

I. INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW

HISTORY IN NEW MEDIA

"In ten years or so," D. H. Jonassen predicted more than ten years ago in *The Technology of Text*, "the book as we know it will be as obsolete as is movable type today." Jonassen is hardly the only techno-enthusiast to get carried away by the potential of electronic media to reshape the way we consume and read information. More than thirty years ago, Ted Nelson, who coined the term "hypertext," was already arguing that print books would be obsolete in just five years.

But the failure of such hyper-predictions should not lead to a reverse cynicism. New digital media like CD-ROMs and World Wide Web offer some genuinely exciting possibilities to historians--the ability to condense vast archives in a small space, to link disparate materials quickly, and to incorporate not just text but also pictures, sounds, and moving images. Still, while CD-ROMs and other digital media offer exciting possibilities, the experience of past technological enthusiasts should make us a bit cautious in our claims. Minimally, they should force us continually to ask the question of whether new technology is, in fact, better than old. We are told that at the multimedia division of Microsoft, they used to start morning meetings by holding up a paperback book and asking: "Can you top this?"

This proposal takes up that straightforward, but profoundly difficult, challenge. It is an effort to experiment with new electronic media--particularly, but not exclusively CD-ROM--to see whether they can provide new and more effective ways to present the past to both in-school and out-of-school audiences. The Center for History and New Media (CHNM) at George Mason University and the American Social History Project (ASHP) at the City University of New York have joined to launch a national demonstration project aimed at exploring the best ways that the humanities can make use of and be enhanced by new electronic media. The project will involve a number of different funders and a number of different components, including a conference of humanities professionals to consider the current "state of the art" in electronic media; the production of several new CD-ROMs that explore and demonstrate the possibilities of the new media; national field testing and evaluation of history CD-ROMs in high school and college classrooms and public libraries; professional development workshops for teachers and museum educators interested in using new media; and on-line

history discussion groups that bring together history scholars and members of the general public. In the next several months, we expect to submit funding proposals for the non-production components of this demonstration project.

This specific proposal, however, seeks funds for the central feature of this larger project--the production of two new CD-ROMs that will explore the possibilities of new electronic media for presenting the past to diverse audiences. These two disks--one a continuation of our initial collaborative effort and the other the launching of a new series--will be prototypes for presenting history through electronic media. As such, they will be experiments in form that we hope will have an immediate practical use in public and educational settings and serve to move forward the ongoing discussion of the best ways to use the new media. Because we want to explore new media more generally, we want to consider ways to distribute our work in forms other than CD-ROM, although, at the present, that is the cheapest and most efficient medium to distribute digital information. As a result, we will also experiment with placing sections of the proposed disks on-line on the Internet through World Wide Web, a global network of computers that can quickly link together different documents and make sound and video as well as text available to people at remote locations.

These efforts to make innovative use of new media grow directly out of our successful work in developing one of the first scholarly-based CD-ROMs in American history--*Who Built America? From the Centennial Celebration of 1876 to the Great War of 1914*, published by Voyager in 1993 (hereafter *WBA I*). The first of the new disks we are proposing in this request, in fact, emerges most directly from that project in that it will carry this electronic history of the U.S. forward from 1914 to 1946. (*A detailed description of the first CD-ROM, WBA I, is in Section II of this proposal; a complete list of the resources on WBA I is included in Appendix 6.*)

The new *WBA* disk will, however, incorporate the latest computer capabilities and software refinements as well as take into account critical responses we have received from teachers, students, museum professionals, and members of the public to refine and improve what we did initially. *Who Built America? War, Depression, and Industrial Conflict, 1914-1946* (hereafter *WBA II*) uses hypertext and multimedia to survey a vast panorama of key historical events. Unlike a conventional textbook, however, *WBA II* allows the "reader" to explore this history first hand, investigating primary documents, including films, oral histories, songs, original sound recordings, statistics, photographs, paintings, letters, memoirs, poetry, novels, speeches, court decisions, and newspaper

accounts. In August 1994 the Rockefeller Foundation awarded a \$75,000 grant to the American Social History Project to begin development work on *WBA II*; the funds requested from NEH will allow us to complete what we have just begun under that Rockefeller grant. (*WBA II is discussed in detail in Section III of the proposal.*)

The second proposed disk is the pilot for a new multi-part series--we are also requesting development funds in this proposal for three of the additional programs in that series--called *Landscapes in Time*. The two disks proposed here are interlinked in content, but they take fundamentally different approaches. Whereas *WBA II* uses multimedia and hypertext to create a new kind of broad history survey, *Landscapes in Time* provides a dense portrait of a single time and a single place. Placing readers within this thick historical environment, it engages them in the process of historical reconstruction and interpretation that is the essence of historical research and writing. The inquiry-based format of the *Landscapes* series encourages users to become historians and confront the difficulties and ambiguities of historical work. Equally important, the CD-ROM allows users (in a way that books can not easily duplicate) to explore a geographical space, to become familiar with a historical place as well as a historical time. We believe that the intrinsic fascinations of such a spatial exploration will be appealing to both students and members of the general public. Indeed, it is precisely this ability to "uncover" and "discover" hidden places and landscapes that has made Broderbund's *Myst* one of the most successful and best selling CD-ROMs yet produced.

