhat specialized in scope.

While historians delivered scores of lectures and wrote hundreds of articles and books between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s on the problems with the discipline's focus on specialized research, there were very few, if any, who specifically promoted the specialization of the profession. Moreover, the reviews of Barraclough's writing on universal history demonstrate that even those historians who proclaimed their revolt against specialization, identifying themselves as professional rebels and reactionaries, in practice, upheld and conformed to the standards of the discipline. The reception of Barraclough's universal history thus forces a reconsideration of who belonged to the oft-alluded to discipline and its "cult of the particular" and who was genuinely outside of it, who actually rebelled against disciplinary standards. Barraclough, himself, the "outsider," the disciplinary rebel who throughout his career wrote in passionate opposition to the profession's specialization, insisted on professionalism and often

[158] Geyl, Encounters in History, 336.

criticized other historians for inadequate research, a shallow knowledge of the sources and literature.[159]

So many historians in this period argued in opposition to a growing disciplinary emphasis on narrow rather than broad histories yet still relied on specialized scholarship as the mark and criterion of professional history that the oppositional categories of the discipline and the rebel or reactionary, so essential to debates on the profession and its specialization between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s lose their historical distinctiveness and meaning. A large number of historians in this period figured themselves as disciplinary gadflies, distanced from, and opposed to, the profession's practice of specialization, the myopic concentration on the particular, which they condemned. However, as the reviews of Barraclough's universal history demonstrate, these adamant opponents of the discipline's narrowing of the scope of historical analysis were not ready to part with what specialization begot: historical professionalism.

The examination of Barraclough's attempt to professionalize universal history and its reception reveals the important challenges to Barraclough's vision of universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England. The conservative reaction to the problem of growing specialization, which called for the reinstating of the old, liberal Eurocentric way of history despite Europe's displacement from the center of world affairs, envisioned Barraclough's dislocation of Europe from the focus of history as a

[159] In fact, Barraclough's dissertation advisee, the historian James Cronin recalled Barraclough's having urged a board of examiners at Oxford to make Norman Cantor re-do a part of his degree as his performance did not demonstrate adequate scholarly depth or research. Cronin told this story to illustrate what he described as Barraclough's toughness not only as an individual but also, and specifically, as a professional historian. James Cronin, interview with the author, Harvard University, February 21, 2008. Barraclough later expressed his commitment to specialization in a 1971 interview with none other than Norman Cantor. He declared, "I don't wish to decry all specialism—I have studied and taught in that tradition. As a technique it certainly has value." Norman F. Cantor, Perspectives on the European Past: Conversations with Historians (New York: Collier-Macmillan, 1971), 361.

rejection of the disciplinary tradition they were invested in restoring. Moreover, most reviewers also criticized Barraclough's universal history as not specialized enough. Despite the strong opposition to specialization in this period, historians remained firmly committed to the standards of professional history—scholarly research and knowledge of the sources—which required at least some specialization.

The responses to Barraclough's campaign for universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England presented in this chapter deepen our historical understanding of the disciplinary obstacles Barraclough faced. Yet, the significance of the reception of, and opposition to, his project rests not in their illumination of Barraclough's specific failure but in the ways they force a reconsideration of the possibilities for global history's professionalization in the present. Can global history be history's "new way" or will the current attempt to produce professional global history also go off like "a damp squib?"

Conclusion

"What it is all about:" Global History Being and Becoming

Why should historians care about a study as narrow, as specialized as this forgotten moment in the history of global history? What, in the slightly altered words of Barraclough, himself, is it all about?[160] And what can Barraclough's case tell us about it?

Barraclough's push for universal history failed not because he was an "outsider" as historiographical explanations have suggested but for two other, principal reasons. First, historians did not, as a profession, respond to and reflect the global historical changes in the world outside of academe in their scholarship. The increasing globality and interconnectedness of world affairs, Europe's displacement from the center stage of international politics and the rise of Russia and America and the former colonial continents of Africa and Asia, seemed unable to penetrate the walls of the ivory tower at least in the large, transformative way Barraclough had hoped. A significant conservative group of historians in this period perceived themselves as disciplinary reactionaries or redeemers, entrenched in what they argued was a battle to save history from the crisis of increasing fragmentation engendered by the new rise of disciplinary specialization in the postwar period. This rearguard movement, which included some of the leading English historians of the mid-twentieth century, advocated a return to the liberal Eurocentric disciplinary tradition in order to unseat the new growth of professional specialization and to save history from its crisis. The external historical reality of Britain's crumbling empire and Europe's shrinking influence in world affairs seems to have had little role in

[160] "What it is all about" was the title of Barraclough's conclusion to History in a Changing World. Barraclough, History in a Changing World (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), 222.

shaping the arguments of this significant group, who, focused on the internal binary opposition of the present disciplinary convention of specialization and the old general history of European civilization, passionately called for the restoration of Eurocentric history.

Second, despite the large opposition among historians between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s to the fragmentation of the discipline, their claims that specialization had rid the discipline of its relevance and meaning and, above all, that it had caused its present disorientation, scholars still demanded that history be thoroughly professional, which required specialization. Although many historians in this period established themselves as disciplinary rebels and reactionaries, outside of the so-called "cult of the particular" and opposed to the discipline's practice of specialization, they still insisted that for a work to be a piece of professional history, it must be the product of original research and a comprehensive investigation of the scholarly canon. And, this presupposed specialization, a narrowing of the field of analysis. Barraclough proclaimed that his universal historical work was professional scholarship with a global scope: a break from the Toynbeean popularizing or metahistorical tradition that he condemned. However, historians criticized his work on the grounds that it was not sufficiently researched and demonstrated too shallow a knowledge of the historical literature of the various fields he covered. His universal history, it seemed, was too broad to be professional, its scope too large to be taken seriously.

In the beginning of this thesis, I quoted Keith Thomas' confident proclamation in 2006 that global history, the history of the world, represented history's "new way." I

claimed that the present-day excitement about the imminent arrival of global history, of which Thomas' article for The Times Literary Supplement functions as a sign and symbol, has rested on two assumptions. The first is that historians will reorient the history they write and teach to reflect the larger, changing reality of their historical moment. And the second is that historians will warmly receive a global approach to history in spite of growing professional specialization.

Through the lens of Barraclough's failed attempt at universal history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England, present-day convictions that global history is the discipline's "new way" look different. Scholars who currently champion a global approach to history are right to point out the increasing interdependence of nations and regions; the interconnectedness of markets and technologies; the global impact of movements and ideas; the fact that we now live in a truly globalized age. Yet, their assumption that the historical discipline will and can reproduce the globalization of contemporary life in scholarship seems somewhat problematic. From the perspective of Barraclough's unsuccessful campaign for universal history in England nearly half a century ago, historians' confidence today in the discipline's willingness and ability to mirror the globality of contemporary life in scholarship appears optimistic.

To argue that resistance to the advent of global history will come from historians still invested in the preservation or reproduction of historical narratives on the West and its civilization overlooks decades of historical thought and scholarship, which have revealed and deconstructed the historically unsound Eurocentrism of traditional historiography and assumptions about historical development and progress. Moreover, such an assertion oversimplifies the historical significance of conservative historians' cry

for the restoration of the broad historical study of the European inheritance as Barraclough campaigned for universal history in England from the mid-1950s through mid-1960s. The larger, historical importance of reactionary historians' backwards-looking response to the new growth of specialization in this period does not lie primarily in their call for a specifically Eurocentric rather than global vision of history. Rather, it rests in such conservative scholars' ambition to restore the old liberal study of the history of European civilization despite the dismantling of Europe's empires, a Cold War between two non-European monoliths, in sum, Europe's shrinking global predominance. While this rearguard movement was, of course, a function and product of the disciplinary dynamics of its historical moment—an opposition to the new rise of specialization—the conservative reaction to specialization in this period demonstrates that historians' ideas about how to study and write their subject, have not always reflected, incorporated or even considered the larger, external reality of history, particularly beyond the nation state. This finding, while context-specific, has broad implications for the current movement to globalize history, which confidently assumes an almost mimetic quality of historical scholarship.