The pilot disk for the *Landscapes* series--*The Molly Maguires: Schuylkill County, 1875*--will explore the complex and fascinating story of the Irish-American coal miners who allegedly terrorized the Pennsylvania coal fields in the 1860s and 1870s. All the disks in this series will focus on dramatic moments in American history because we believe that this is the best way to engage people in the process of understanding history and to illuminate broader themes in our the nation's past. As part of this grant, we will also develop treatments for three other *Landscapes* disks: *The Witch Trials: Salem, 1692*; *Unsettling the West: Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1889*; *City of Hope and Violence: Chicago, 1919*.

Although each disk takes a particular time, place, and dramatic event as its starting point, those starting points ultimately connect us to much larger issues in American history. Thus, *Unsettling the West* explores such themes and topics as Populism, the Knights of Labor, women's suffrage, secret societies, Henry George

and the anti-monopoly critique of the late nineteenth century, and the relationships among Anglo, Hispanic, and Indian cultures in the settlement of the West. Similarly, *The Molly Maguires* involves users in examining not just the specific issues surrounding the trial and execution of the Mollies, but more broadly considers issues of industrialization, depression, immigration, religion, law, work safety, and press coverage. (See Section IV for a fuller discussion of the Landscapes series; see Section V for a detailed treatment of The Molly Maguires disk.)

The team that will conceive, produce, and evaluate this multimedia project possesses a unique mix of scholarly, educational, artistic, and multimedia production talent and expertise. Working in collaboration, we have been engaged for more than a dozen years in rethinking the ways historical ideas and information can be conceived and presented most effectively to both students and the general public. The ASHP's award winning "Who Built America?" multimedia curriculum--including the two-volume book on which the CD-ROMs are based and a ten-part video series--has been widely used in high school and college classrooms across the country to enliven the presentation of history and enhance students' understanding and appreciation of the past. The development of this curriculum was funded by grants from NEH, the Ford Foundation, four state humanities foundations (New York, Massachusetts, California, and D.C.), and a number of smaller private foundations. ASHP's ongoing work in New York City public high schools, now numbering more than 40 and reaching more than 2,000 students, has been funded by major grants from the Aaron Diamond Foundation. Recent major grants from the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund and the Pew Charitable Trusts have allowed us to expand our work in high schools to twelve urban school systems across the country.

This particular proposal brings together two different universities with complementary constituencies. The American Social History Project is based at the Center for Media and Learning, Hunter College of the City University of New York, a nineteen-campus system that serves more than 210,000 students from all over the world in the nation's largest city. The newly formed Center for History and New Media is at George Mason University, the Northern Virginia campus of the state university system in Virginia. GMU serves a heterogeneous student body (diverse in ages and ethnic and racial composition) of about 21,000 students. GMU also has made a major commitment to using new technology in teaching; a New Media Institute, which will foster research about and teaching with new media, is in formation, and the Center for History and New Media will be affiliated with

that Institute, which will help to provide technical and infrastructure support for the project. In 1990 GMU and American Social History Project signed a collaborative agreement under which the first WBA CD-ROM was developed, and the partnership between the Center for Media and Learning and the Center for History and New Media is a further step in that collaboration.

The *Who Built America?* book (Pantheon, 1990 and 1992) and our recently released CD-ROM have also reached a broad *public* audience interested in grappling with questions of historical interpretation and meaning. And we have a long record of working with other public humanities organizations, including a number of state humanities councils and such museums as the Chicago Historical Society, the National Museum of American History, the Valentine Museum, the New-York Historical Society, the Jewish Museum, and the Brooklyn Museum. For the past six years ASHP has also produced a monthly cable TV show, "Labor at the Crossroads," which in 1991 received the National Association of College Broadcasters programming award for best documentary. Both our "Who Built America?" and "Labor at the Crossroads" video documentaries have also been screened in a variety of public settings, including film festivals, conferences, humanities forums, union meetings, and cable television.