Although the emergence of global history as a, if not *the* "new way" in history obviously relies on historians' recognition and reflection of the broader reality of history outside of the cloistered world of academe and the national community, it also depends on scholarly acceptance of a global approach to professional history.[161] Thomas in "New Ways Revisited" and the many proponents global history have claimed that global history

[161] The work of historians in the half-century since Barraclough's failed campaign for universal history, such as Bruce Mazlish, William McNeill, L. S. Stavrianos, and Kenneth Pomeranz, who have sought a global approach to the study of the past have without question improved the situation for global history's professional acceptance and integration.

will become a central method of historical analysis despite the growing trend towards "specialization." Barraclough's failed campaign for global history suggests that the obstacle of specialization was, in fact, rather large. Many disciplinary rebels and reactionaries antagonized the "cult of the particular" and identified the fragmentation of the discipline as the root of history's crisis between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s. But historians, even the rebels and reactionaries who had established themselves as opposed to, and outside of, the disciplinary convention of minute specialization, were not willing to part with historical professionalism—original research and comprehensive knowledge of the scholarly literature—which required specialization: the narrowing of the scope of analysis. The scholarly criticism of Barraclough's universal history as not adequately specialized and thus unprofessional illuminates an ostensibly obvious but underestimated problem for the professionalization of global history: global history aspires to historical breadth but professional history requires historical depth. Historians have in recent years attempted, with some success, to resolve this seeming incompatibility by collapsing the binary of specialization and the global approach to history: studying a specialized topic in a global context.[162] But, Barraclough's and Thomas' convictions of global history's imminent, full emergence—global history as history's "new way"—seem to have expected and required more than the global treatment of specialized subjects. Is this possible?

I suppose what my thesis, in its largest sense, "is all about" is the possibilities of global history. While my analysis of Barraclough's failed campaign for global history between the mid-1950s and mid-1960s in England might suggest that the outlook for the

[162] David Armitage's The Declaration of Independence: A Global History (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007) and Sven Beckert's forthcoming book, Cotton: A Global History represent important efforts in this direction.

professionalization of global history is rather bleak, and that global history will forever remain on the seemingly near but, in fact, distant aspirational horizon, my intention is not to reject the idea that a global approach to history will or ought to be history's "new way." Rather, my hope is that my investigation of Barraclough's historically unsuccessful and historiographically overlooked effort to promote global history will compel historians to dig into, to complicate, and to reshape what I have argued are overly optimistic and thus problematic assumptions about the obstacles global history's professionalization will face. By reconsidering these assumptions and confronting the problems of global history anew, historians perhaps will at last be able to move global history from the disciplinary margins of permanent imminent becoming to the reality of actually being.

Reflecting on the 1966 and 2006 Times Literary Supplement symposia, one scholar has asked what the symposium will look like in 2046.[163] If historians refuse to confront the problematic assumptions surrounding and propelling current excitement about global history, I believe they will find themselves, or perhaps their scholarly descendants, reading the lead article for the special issue of The Times Literary Supplement in 2046, which will proclaim, as if for the first time, that despite growing disciplinary specialization, historians yearn for a wider approach to their subject that can reflect the increasing globality and interconnectedness of historical reality. And, that global history is history's "new way."

[163] Jeffrey Wasserstrom, "New Ways in History, 1966-2006," History Workshop Journal 64, no.1 (2007): 294.

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Preparing an Annotated Bibliography

The annotated bibliography is a necessary organizational exercise because it forces you to justify the inclusion of your primary and secondary sources. By prioritizing sources now in terms of how they relate to your thesis, you will save time later because some books or collections can be downgraded (or even excluded) before you study them more carefully or write about them. Finally, by organizing your sources in this fashion, you will automatically organize your thoughts for your historiographical essay (which in turn will develop into the historiograohical section of your thesis), as well as generate an outline for your conference presentation.

While preparing your annotated bibliography, keep in mind that the goal is to create a document that is useful to you, not necessarily a picture-perfect model of an annotated bibliography. The annotated bibliography is simply a means to an end—namely, organizing your sources so you can make progress on your thesis.

Provisional Argument

At the top of your annotated bibliography, write one paragraph (anywhere from six to eight sentences) that summarizes the argument you plan to make in your thesis. Like the three thesis tricks, what you write here is sure to change a little and likely to change a lot before you are done. The key is to put forward a position that requires you to engage other scholarship and present evidence to support it.

Sample Provisional Argument

by Maria Domanskis

My thesis is about the use of diplomacy, specifically at the United Nations, by the United States and Nicaragua in 1983 and 1984. It will examine how the two states held different conceptions of the proper framework for interpreting the Nicaraguan revolution, with the U.S. viewing developments in Nicaragua from a Cold War position and the Sandinistas presenting their regime as a victory of a small state against an imperialist power, an issue that extended across the globe. While many have neglected to look at this aspect, instead placing the 1980s in Nicaragua in an East-West or traditional U.S.-Latin American framework, Nicaragua's redefinition of its foreign policy, based on nonalignment, demonstrates the Sandinistas' desire to work with other states, particularly those of the Third World and Nonaligned Movement, in pursuing an alternate path of development. Although the Reagan Administration, and thus the U.S. Mission to the U.N., represented the situation in Nicaragua as an internal matter that should not be addressed by the U.N., this can mainly be seen as an attempt to curb the influence Nicaragua had gained within the U.N. as a result of its pragmatic diplomacy and nonaligned status. While no great solution was to be found at the U.N. to the situation in Nicaragua, Nicaragua's use of the U.N. as an international forum to present its foreign policy and find legitimation for its regime complicates the traditional American understanding of the Sandinistas. Thus, it is necessary to examine this period when Nicaragua had a seat on the U.N. Security Council to see how it marshaled support for its policies and concerns and brought into question U.S. policy, professions of support for international law, and professed willingness to pursue peaceful solutions to the crisis in Central America.

Bibliographic Entries for Secondary Sources

After outlining the provisional argument of your thesis, you must produce annotated bibliographic entries of the secondary sources you have consulted thus far.

If you have not done so already, this is a good time to choose a style guide (Chicago or Turabian) for formatting citations.

Quota

There is no official floor or ceiling to the number of works to include in your annotated bibliography. Ultimately, you will want to discuss at least four works in the historiographical review of your thesis, so you might want to reconsider how you are situating your work if you have not yet reached that threshold. (The absence of a ceiling makes the next section regarding a hierarchy for sources especially important.) For contemplating the number of sources, you should look to your provisional argument and the section on *Situating the Thesis Topic*. Are you asking old questions and offering new answers? Are you asking questions that no one has ever asked? Your answers will help you decide whether you need to distinguish yourself from a group or set a new historiographical scene. Here are a few ways in which this could play out in your annotated bibliography:

If you have not done so already, this is a good time to choose a style guide (Chicago or Turabian) for formatting citations.

- **Age-old question.** There is a long historiographical tradition and you consider your thesis to be the beginning of the next generation. Sketch the history of the historiography by outlining how authors debated, built on, or ignored each other's work in the past. The lineage itself will determine the number of works you should review.
- **Hot topic.** A lot of work has been done recently on your topic and you want to enter the scholarly fray. Discuss why the subject has been popular (e.g., new evidence, trendy methodology, current events), how the existing literature is insufficient, and what you plan to add to the scholarly mix. The bibliography of the latest work or a state-of-the-field review essay will likely determine the number of works you should discuss.
- **Open field.** Few (if any) have asked the questions that you are asking of your subject so you need to draw connections to related bodies of literature. Surprisingly, this scenario might involve the most secondary sources because your topic will be a hub linking historiographical spokes. For each body of literature, the points above will help set the number of works to include in your review.

Hierarchy

Instead of arranging the bibliographic entries alphabetically, organize them by relevance to your thesis. If a particular book, article, dissertation, or essay is essential for appreciating the novelty of your thesis, then it should be at or near the top of the list. Such works should receive careful readings and substantial consideration in the historiographical section of your thesis. As you move down the list, there will be works that fall into some of the following categories (which are in no particular order):

- **Classics.** There is some universally known scholarship that you must acknowledge. This is important because readers outside of your subfield will look for references (whether in the text or in the bibliography) to major works they have heard of or read.
- **Tangents.** Some works approach your topic, broadly defined, but do not address quite the

same issues. This will demonstrate your command of the literature and allow you to convey clearly what questions you are (and are not) attempting to answer in your thesis.

- **Bunk.** Some scholarship is so weak that it is hard to do more than point out its flaws. While it is tempting to show your readers that you can distinguish between good and bad research, do not devote much space to a rarely cited or widely debunked work. An exception to this guideline is when the work is a best-seller or trend-setter that has (mis)informed the reading public about your topic.
- **Clusters.** Many works are so similar in approach that discussing them individually seems repetitive. While you want your readers to know how much background work you did, remember that they are looking forward to *your* evidence and analysis. Save space and show authority by grouping works into schools of thought, treating a representative sample, and relegating the others to a "See also…" footnote.

You do not need to master a book, article, dissertation, or essay that falls into one of these categories. If you know enough about it to rank it in the middle or bottom third of your annotated bibliography, then you likely have read enough of it for the purposes of your thesis.

Content

For each entry, explain how the book, article, dissertation, or essay relates to your provisional argument. Depending on how important you consider the source, the entry should be anywhere from two to eight sentences. The process of writing these descriptions places your ongoing research in a dialogue with the existing literature about your chosen topic. You can present yourself as a self-aware author by demonstrating an understanding of how your project relates to others that readers might have encountered. If you can do this effectively, then you will have established your credibility with readers and prepared them to recognize the most important points in your body chapters. Begin each entry by summarizing the basic elements of the source:

- What is the main argument?
- What kind of history is it?
- What period, theme, person, or event is the focus?
- Who are the major players in the story?
- What kinds and collections of sources are used?
- How does the author periodize the topic?
- Is the author's biography (e.g., personal connection to the subject, political views, etc.) relevant to the piece?
- When was the piece written? Is it a product of its era? Was the historical topic discussed still a current event when the piece was produced?

Most entries will emphasize one or two of these questions; this is a good thing. By examining your entries, you may discover the best way to categorize different works into schools of thought, all of which relate to your research in one way or another.
The next question is, *how* do the works relate to your thesis research? Here are a few ways to think about this:

- Are you revising or directly challenging this work?
  - Does the interpretation of the evidence seem wrong? How so?
  - Is a particular perspective privileged?
  - Is evidence taken out of context?
  - Has the author discounted or omitted evidence? Are such choices acknowledged?
  - Is the periodization in need of revision?
- Are you complicating this work's argument with new evidence?
  - Are the work's generalizations weakened by your particular study?
  - Does the story seem overly simplistic in light of subtleties added by new research (including your own)?

    * Does the interpretation seem limited in scope given new bodies of evidence (including any you have found)?
- Are you confirming or bolstering this work with new evidence?
    * Did you find evidence that had been overlooked?
    * Has new evidence become available since publication?
    * Does this work represent an interpretive foundation that you are building upon?

Sample Entry for Secondary Sources

by Laurie Schnidman

Schaller, Michael. *The American Occupation of Japan: The Origins of the Cold War in Asia.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.

A study focusing mainly upon the conflicts between MacArthur and the Truman Administration/Washington, D.C. which points to 1947 as the key year in the shift in Occupation politics. He argues that the 1947 tensions between MacArthur and Truman led to MacArthur's willingness to adopt the "reverse course" in 1948, due to Truman's escalating threats to remove him from power. Schaller's analysis is entirely economic—he casts the Cold War interactions as economically, and not ideologically, motivated. Thus, he spends much time discussing the *zaibatsu* issues, the destruction and rebuilding of the economy, and the views of how other East Asian economies can fit together with Japan's. He may be correct in arguing that after 1947 economic policy significantly changes, but I feel he glosses over the growing ideological rift and significant other factors that influenced US and SCAP thinking. My case study of the Japanese POWs points more towards 1949 as the defining year—though the shift to Cold War politics may appear in Washington as early as 1947, I don't believe that this shift is fully fleshed out in Occupation policies and specifically the POW situation until 1949. Schaller acknowledges this to an extent (p. 107), but still spends the majority of the book focusing upon DC/Tokyo interactions during this year, implying 1947's overall importance.

Bibliographic Entries for Primary Sources

At this stage of the project, the entries for primary sources are likely to be speculative, but this makes them especially important in terms of organizing your time. By now, you should have identified the major collections of primary sources for your thesis, but you may not have conducted much research. As you work through your annotated bibliography, you must articulate a provisional argument and suggest how it relates to other scholarship on your chosen topic. The next step, which is critical to good historical writing, is gathering evidence to present in support of your assertions. The process is time and labor intensive so prioritizing carefully now will help maximize the rewards of your efforts later. If focused research does not yield sufficient raw materials, then you can always work your way down the list of entries or cast an even wider net later. In preparing entries for primary sources, which will be shorter than those for secondary sources, you should summarize what you are looking for in the collections and why you need that evidence for your thesis.

Sample Entries for Primary Sources

by Maria Domanskis

United Nations. Security Council. 39th Year. Security Council Official Record (1984).

In 1984, Nicaragua continued to use the Security Council as a forum in which to air its grievances and condemn U.S. actions. The Security Council was convened on four different occasions to hear Nicaragua's complaints, meeting 7 times. While no Security Council resolution was passed, one condemning the mining of Nicaraguan ports was vetoed by the United States. The U.S. again found itself diplomatically isolated at the U.N. in relation to the Nicaraguan situation. While the U.S. tried to argue that the situation was solely internal and should not be considered at the U.N., others made the argument that the situation in Nicaragua was similar to other areas of the world where the U.S. also exercised its influence and thus the issue was one that should be addressed by the U.N. The language and approach used to address the situation in Nicaragua will be examined to determine the extent to which Nicaragua found diplomatic success at the U.N.

La Barricada Internacional, La Prensa

These are two Nicaraguan newspapers which would have presented the Nicaraguan foreign policy actions and interpretations of U.S. and U.N. actions relating to Nicaragua and Central America. *La Barricada* was the official newspaper of the Sandinistas and so the material should be expected to be in line with Sandinista policy and may even seem to resemble propaganda. *La Prensa* is currently the major newspaper in Nicaragua and was seen as the main opposition paper to the Sandinista regime. While heavily censored at times and even shut down in 1986, *La Prensa* may present a more realistic view of what was going on in Nicaragua than *La Barricada*. It will be interesting to see how the Nicaraguan government portrayed its foreign policy to its people and if this diverged from its presentation at the U.N. and in other international forums. Another thing that may be of interest from these newspapers is their treatment of the contras and U.S. involvement in the attempts at destabilizing the Sandinista regime.

Conducting Peer Reviews

Peer reviews in seminar are intended to empower you to offer and receive collegial criticism, a fundamental part of good historical scholarship. The History Department emphasizes these skills throughout the tutorial program. As you learned when exchanging "packet papers" in History 97, reviewing others' work and providing feedback is a good way to develop your talents as both a reader and a writer of history. The process helps you become your own best—that is, most demanding—editor. At the same time, you are also helping your peers improve their own projects, thereby strengthening the historical writing produced by your cohort of concentrators.