Our group also has substantial credentials as scholars and educators; we are, ourselves, the authors of numerous scholarly books and articles and have been the recipients of a number of scholarly awards (e.g., Rosenzweig's co-authored book on Central Park won five scholarly awards; ASHP's *Heaven Will Protect the Working Girl* won the John E. O'Connor Prize for the Best Historical Film from the American Historical Association, and members of our group have won fellowships from the ACLS, the Guggenheim Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, NEH, and the Smithsonian Institution.) ASHP education programs have drawn awards and support from a wide range of educational organizations and public and private funders. We have also consistently worked with leading academic consultants on all our projects. (*Section VII provides a full listing of the personnel involved in the project; CVs are in Appendix 2.*)

Thus, we bring together a solid grounding in both traditional humanities scholarship and substantial experience in producing and using the latest technology for the teaching and public presentation of history. We think that this combination is particularly important because almost all of the historical works that are currently being developed in new media are being produced by people with technical or media backgrounds; a smaller number of projects have been

undertaken by people with scholarly backgrounds but little, if any, media or technical expertise. Few, if any, multimedia producers can match ASHP's extensive experience systematically testing materials and methods in a wide range of settings. We are one of the few groups working in the field that brings together what we see as the necessary combination of skills in all the relevant areas for presenting history in these new forms. Although we will do all the development work on these disks, the actual distribution will be done by Voyager, which published the first *WBA* disk. It is committed to publishing the second disk in the *WBA* series, and has expressed strong interest in the *Landscapes* series as well. (We are also, however, talking to other multimedia publishers about publishing the *Landscapes* series.) (See Appendix 4 for letter from Voyager.)

This is a particularly appropriate and compelling moment to explore the uses of new media--especially CD-ROM, which stands for "compact disk, read only memory"--for the presentation of the past. Only a decade ago, Grolier issued its twenty-one-volume *Academic American Encyclopedia* on a single CD-ROM, the first consumer product in that medium. Development proceeded slowly in the late 1980s and early 1990s, but in 1993 and 1994 the silvery five-inch plastic disk suddenly jumped from the obscure back pages of computer magazines to the front pages of the *Wall Street Journal*. Initial acceptance was slow because few people owned CD-ROM drives; but in 1993 alone 4 million drives were sold (and by the end of 1994 it was estimated that 15 million were in use), and the number of CD-ROM titles began to explode--8,000 of them by fall 1994, according to one estimate. It is also now estimated that half of all new computers sold include CD-ROM drives. Thus, by the time our project is completed, CD-ROM drives are likely to have become a standard piece of computer equipment. (We discuss the educational and public audiences for CD-ROMs and how we will reach those audiences in Section VI.)

Despite this burgeoning interest in CD-ROM, most titles have been games or works of popular reference like encyclopedias. To be sure, dozens of history titles have very recently begun to appear, but the history is often marked by inaccuracies and an unfamiliarity with current scholarship. For example, a widely advertised and sold CD-ROM on the life and times of Franklin D. Roosevelt praises FDR for introducing an anti-lynching bill that he never supported and provides almost no mention of the experience of women, industrial workers, or Japanese-American internees during the 1930s and 1940s. A disk on the Korean War includes the startling admission from the author/publisher that until "a few months ago," he

was only dimly aware that the U.S. had fought a war in Korea in the 1950s. One expensive CD-ROM on African-American history misrepresents the significance of the 1957 and 1964 Civil Rights Acts; another ignores the racial views of prominent Progressives. Moreover, all these CD-ROMs are poorly designed and hard to use--less "user friendly," as the computer folks put it, than an ordinary book. Yet, even an easy-to-use and widely praised CD-ROM on the Berlin Wall, which cost more than \$1 million dollars to produce, seems to have made little or no use of professional historians in its development and offers a bland, and sometimes muddled, interpretation of why the Wall was built and how the international events of the period connect to America's domestic history. Even the rare CD-ROMs that offer accompanying educational materials are usually based on out-of-date scholarship.

As these examples suggest, relatively little attention has been paid to this burgeoning medium as a vehicle for presenting serious scholarship to students or the general public. Even less attention has been paid to considering the specific ways that multimedia might enliven or enhance the presentation of the past. What forms of historical information and understanding are best conveyed through electronic media? What can digital media do that print books cannot? What is the cognitive impact of a new kind of learning that integrates viewing and listening, reading and questioning? What are the limitations of the new media? Surprisingly, such questions are just beginning to be raised by educators. And among those concerned with public humanities programming, the discussion has not yet even been launched.

Our contention is that electronic media will emerge as one of the most powerful and effective ways that students and the general public can learn about the past. But if these media are going to live up to this potential in the schools and in public humanities programming, then we need to get to work considering how this can best be done and how we can assure that the history is of the highest scholarly standards. Just as NEH funding has made a crucial difference in the humanities programming presented on public television, so too we think that the Endowment can provide critical leadership in shaping how history and other humanities disciplines are presented in new media like CD-ROM. The goal of this proposal, therefore, is to foster increased dialogue about the use of new media for the presentation of the humanities by producing two CD-ROMs that will serve as prototypes for scholars, educators, and public humanities programmers to consider and debate.