The exercise is less about the particular histories being written and more about the general art of writing history. Therefore, you do not need to worry about how much (or little) you know of your partners' topics or what they know of yours. In fact, it can be advantageous to have partners who know little about your specific topic, but a lot about the Department's curriculum and its goals. Feedback from such readers can help you make the presentation of your evidence and argument accessible to a wider range of historians. After all, you should always assume that you are the expert on your chosen topic and know more about it than your readers. Peer reviews are opportunities to assess whether details, assumptions, and connections you take for granted need to be made clearer for readers. Since your adviser may be too familiar with your research to anticipate the questions of general readers, your partners in seminar could be the best sources of this kind of scholarly support.

Peer reviews are opportunities to assess whether details, assumptions, and connections you take for granted need to be made clearer for readers.

Guidelines

Everyone shares responsibility for achieving the goals of peer reviews so all participants must adhere to the following guidelines and instructions.

When preparing feedback, do not be shy or embarrassed about **asking for clarification, elaboration, or explanation** of your partners' writing. As a peer reviewer, it is your responsibility to alert your partners to confusing points and/or passages; this is the only way to make the exercise productive and stimulating for all participants. In doing so, you are not telling authors that they have picked a bad topic, done a poor job, or taken the wrong approach; rather, you are offering them valuable insights into how a reader might interpret their writing. *You* are the ideal thesis *reader* because you are a thesis *writer* and, thus, are acutely aware of the value of good historical writing. If you are still perplexed after reading a passage over and over, do not conclude that your reading comprehension has failed you; instead, assume the challenge of helping the author convey his or her point to readers.

***You* are the ideal thesis reader because you are a thesis *writer* and, thus, are acutely aware of the value of good historical writing.**

Being a good reader requires considerable effort, almost as much effort as writing a paper yourself. Be prepared to **devote a significant amount of time and thought** to the exercise. Remember that you are counting on your partners to make the same investment in your chapter. Consider your questions carefully and phrase them constructively; this means being as specific as possible. For example, "This passage was unclear. Can you explain it to me?" is less useful than alternatives like the following:

- "I had to read this passage a few times, and I think you're suggesting X, Y, Z. Do I have it right? Did I miss something?"
- "I understand what you're arguing in passages X and Z and how these passages relate, but I don't see how passage Y fits in between. Can you explain the relationship between and X and Y, as well as Y and Z?"
- "In this section, I felt lost in the narrative. Do you plan to provide background on this in the introduction? If not, then could you spell things out more here to help the reader understand how X got to Y?"

Keeping in mind the thesis submission date, your job as a peer reviewer is to motivate your partners to do what is possible to improve the drafts that have emerged from their research. By alerting your partners to aspects of their presentation that they might not have been conscious of, you will help them come across as self-aware authors when they submit their final theses.

Peer reviews are *not* blanket invitations for peer editing.

Peer reviews are *not* blanket invitations for peer editing. Details like **grammar, vocabulary, and punctuation are better left for final stage revisions;** they are distractions from the primary goal of the exercise, which is to ensure that students are doing the best historical writing possible. The focus of peer reviews is on fundamental elements of chapters, such as structure, analysis, and presentation of evidence. The instructions below should help you focus on these fundamental elements.

In this exercise, everyone is both a reader and an author so think about the above guidelines when you are receiving feedback. The tone and content of feedback should be positive, even when critical. When it comes to receiving comments from your partners, you can help yourself more by listening than by talking or defending your writing.

Preparing for Seminar

Everyone will be assigned to a group of three. Group members will be responsible for reading each other's work in advance and coming to seminar prepared to discuss them. Groups of three require twice the work of pairs, but they double both feedback and exposure to different techniques (organizational, interpretive, and stylistic) employed by peers. Whatever the number, it only works if each pulls his or her weight. The **deadline for submitting your peer-review chapter is non-negotiable.**

Skim your partners' chapters without taking any notes or making any marks. When done, jot down whatever you took away from the chapters. Then, read the chapters more carefully and follow the instructions for readers (below). For your own chapter, follow the instructions for authors (further below). Some of the instructions require actually making marks and notes, but many involve thinking about what you have read and marked in preparation for the seminar discussion with your partners. You can mark up the texts on screen with word processing tools (e.g., Insert/Comment, underline) or on paper with a writing implement. However you approach the task, you **must bring hard copies of all three chapters to seminar and arrive ready to discuss all three.**

Note: Since everyone has different writing styles, the unit of measurement for this exercise is flexible. The term "passage" is used to indicate a single sentence or string of 2-3 sentences.

Instructions for Reviewing Peers' Chapters

Locating the Central Argument

What is the central argument of the chapter? There should be a passage that indicates to you the most important point that the author is trying to convey with the evidence and analysis offered in the chapter. While essential, the central argument will not necessarily appear at the beginning of the chapter.

Double underline *the* passage (only one) that represents what you consider to be *the* central argument of the chapter.

Identifying Tasks

What tasks does the author indicate will be fulfilled in order to sustain the central argument of the chapter? Common tasks to advance the central argument include providing necessary background (historical or theoretical), presenting bodies of evidence, comparing pieces of evidence, and demonstrating causal links. For the purposes of this exercise, tasks are limited to four to encourage you to identify the connections between different elements of the chapter.

Underline the passages (up to four) that signal the tasks to be accomplished.

Does the author fulfill these tasks over the course of the chapter?

Topics to Consider

Evidence

Is there enough evidence included to sustain the central argument of the chapter? Or, does the author

- rely on more information from secondary sources than primary sources?
- extrapolate from a sample too small to be considered representative of a larger group?

Are pieces of evidence sufficiently explained and/or analyzed to be of maximum value for making the central argument of the chapter? Or, does the author

- provide evidence without information that the reader needs to appreciate its significance?
- present a string of quotations but do little to connect the parts or the whole to the central argument of the chapter?

Is space devoted to the evidence proportionate to its importance to the central argument of the chapter? Or, does the author

- inflate the significance of some evidence relative to other evidence or in absolute terms?
- dwell on evidence even after effectively explaining its significance?

Accessibility

Are essential terms defined?

Would more background at any point help a non-expert reader?

Are there any areas of ambiguity about the narrative or argument?

Transparency

Do you detect anything from reading between the lines? An implicit bias or sympathy in the author's presentation? A lack of consideration of different kinds of sources or viewpoints? A subtle point that the author should make more explicit?

Transitions

Is there a logical progression from one topic or section to the next?

If a transition seems abrupt, what is missing? A simple transition sentence? An adequate conclusion of the previous topic? A smooth introduction of the next topic?

Final Thoughts

As soon as you finish reading the chapter, consider the following questions:

- What did you take away from the chapter?
- What else do you now want to know about this topic? Or, what would you expect the next chapter to cover?
- Where does the author seem most hesitant? Look for qualifiers and vague language, and encourage the author to explain the caution.
- Where does the author seem most confident? Look for generalizations and strident language, and propose counter-arguments for the author to consider.

Estimate the ratio of summary (background, discussion of literature) to original argument (presentation of primary sources, analysis).

Write down three reflections.
These can highlight the elements you found most intriguing or take the form of suggestions for addressing any of the above questions.

Write down your answers
Comparing them with those of your peer reviewers might shed light on assumptions or approaches that characterize your project as a whole.

Instructions for Reviewing Your Own Chapter

Locating the Central Argument

What is the central argument of your chapter? There should be a passage that indicates to readers the most important point that you are trying to convey with the evidence and analysis offered in the chapter. While essential, your central argument does not have to appear at the beginning of the chapter.

Double underline *the* passage (only one) that represents what you consider to be *the* central argument of the chapter.

Identifying Tasks

What tasks do you indicate will be fulfilled in order to sustain the central argument of the chapter? Common tasks to advance the central argument include providing necessary background (historical or theoretical), presenting bodies of evidence, comparing pieces of evidence, and demonstrating causal links. For the purposes of this exercise, tasks are limited to four to encourage you to identify the connections between different elements of the chapter.

Underline the passages (up to four) that signal the tasks to be accomplished.

How do you fulfill these tasks over the course of the chapter?

Final Thoughts

Consider the following questions about your chapter:

- What do you want your readers to take away from the chapter?
- What do you feel are the weakest parts of this chapter?
- What do you feel are the strongest parts of this chapter?

Estimate the ratio of summary (background, discussion of literature) to original argument (presentation of primary sources, analysis).

Discussing Chapters in Seminar

With three partners per group, there will be 15-18 minutes to discuss each chapter in seminar. This may seem like a lot of time, but it will go by quickly. Since every chapter is unique and group dynamics will vary, you are left to shape the discussion of each chapter. The instructions above will give you a framework for getting the conversation started. The following is a prioritized list of topics to cover:

1) Readers should indicate what they consider to be the central argument of the chapter. Discuss any discrepancies between the two readers or a reader and the author.
2) Partners should compare notes about tasks and how they are fulfilled. Discuss any discrepancies between the two readers or a reader and the author.
3) As time permits, readers should raise matters from "Topics to Consider" and "Final Thoughts." It is likely that each member of the group will be particularly interested in discussing one or two of these questions. Partners should come ready to address any of the items in "Final Thoughts" and may wish to write up brief answers in advance.

Following Up with Your Adviser

Work in seminar is most valuable when integrated with the adviser-advisee relationship, so you should meet with your adviser soon after peer reviews. Your partners' suggestions might lead you to do extra research, reorganize your writing, and/or change the emphasis of your chapter. Since any of these tasks could alter your work schedule and final product, your adviser must be part of the decision-making process.

You should not walk away from seminar feeling like you need to conceive your thesis anew or do weeks of additional research. Regardless of the feedback you receive, you still know the content of your project better than anyone else. As you decide how to follow up on suggestions from your partners, think about how you can do so primarily with sources you already have. At this stage, it is wise to tailor your writing to your research because there is little time to do additional research. Your goal should be to produce a final version of the thesis that is polished and reflects your understanding of its achievements and limitations.

Introducing Your Thesis

While you're not supposed to judge a book by its cover, your thesis reader may judge your project, to some degree, by its introduction. First impressions matter. With only a few weeks left before the final submission deadline, you want to prioritize your remaining tasks for revision. Your introduction may be the best place to start. A well-constructed introduction may not make or break your entire thesis project, but it can significantly improve just about any senior thesis.

At this stage in the writing and revision process, you will likely find yourself in one of two positions:

1) You wrote a draft of all your body chapters before turning to your introduction; or
2) You wrote a draft of your introduction before composing the rest of your body chapters.

In either scenario, rest assured that you have a wealth of accumulated materials from which to draw. In the first scenario, while you may not yet have a formal draft of an introduction, you do have a "first stab" at many of its components in the form of your initial prospectus, histiographical essay, and conference presentation, as well as the paragraphs expressing your central argument in each of your body chapters. In the second scenario, you have all of these materials, plus a first draft of your introduction, to help you polish your opening chapter.

When you refer to your prospectus, histiographical essay, and conference presentation, you'll no doubt notice that your provisional assessments will have changed over the past few weeks and months. Now is the time to update your arguments! The need for revision, however, should not stop you from drawing upon these resources, as well as the previous exercises in this handbook, as you work through your introduction's five major functions.

Five Functions of Your Introduction

Engage your reader's attention.

- Grab your reader's interest from the opening lines with a "hook" that makes them want to read more.
- Reread the introduction from your conference presentation and, if it proved successful, let it serve as a foundation for your opening "hook."
- See "Choosing an Opening Gambit," page 45 for inspiration and examples of potential introductory strategies (i.e., the anecdote, the funnel, and the paradox).

Orient your reader to your topic.

- Provide your reader with any necessary background information (e.g., names, dates, places, terms, and issues) so that they can locate your topic within its historical context.
- Situate your argument within its relevant *historiographical* context(s). Think in terms of "clusters" (e.g., schools of thought or bodies of scholarship) to avoid a laundry list of authors and titles, but make sure to address the most important works for your thesis.
- Consult your own annotated bibliography and historiographical essay for provisional assessments of the relevant historiography.
- See "Preparing an Annotated Bibliography," page 61 for a helpful review.

Focus your reader's attention on your argument.

- Describe as clearly as possible the particular *historical* and *historiographical* questions driving your thesis project.
- Introduce the primary sources and unique methodology that will form the basis of your analysis. Explain why these sources and this methodology will allow you to answer (as best you can) your central questions. Consider any potential limitations to your approach.
- See "Situating the Thesis Topic," page 33, for a few tricks of the trade.

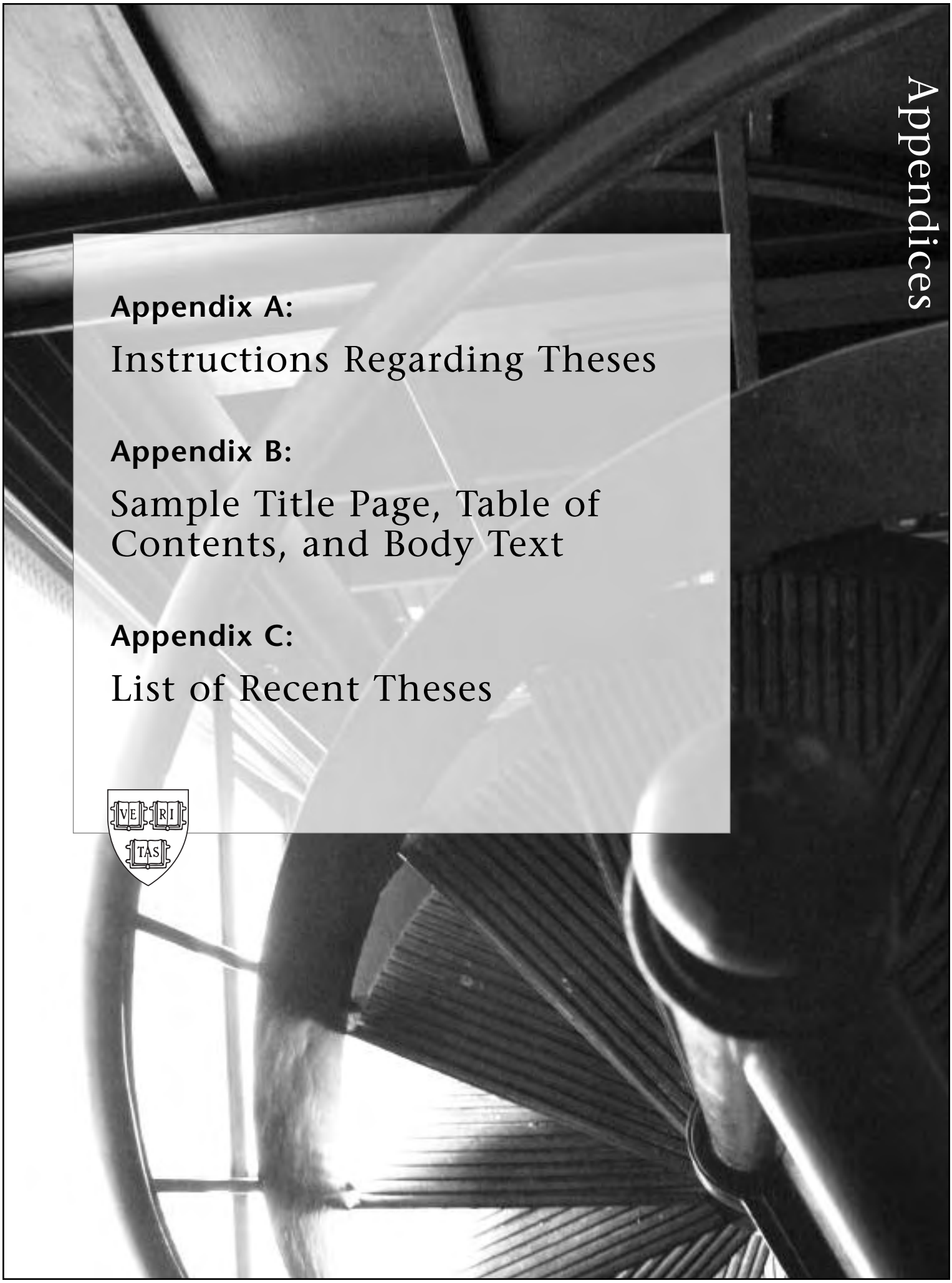
Explain your argument and its significance.