II. OUR INITIAL CD-ROM

WHO BUILT AMERICA ? From the Centennial Celebration of 1876 to the Great War of 1914

In 1990 Roy Rosenzweig, Steve Brier, and Joshua Brown began working with the Voyager Company, one of the pioneering companies in the production of CD-ROMs with serious intellectual content, to take the ASHP's print book, *Who Built America?*--a two-volume survey of U.S. history developed, in part, with funds from NEH--and translate it into an electronic history book. Because the *WBA II* disk, for which we are seeking funding, will build on the format of the first disk, we are providing a detailed description of *WBA I* here. (*The videotape accompanying the proposal also includes a brief filmic "tour" of the CD-ROM.*)

The first *WBA* CD-ROM has as its spine the first four chapters of the second volume of the print version. The 453 book-"pages" that appear on the computer screen contain an overview of the history of the United States from 1876 to 1914 with a particular emphasis on the nation's social history, on the "ordinary people" who "built" America. But while retaining that basic narrative and structure, the CD-ROM offers three major advantages over the print version. First, there is the enormous capacity of a CD-ROM disk. Whereas the limits of binding and paper weight compelled us to put out the print version of *Who Built America?* in two 600-page volumes, a single CD-ROM disk (weighing just a few ounces) can hold about 650 megabytes, about 300,000 typed pages or 500 book volumes. Of course, non-textual data takes considerably more space than words to store. Even so, our disk includes about: 5,000 pages of text (both primary and secondary sources); 700 pictures; 60 graphs and charts; 4 1/2 hours of audio; and 45 minutes of film.

The vast capacity of the CD-ROM disk brings with it a second advantage: it can (when connected to a computer) also store and read visual images and sound. This means that whereas a print book can only present history in two media (text and pictures), the CD-ROM gives us four (text, pictures, sound, and moving images) and allows us to present the past in the multiple dimensions in which it actually occurred. Someone interested in immigration can listen to Mary Miroka Laver compare her life in Homestead, Pennsylvania, with the old world she left behind as a child in a small Slovak town in the Austro-Hungarian empire; read the poem that

a Chinese immigrant carved in on the wooden wall of the immigration facility at San Francisco's Angel Island; see film footage of European immigrants arriving at New York's Ellis Island in 1903; read nine letters that Ernest Lister, a twenty-three year-old English sign painter, wrote home to his sister and brother in 1883 and 1884; hear the "Pastorale," an Italian immigrant song; study graphs and tables on overall immigration patterns; and compare pictures of immigrant life by two pioneering documentary photographers, Jacob Riis and Lewis Hine. Although photographs, paintings, and other graphics can obviously be presented in print books, the CD-ROM allows us to present a much larger number at a more modest price. Hence, a print book that included the 700 images that we have on this CD-ROM would be very expensive to produce. Moreover, the clarity of the images presented on the computer screen is excellent--close to that of a high-quality book of photographs. And, we have developed a "magnifying glass" tool that allows users to closely examine graphics that are too detailed for viewing on a standard computer monitor.

There are other ways of presenting these disparate sources of immigration, but the third and final advantage of a CD-ROM disk is that it can--particularly when used in conjunction with software programs like HyperCard and Toolbook--quickly and easily link together different sources and pieces of information. Readers who get interested in the experience of nineteenth-century women workers can almost instantly locate a wealth of different print, visual, audio, and film sources and references, allowing them to make their own connections and interpretations. They can quickly link Leonora Barry's report to the Knights of Labor on her difficulties organizing women workers in the 1880s with novelist Mary Robert Rinehart's description of her training to become a nurse in the 1890s and Pauline Newman's oral account of her success in mobilizing women in the Garment strike of 1909. Equally important, they can move rapidly between all 167 references to the subject of women and work in the basic narrative of the text.

Despite the unconventional nature of this electronic book, we have kept some of the traditional elements of a printed book. The book opens on the screen and looks very much like a printed page with two columns of type and a layout that often includes at least one picture on a page. (See Figure 1.) The reader can page through the book quite briskly. In order to make possible quick paging, the pictures are not automatically presented in full photographic quality, which takes a few seconds to load into the computer's memory. Instead, the reader has the option of clicking on a sketchier, one-bit, version of the picture and then getting the full picture, including a detailed caption and source information. (See Figure 2.)

different years between 1905 and 1914. The mushrooming of immigration and the rise of various ethnic groups gave America a new look, particularly in the manufacturing cities of the East and Midwest.