- Spell out your central argument in a thesis statement (whether a single sentence or a concise summary).
- Answer the proverbial "so what?" question! In other words, justify why your prospective reader should devote a day to reading the argument you have constructed.
- Refer to your provisional argument (from your annotated bibliography) for a draft of this section of your introduction.
- Think back to your conversations about your thesis project over the past year. How did you explain your argument and its significance to your adviser, your peers, your friends, or your family members? What strategies worked in these conversations that you might incorporate into your introduction?
- See "Learning from Model Theses: Introductory Materials," page 49, for examples.

Outline the layout of your entire thesis.

- Construct a "road map" of your thesis so that your reader knows what to expect, and in what order, in the subsequent chapters.
- Work backwards. Create a template for your "road map" by cutting and pasting the central argument (i.e., thesis sentence or paragraph) from each of your body chapters and arranging these sentences in the proper order. *Revise* this template to avoid redundancy and ensure readability.
- Refer to an outline or a provisional table of contents for a sense of the "big picture" or entire trajectory of your thesis, as well as the key terms or markers that might differentiate the various sections or chapters.

If you address these five major functions in your introduction, you will go a long way towards establishing your credibility as a historian. With the proper investment in revision at this stage, your introduction will demonstrate to your reader that you are in command of the subject matter and that you have an *engaging, contextualized, specific, significant,* and *well-organized* contribution to make.



Appendices

Appendix A:

Instructions Regarding Theses

Appendix B:

Sample Title Page, Table of Contents, and Body Text

Appendix C:

List of Recent Theses

APPENDIX A:
Instructions Regarding Theses

I. Length

A. The minimum length of the text of the thesis is l5,000 words (about 60 pages). The maximum length of the text is 35,000 words (about 130 pages).

B. The minimum and the maximum are only for the text. They are exclusive of footnotes, bibliographies, glossaries, or appendices. For example, a thesis with 12,500 words of text and 2,500 other words is below the minimum acceptable length.

II. Physical Layout

A. At least one copy of the thesis must be on archive-quality paper (acid-free, alkaline buffered, and of at least 20-lb. weight). This kind of paper (common brands are Xerox and Hammermill) is widely available at Bob Slate and Staples. Other copies may be on plain paper.

B. All copies of the thesis must be bound in springback binders (also available at Bob Slate and Staples). Purchase these in advance because demand can exceed supply in mid-March.

C. Print on only one side of each page.

III. Formatting

A. The title page and the table of contents should conform to the style of the sample in Appendix B.

B. Acknowledgments are not permitted in submitted copies of theses. No reference should be made to the author's thesis adviser or other informal advisers, such as tutorial leaders or House Advisers. The author may add such references *after* the Department votes on honors recommendations in May.

C. The left margin should be l.5 inches (to make room for the binding); the top, bottom, and right margins should be one inch.

D. Text

1. Text must be double-spaced, except for block quotations and footnotes.
2. The same font should be used throughout the text and additional materials.
3. The font for text should be 12 characters per inch. The font for text in footnotes should be no smaller than 10 characters per inch.

Continued overleaf

Continued from page 81

IV. Style and Usage

A. Consult Gordon Harvey, *Writing With Sources: A Guide for Harvard Students* (1995) for use of sources. Students are responsible for understanding proper use of sources and avoiding acts of plagiarism.

   1. Available in print or at *http://www.fas.harvard.edu/~expos/sources.*

B. Select one of the following guides for footnotes and the bibliography and be consistent throughout the thesis.

   1. University of Chicago, *Chicago Manual of Style: The Essential Guide for Writers, Editors, and Publishers,* 15th ed. (2003)

   2. Kate Turabian, *Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses and Dissertations,* 6th ed. (1996)

V. The Deadline

A. Two bound copies of the completed thesis must be submitted to the History Tutorial Office (Robinson Hall 101) by the deadline listed on the Timetable for Thesis Writers. Joint concentrators should consult both programs' tutorial offices regarding submission procedures.

B. Extensions may be granted by the Director of Undergraduate Studies only in cases of dire emergency, such as a disabling illness.

C. All theses or parts of theses (e.g., footnotes, bibliographies, glossaries, appendices) that are late for unacceptable reasons will be penalized. All penalties will be decided by the Board of Examiners.

APPENDIX B:

Sample Title Page, Table of Contents, and Body Text

While you have some latitude in how you format the text within your thesis, it is important that your title page follow the format mandated by the College. It is also important that your Table of Contents fulfill certain basic functions, for the sake of your readers' ability to comprehend your thesis. In this section, we offer you a template for both of these items, which we strongly encourage you to follow.

We have also included two sample pages of body text, which you may use as a tentative guide to formatting your text and footnotes.

Appendix B | **Sample Title Page, Table of Contents, and Body Text**

Place your title in ALL CAPS and your subtitle in lower case.

TILLING THE VIRGIN SOIL

Youth Organized Summer Camping and the Advancement of Progressive Education,

It is always a good idea to include dates or "bookend events" to frame the thesis.

1900-1935

by

Michael Sheldon Press, Jr.

Use your full name (i.e., the one that will appear on your diploma).

A thesis submitted to the
Department of History
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
Degree of Bachelor of Arts
with Honors

This language is standard for senior theses.

Harvard University

Cambridge
Massachusetts

25 March 2004

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Every introduction should contain multiple parts. Here, the author has chosen to label them with subheadings, though this is not required. First he discusses the historiography of Progressivism. Then, he provides a definition of Progressive education and discusses its historiography. Finally, he introduces the topic of the thesis: the intersection of a fledgling summer camp movement and Progressive education.

Notice how catchy titles and subheadings pique reader interest while hinting at the trajectory of the thesis. These subheadings also play with the language of the author's subjects, Progressive educators.

This author has chosen to include subheadings for every chapter. Subheadings are not required (chapter titles are sufficient), but if you use them, you should do so for every chapter.

This chapter title effectively captures the momentum of the thesis. After describing the Progressive educators' attempts to shape summer camps according to their pedagogical theories, this chapter evaluates how the educators' rhetoric (analyzed in previous chapters) translated into actual practice.

A thesis should contain a bibliography, not a list of works cited. It is appropriate to include sources that do not appear in your footnotes, but which shaped your thinking on a topic. Readers of your thesis will likely review this section to assess the depth and breadth of your research. Even as you trim coverage of sources from your text, you can still let your readers know the scope of your efforts by retaining citations in the bibliography.

CHAPTER 1

THE IDEA OF SEPARATE CONFEDERACIES, 1783-1787

I confess I have my fears, that the predictions of our enemies will be found true, that on the removal of common danger our Confederacy & Union will be a rope of sand. There must & will undoubtedly be, for the sake of security, some confederation of states: But how many of the states will be comprehended in a Confederacy or how many confederacys there will be is yet uncertain.

– Charles Thomson, 25 July 1783[1]

When rumors of a preliminary peace settlement between Britain and America reached Philadelphia in February 1783, the Confederation Congress found little cause for celebration. Delegates to Congress, after all, had far more pressing matters at hand. Faced with postwar demobilization and fiscal insolvency, many congressmen were unconvinced that the newly ratified confederation would outlast the arrival of peace. Virginia's James Madison wondered in a confidential dispatch to former delegate Edmund Randolph "whether prosperity & tranquility, *or confusion and disunion* are to be the fruits of the Revolution. The seeds of the latter are so thickly sown that nothing but the most enlightened and liberal policy will be able to stifle them." Around the same

[1] Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, 25 July 1783, in *Congress at Princeton: Being the Letters of Charles Thomson to Hannah Thomson, June-October 1783*, ed. Eugene R. Sheridan and John M. Murrin (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Library, 1985), 28-31 (hereafter cited as *CP*).

Make sure to number your chapters, and to mark the start of each new chapter with its number and full title. These should match the numbers and titles given in the Table of Contents. You may format them however you wish, but it is best to emphasize them (e.g., by centering them or printing them in a slightly larger font) without excessive ornamentation.

If it contributes to your argument, you may wish to include a pithy quotation at the head of your body text. Make sure that such quotations are set off clearly from the body text and properly cited. If you do employ such quotations, it is best to use them consistently throughout the thesis.

The first time you cite a source within a chapter, provide its full citation information. If/when it reappears in subsequent notes within the same chapter, you should employ shortened citations (see the Chicago Manual for a further explanation). If/when the same source reappears in a later chapter, you should again provide a full citation upon first reference, and then revert to shortened citations thereafter. Within each chapter, number your footnotes consecutively; restart at "1" each time you begin a new chapter.

Make sure to number every page of the thesis except for the Title Page and the Table of Contents. Though you may format your page numbers however you wish, employ a consistent style throughout.

sentiment in Congress in early 1787, "that the federal Govt. in its existing shape was inefficient & could not last long."[32]

Nonetheless, the calculating Madison also sensed an opportunity. Confident that eastern citizens were "equally indisposed" to disunion or monarchy, Madison looked to capitalize on a potential groundswell, or backlash, of popular support. "I hope the danger" of partition, Madison wrote Pendleton in February 1787, "will rouse all the real friends to the Revolution to exert themselves in favor of such an organization of the Confederacy, as will perpetuate the Union, and redeem the honor of the Republican name." If nothing else, the circulation of disunionist or "antirepublican innovations" might spread the alarm about the union's frailty, which might, in turn, expedite the movement for constitutional reform. At the very least, Madison hoped that recognition of these hazards might change the mood inside the Philadelphia Convention. "The existing embarrassments and *mortal* diseases of the Confederacy form the only ground of hope," Madison wrote his father in April 1787, "that a Spirit of concession on all sides may be produced by the general chaos or at least partition of the Union which offers itself as the alternative" to reform. In other words, the upcoming convention's "probable diversity of opinions and prejuduces [*sic*], and of supposed or real interests among the States" might only be overcome, Madison speculated, by a general fear of disunion.[33]

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[32] James Madison, Notes on Debates, 21 February 1787, in *PJM*, 9:290-292; Resolution of Congress, 21 February 1787, in *DHRC*, 13:45; and Madison to Edmund Pendleton, 24 February 1787, in *PJM*, 9:294-295. For the Annapolis Convention's call for a general convention, see Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners at Annapolis, Maryland, 11-14 September 1786, in *DHRC*, 1:181-185. For background on the events leading up to the Philadelphia Convention, see Rakove, *Original Meanings*, 23-56.

[33] Madison, Notes on Debates, 21 February 1787, in *PJM*, 9:290-292; Madison to Pendleton, 24 February 1787, in *PJM*, 9:294-295; and Madison to James Madison, Sr., 1 April 1787, in *PJM*, 9:358-359. See also Madison to Edmund Randolph, 25 February 1787, in *PJM*, 9:299. Southerners like Madison considered the "Eastern members" in Congress particularly susceptible to "antirepublican" (or monarchist) sentiments. On the depth of monarchical tendencies in early national America, see *DHRC*, 13:168-172.

This footnote makes reference to several sources from the preceding paragraph. Individual sources have been separated by semicolons. You may employ this style to avoid excessive citation, although you should identify your references in the body of your text to avoid any confusion. In cases where it might be difficult for the reader to tell which quotations or ideas are associated with which source, you may want to cite each source individually, sentence by sentence, as you reference them in the body text.

Use "sic" to denote archaic/incorrect spelling and grammar that the reader might otherwise interpret as your own typographical error. Such devices are best used sparingly; if your sources contain many variant spellings and grammatical curiosities, it is best to address them in a single prefatory note.

Footnote numbers should be placed at the end of the sentence, after the last punctuation mark.

Employ discursive footnotes to clarify points of interpretation or provide supplemental information to your reader.

Again, note the consistent formatting of the page number.

APPENDIX C:

List of Recent Theses

The following lists of recent History Department theses are intended to provide you with a sense of the diversity of topics pursued by past thesis writers. (Theses awarded Hoopes Prizes are in **bold**.) The range of places, eras, themes, and peoples suggests the latitude you have in identifying your own topic. Many of the theses listed below were produced between September and March of the given academic year.

Theses 2003-2004

First Name	Last Name	Thesis Title
Francis	Altiere	Semper, Ubique, AB Omnibus? The Importance of Antiquity in John Henry Newman's Theory of Doctrinal Development
Sara	Barnett	Sports, Gender and the American Ideal: A New Historical Perspective on the Life and Times of Babe Didrikson Zaharias, 1911-1956
Carrie	Bierman	Too Good To Be Popular, Too Popular To Be Good: Rodgers and Hammerstein and the Meaning of Middlebrow Culture
Alex	Binkley	A World Divided: Environment and Development After the Stockholm Conference
Melissa	**Borja**	**To Follow the New Rule or Way: Religious Change among Hmong Refugees in Stockton, California, 1975-1990**
William	Bressman	Walking with Destiny? Winston Churchill's Rise to Political Relevance in the 1930s
Alton	Buland	Newspapers and "Old Diplomacy" Diplomacy, Public Opinion, and the Arbitration Question at the Hague Peace Conference of 1899
Abigail	Burger	American Fears and Longings as Reflected in the Media and Court Treatment of Dennett v. Dennett (1913): A Microhistory
David	Byron	Perfectionism, Ltd.: The Changing Roles of Religion and Economics in the Oneida Community, 1848-1881
Daniel	Chang	Measured Mutuality: United States-Republic of Korea Relations and the May 16 Military Revolution
Sarah	Charlton	Proto-Wilsonians in the Philippines: American Imperialism and the Limits of Wilsonian Self-Determination

First Name	Last Name	Thesis Title
Kurt	Chauviere	Fulbert of Chartres and a New Social Order: Making the King and Enforcing Ties of Dependence in Early Medieval Times
Kate	Chevarley	Progressive Puritans: The New England Watch and Ward Society, 1878-1930
Meredith	Chiampa	Creating a False Perception: The Development of Middle Eastern Studies in the United States
Julia	Ciampa	In It For the Long Run: Women's Distance Running in American Since 1970
Zachary	Corker	El Boxeo and the Making of the Hero-Athlete in Revolutionary Cuba
Thomas	Crahan	Fighting for an Image: Black Boxers Responses to Conventional White Views of Black Masculinity
Duncan	Currie	The Last Cold Warrior: Henry M. Jackson and Soviet-American Detente, 1972-1981
Lisa	DeBenedictis	Contractual Relations: How Cooperation Impacted the Efficiency and Success of Harvard's World War II Radio Research Laboratory
Michael	Donovan	The Aleutian Islands Campaign, 1942-1943: A Case Study in the Intersection of Cultural and Military History
Lauren	Dorgan	Progress in Pink: Barbie, Ruth Handler and Protofeminism
Anna	Evans	James the Conqueror, Crusader-King: Thirteenth-Century Perceptions of Royal Piety and James I of the Crown of Aragon, 1213-1276
Joshua	Evans	Il Fallait Prouver... Que Nous Etions La: Music, Modernism and the Search for a Past in France, 1902-1945
Gero	Feaman	Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty as Icon, 1945-1949
Suzanne	Gershowitz	Midge Decter and the Committee for the Free World: A Chapter in the Story of Neoconservatism
Joseph	Goldstein	Walter Benjamin and the Revolutionary Image of the Evacuated Landscape
James	Gray	Web of Contention in the Hejaz: Hashemite Ambitions vis a vis Arab Nationalists, Abdul Aziz and Great Britain: 1914-1921
Jennifer	Jude	A Peculiar Kind of Education: The Debate over Achimota College in the Interwar Gold Coast
Jakub	**Kabala**	**The Ambitions of Guibert of Nogent (1054-1125): Nobility, Learning, Spirituality and a Medieval Career Path**