As in the past, European immigrants left lands that were in economic and political turmoil. Rapid population growth in Europe put tremendous pressure on peasant economies. As peasant families passed land on to their sons in ever smaller plots, it grew harder to survive. Improved overseas transportation meant that European agriculture now faced competition from Canada, the United States, and Argentina. European farmers needed to adopt new production techniques, but this entailed money that most peasants did not have. As a result, in large areas of Hungary and



-- Figure 1 --

-- Figure 2 --



Steelworkers at a Russian boardinghouse. Lewis Hine photographed immigrant steelworkers in Homestead, Pennsylvania, during 1907 and 1908 for the Pittsburgh Survey, the first extensive study of a major industrial city. Hine's photographs represented a new form of documentary evidence for social scientists as they attempted to understand the impact of industrial capitalism on turn-of-the-century America. In addition, Hine's photos conveyed a new reform message about the immigrant to the American public; in contrast to the detachment and distaste of Jacob Riis's pictures, Hine constructed a view of worthy newcomers deserving a role in and the benefits of American society.

Other traditional book features are also retained. You can, for example, take notes in the margin. But in this electronic book, the computer will instantly locate any notes that you have made. (There is also a separate notebook in which you can keep notes.) If you prefer to do the electronic version of "highlighting," you can boldface or underline any text you select. Here the advantage over the printed book is that you can erase any markings you have made with no trouble. And you can electronically fold-over ("dog-ear") the corner of a page and, again, the computer will locate that page for you.

But the basic narrative that appears on these "pages" is really only a small part of what we present in this electronic book. We also offer readers more than 200 "excursions" that veer off from the main path of the text. These excursions are signaled by a railroad track icon on the bottom of the page and a tag line that introduces the "excursion." (See Figure 3.)

The excursions allow us to build out from the text without losing sight of its unifying themes and conceptualizations. The excursions are literally side trips from the text that develop in much greater detail some fact or idea that was mentioned in the text, offer contrasting viewpoints on a topic discussed in the text, provide primary documents from which the text was written, or incorporate topics and ideas that did not easily fit into the original linear conceptualization of the book. The excursions present a range of different sorts of materials that history teachers would want to present to their students and historians would want to present to their readers: pictures, sound, maps, graphs, timelines, and primary text documents about American history. They give non-historians easy access to the materials that historians use to craft historical interpretations.

Thus, someone reading on page 292 about Ida Wells-Barnett's organization of the Antilynching Bureau to combat racial violence against African Americans at the turn of the century would see a railroad track icon and the tag line, "The Blood Red Record." Clicking the icon brings the reader to an excursion on "Lynch Law in the South." The excursion has a 1,100 word essay briefly describing the history of lynching in the U.S. and introducing eight primary source documents on that grim subject: a graph of the number of annual lynchings between 1882 and 1964 (the date of the last recorded lynchings in the U.S.); a list of lynch victims in 1900; newspaper accounts from black and white newspapers describing lynchings in Arkansas, Texas, and South Carolina; a speech by South Carolina Senator Benjamin R. ("Pitchfork Ben," as he was known) Tillman defending some of his white constituents who had participated in a lynching; Ida Wells-Barnett's petition to President William

175 African-Americans were lynched every year in the South for violating the "rules" of the new order. African-Americans fought courageously against this wave of violence, organizing a national antilynching movement through letters, petitions, and the creation of the Antilynching Bureau under the leadership of Ida B. Wells-Barnett. But these valiant efforts were to no avail. A decade of racist violence was capped by a brutal riot in 1898 in Wilmington, North Carolina, where rampaging whites killed eleven blacks and injured many others.

By the end of the decade northern political and business leaders were more prepared than ever to acquiesce in these developments. As late as 1889, Republican leaders such as Henry Cabot Lodge had still sought to use federal power to guarantee African-American voting



"The Blood Red Record" . . .

McKinley urging punishment for those responsible for shooting a newly appointed black postmaster in South Carolina; and William Brown's recollections of witnessing a lynching in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1902 as a five-year-old boy. The final document is perhaps the most dramatic since "readers" can actually listen to his words as they were recorded by a historian in 1985. (See Figures 4, 5, and 6.)