First Name	Last Name	Thesis Title
Jessica	Kinloch	The Golden Venture Saga of 1993: Complex Dialogues, Continuing Reverberations
William	Levine	A Militant Crusade: The Story of How Partisan New England Federalists Threatened to Sever the Union in the War of 1812
Bram	**Levy**	**More Than Meets the Eye: Playboy's Advancement of Racial Equality in the 1960s**
Theresa	Lind	The Second Belt of Silence: Manipulation of Western Perceptions of the Soviet Famine, 1932-1933
Christopher	**Loomis**	**Box Five: Competition, Community, and Junior Drum & Bugle Corps in America, 1921-2004**
Alexandra	MacRae	Finding France in History: Ideas of the Nation in Robert Gaguin's French Vernacular Croniques, 1514-1530
Lukas	Martin	To Subdue Their Stubborn Spirits: The Auburn System of Discipline at Charlestown State Prison, 1829-1835
Jose	Masini-Torres	Borinquen the Red: Communism and Puerto Rico during the Governorship of Luis Munoz Marin, 1948-1964
Noah	**McCormack**	**A Party to Remember: The Earl of Shaftesbury and the Origin of Party Politics in England, 1667-1677**
Camilo	Mejia	Domestic Turmoil, Inter-American Leadership: Colombia and the Organization of American States, 1945-1962
Riley	Mendoza	Suffragists After Suffrage: The National Women's Party and the Failure of United Feminism During the 1920s
Zachary	Norman	Founding Leadership: The Federal Convention of 1787
Andrew	Pacelli	Wealth and Virtue in Fourth-Century Athenian Public Oratory
Gladden	**Pappin**	**Subject to Higher Powers: Rights, Polity and the Common Good in the Conciliar Thought of Jean Gerson and Nicholas of Cusa**
Nathan	**Perl-Rosenthal**	**The Tide of Freedom: American Seamen as the Vectors of Revolution, 1763-1789**
Antonio	Pozos	Francisco Franco: More Than Just "Our Son of a Bitch": Understanding Post-World War II Spanish-American Relations Within the Context of Anti-Communist Foreign Policy
Michael	Press	Tilling the Virgin Soil: Youth Organized Summer Camping and the Advancement of Progressive Education
Clare	Putnam	A Matter of Definition: The Willie Horton Ad and the 1988 Presidential Campaign

First Name	Last Name	Thesis Title
William	Rasmussen	Reinterpreting Richard Knolles' *Generall Historie of the Turkes* as a Political Treatise
Winthrop	Ruml	Rebuffing British Oil Imperialism: The 1932 Anglo-Persian Oil Crisis
Eugenia	Schraa	Good Intentions, Political Intentions: Arab Culture in the Shadow of Notre Dame
Todd	Schulte	The Emergence and Evolution of Suicide Bombing in Lebanon and Sri Lanka
Bonnie	Scott	The Emergence of a Partisan Press: American Newspapers in the 1790s
Eliah	Seton	Clashing Titans: Reform and Machine Politics in the Consolidation of New York City, 1890-1901
Christopher	Shutzer	"I don't Like Mondays": A Reflection on School Homicides in America and Their Portrayal in the Media
Daniel	Springer	A Virtuous Exchange: Similar Conceptions of Civic Virtue and Different Approaches to Government in the Pennsylvania Ratification Debate, 1787
David	Stein	Most Bitter is the Cup: The Alienation and Empowerment of African-Americans in the North during the Civil War
Joel	**Steinhaus**	**No Second Chances: The United States, the United Nations, and the Partition of Palestine**
Edward	Stone	Concrete Ambition: Edward J. Logue and the North Harvard Urban Renewal Project, 1960-1967
Margaret	Strickler	In Whose Interest? John McDonogh and His Plan to Colonize His Slaves
Nicole	Usher	Rediscovering the State of Texas v. Jack Ruby: The Struggle for Due Process in History's First Televised Murder

Theses 2004-2005

First Name	Last Name	Thesis Title
Jonathan	**Abel**	**Taking Stock of Empire: Rethinking the Reform of the British East India Company in the Late 18th Century**
Andrew	Baldwin	The Temples of Asclepius and Public Medicine in the Greek World
Victor	**Ban**	**Plato in China: Translation and Interpretation in the Early Twentieth Century**
Audrey	Boguchwal	Redefining Progress: The Portrayal of British India Through its Displays at the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the South Kensington Museum, 1851-1870
Edith	Burbank-Schmitt	"Not Just Another Cause but the Problem of Our Time": Population Control and the Global Expansion of the Birth Control Movement, 1952-1965
John	**Chaffetz**	**Nathan Matthews Jr. and the "Conservative Experiment": Liberal Reform and the Democratic Party in Boston, 1888-1893.**
Dahm	Choi	The Moral Defense of Democracy: Progressive Educators' Plans for American Society during World War II
Jonathan	Cooper	As Sacred As Whiskey: The Expansion and Monopolization of Copyright, 1905-1909
Maria	Domanskis	Misperceptions and Missed Opportunities: Nicaragua, the United States, and the United Nations, 1983-1984
John	Durant	On the Psychology of Trade: How the Perception of Groups Influences Historical Debates Over Free Trade and Protectionism
Bronwen	Everill	"Irrepressible Conflict": The Press Reaction to Harper's Ferry and the Growing Sectional Crisis
Alexander	Finerman	Capital and Control: Financier Impetus for Managerial Change in the U.S. Electrical Industry, 1889-1907
Daniel	Freeman	A "Conjunction of Civilizations": Arab Military and Security Organizations and the British Construction of a Nation-State in Trans-Jordan
Zachary	Goldman	Ties That Bind: John F. Kennedy and the Genesis of the American-Israeli Alliance
Sophie	Gonick	From Pueblo to Capital: Franco's Vision for the "Gran Madrid"
Alexandra	Grogan	Émigrés de Luxe: The French Flight to New York during World War II

First Name	Last Name	Thesis Title
Catherine	Gyllerstrom	Mining for Morality: Progressivism in the Alabama Convict Lease System, 1883-1895
Liora	**Halperin**	**In Search of Semitic Roots: The Ideological Foundations of Arabic Language Instruction among European Zionists in Palestine, 1918-1948**
Arie	Hasit	"Everybody Talks About Peace": The Political Expression of Israeli Hip Hop
Christine	Jung	Enduring Beacons for Social Justice: Three Minority Track-and-Field Athletes' Experiences at the 1936 Berlin Olympics (and Beyond)
Shoshana	Lew	"Necessary Articles": Advertising and Political Discourse in the Boston Gazette on the Eve of Revolution
Flora	**Lindsay-Herrera**	**Noncommittal Subversion: Rock Music and Politics in Argentina, 1976-1983**
Laura	Manion	The Federal Music Project: Conflicting Claims Concerning American Identity, 1935-43
Whitney	Martinko	From the "Road to Watertown" to "Tory Row": The Cultural Memory of a Nineteenth-Century Street
Caroline	McKay	Law, Lugard, and Indirect Rule: The Amalgamation of Nigeria in 1914
Bradford	Meacham	Black Power before "Black Power": Muriel Snowden and Boston's Freedom House, 1949-1966
David	Mericle	The Effect of the Taiping Revolution on China's Long-Term Economic Growth
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