The 200 excursions cover a huge range of subjects, including the coming of modern art to America in the form of the 1913 New York Armory show (which combines positive and negative critical reviews as well as full-color samples of the paintings displayed) to the debate over women's suffrage (which presents speeches and statements from opposing viewpoints as well as the pro-suffrage song "Going to the Polls") to the historiographic debate over the meaning of the Populist revolt. Some excursions are deliberately meant as light or humorous sidelights on American history. Thus, you can learn about the origins of the practice of "pledging allegiance to the flag," or the custom of saying "hello" when you answer the phone (as well as listen to a vaudeville sketch about "Cohen on the Telephone"), and you can see the first advertising campaigns that used celebrities as pitchmen, and you can read some of the jokes that late nineteenth-century bartenders told their customers. In the section of the book on the rise of urban culture, we provide a sidelight that talks about the emergence of the feature-filled Sunday newspaper with its comics and magazines and we allow readers to try their hand at completing the world's first crossword puzzle, which appeared in the *New York World* on December 14, 1913.

Although the excursions are the primary way that we have expanded a print book into an electronic book, the CD-ROM also offers many other features not available in the print version. The electronic book includes extensive search features that allow readers to quickly locate any word or group of words in the text. A "resource index" (organized by types and topics of documents) offers another fast entry into the excursions and associated documents. A "resource collector" allows you to assemble lists of different documents (text, sound, film, pictures) and then play them back in an order you have selected. An interactive map makes it possible for the reader to hold down the name of any place mentioned in the text and be taken automatically to the correct location on a map. If you are lost temporally rather than geographically, an extensive time line is always just a click of the mouse away.

The above provides only a brief overview of the resources included on the disk. For a complete list of the excursions and resources in *WBA I*, see Appendix 6.

3 THE RISE OF NATIVISM AND RACISM

LYNCH LAW IN THE SOUTH

LYNCH LAW IN THE SOUTH

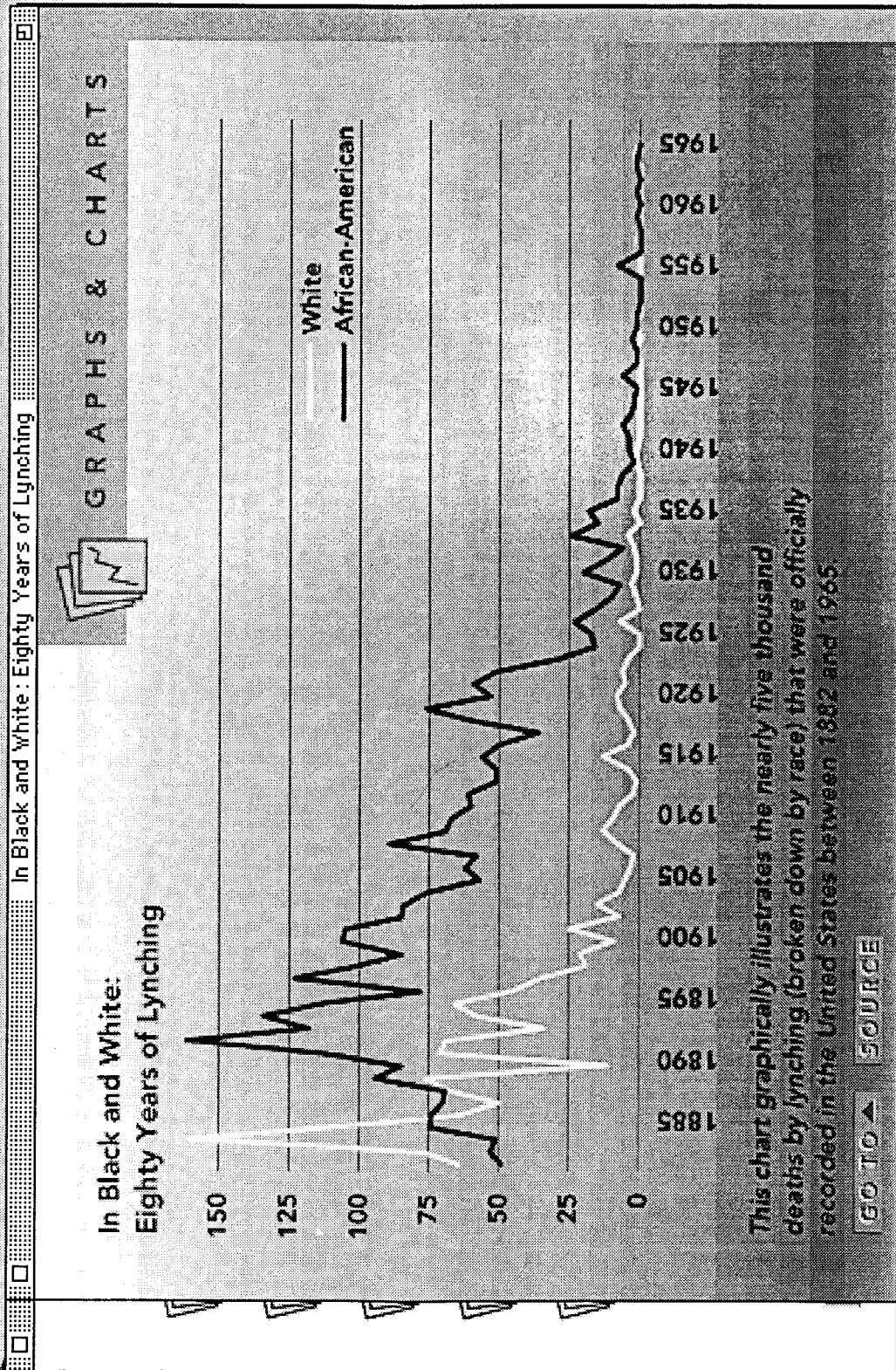
 **Burned into Memory: An African-American Recalls Mob Violence**

 **"Their Own Hotheadedness": A Southern Senator Justifies Black Disenfranchisement**

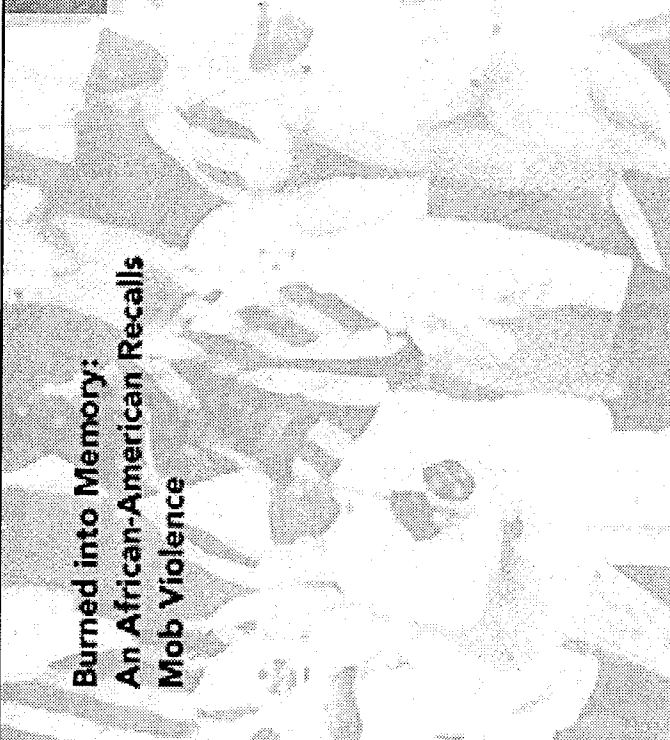
 **Killing the Messenger: Ida Wells Barnett Protests Against a Postmaster's Murder**

Originally the term "lynching" did not have any racial implications; it derived from the activities of Colonel William Lynch of Virginia, who put aside the conventional rules of law in meting out punishment to Tories and alleged criminals in the midst of the American Revolution. In the early nineteenth century, "lynching" was employed against a wide range of targets: horse thieves, cattle rustlers, gamblers, and abolitionists. But starting in the 1880s, as historian Robert Zangrando points out, "mob violence increasingly reflected white America's contempt for various racial, ethnic, and cultural groups."

-- Figure 5 --



Burned into Memory:
An African-American Recalls
Mob Violence



ARCHIVAL AUDIO

William Brown: Two of 'em would always be together. "Say look, don't he look like the guy that raped that white woman the other day?" The guy looks. "Yeah, he does look like him. Say, did you rape?" "No, I didn't do anything like . . ." "Well come on, let's go on down there. Let's go on down to the station. Let's see what we can find out about you." Take you right on away. If you got a ticket goin' somewhere by the time they let you go, that ticket wouldn't be any good.

But did you know, I was glad when there was an opportunity, when I had the opportunity to get away from there,

In this 1985 interview with historian Charles Hardy, an anonymous black man (using the pseudonym William Brown) recounts the horror of witnessing a lynching as a five-year old child in Jacksonville, Florida, in 1902.

GO TO

41

GO TO

Page 1 of 13

III. PROPOSED WBA II DISK

WHO BUILT AMERICA ? Depression, War, and Industrial Conflict, 1914-1946

The proposed *WBA II* disk will follow the fundamental format of our published disk, but will incorporate technical and conceptual advances possible since 1993. For example, we will be able to more easily use color than in the previous version, and we will produce the disk simultaneously for both Windows and Macintosh platforms. We will make additional use in this version of the magnifying glass tool that allows users to more closely scrutinize detailed graphics. We will use that same tool to present more historical documents in facsimile form to give users a sense of what original primary sources look like. We also plan to include interactive tables and charts, making it easier for readers to engage in their own analysis of historical statistics. And we plan to include more maps, particularly maps that present historical information through animated time sequences. In addition, we will draw on critical responses to our existing disk to reconsider some design and interface issues.

The "spine" of the new CD-ROM will be the five chapters of the existing *WBA* book that cover the 1914-46 period. The second volume of the book, which contains those chapters, was published in 1992; hence, it reflects up-to-date historiography and interpretation. The chapters were written collaboratively by a team of leading scholars, including Joshua Freeman, Nelson Lichtenstein, Susan Porter Benson, David Bensman, Steve Brier, and Bruce Levine. Some of the key people involved with the original book are working on the CD-ROM version: Steve Brier was the supervising editor and one of the authors; Joshua Brown was the book's visual editor; Roy Rosenzweig was consulting editor.

We are just beginning work on a revised edition of the print book, and we will use the revised chapters as the basis of the finished CD-ROM. (No funding is being sought from NEH for the revision of the print book.) Although we do not plan any fundamental conceptual changes in the chapters, we will incorporate new scholarship and modestly alter the current balance of coverage. For example, we plan to reduce the coverage of traditional trade-union history and increase the coverage of the West, U.S. foreign policy, and cultural history. We will, however, retain the current five chapter organization:

1. *Wars for Democracy* (covering World War I, black migration north during the War, the Versailles treaty, and the post-war strikes and Red Scare).
2. *"The New Era": Mass Society and Business Triumph* (covering Fordism and the assembly line, mass culture, and the cultural politics of the 1920s).
3. *The Great Depression and the First New Deal* (covering the origins and experience of the depression, popular and radical responses, and the emergence and early efforts of the New Deal).
4. *Labor Democratizes America* (covering the second New Deal, the rise of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, the experience of black and women workers, and the business counterattack on the emerging industrial unions).
5. *A Nation Transformed: The Second World War and Its Aftermath* (covering the war and the homefront as well as the conversion to a peacetime economy.)

Together these chapters detail American history through two world wars, a prolonged economic depression, and a decade of uneven prosperity. It is impossible to summarize here all the historical issues that will be addressed in our analysis of that large and complex period. (A photocopy of the chapter in the WBA book on World War II, however, is provided in Appendix 5.) Nevertheless, five major interpretive themes dominate the basic narrative that the book and, hence, the CD-ROM provide.

- First, we emphasize the transformative social role of the two global wars. Tens of millions of women and men moved into the industrial labor force during the wars, some migrating thousands of miles to find work. During and after both wars, African-Americans and poor whites from the rural South as well as Mexican and French-Canadian immigrants filled many industrial jobs previously taken by southern and eastern European immigrants, whose entry into the United States was restricted by quotas after 1921.

- Second, we note how the central role played by the United States in winning each of the wars altered the international balance of power, making the United States (especially after World War II) the world's strongest military power and raising new questions about America's role in the post-war world.

- Third, we point out how the combination of global war and the structural reforms resulting from the Great Depression made the federal government the dominant force in American economic and political life. Out of these developments emerged a "partial welfare state," which included a national pension system, unemployment insurance, jobs programs, public housing, and aid

to dependent citizens. Although these programs were a dramatic departure from earlier anti-statist traditions, by the end of World War II the U.S. had retreated from a more interventionist "social Keynesianism" that seemed more possible in the early New Deal to a more moderate and fiscally oriented "commercial Keynesianism" that would differentiate America from European welfare states in the post-World-War II years.

- Fourth, these dramatic social, political, and economic changes, we argue, were accompanied by equally potent cultural transformations. In the interwar years the production of consumer goods became the most dynamic sector of the American economy. Major innovations in manufacturing, distribution, and marketing and radical changes in popular culture stimulated a consumer-oriented economy. By the 1920s, it seemed, a new consumerist "culture of abundance" had replaced the old productionist "culture of scarcity." The Great Depression belied those optimistic hopes, but the consumer culture that emerged by the 1920s nevertheless outlasted even the deep economic crisis of the 1930s. And that consumer culture brought with it dramatic changes in everyday life, altering, but not erasing, basic division of class, race, ethnicity, and gender.

- Fifth, and most important, our narrative insists that ordinary Americans shaped (and were not just shaped by) the epochal events that unfolded in the years between 1914 and 1946. Most obviously, working-class Americans took the political and economic initiative during the Great Depression, altering the balance of power between labor and capital. Even before Roosevelt took office, a new working-class militance had emerged. When the new Democratic administration endorsed workers' right to join unions, it set off a wave of successful organizing drives. The explosive strikes of 1934 forced the passage of new, pro-union legislation and further set in motion a series of struggles that unionized the nation's mass production industries. These union struggles also had a political dimension and made working-class Americans equal partners in bringing forth the New Deal and the partial welfare state. But ordinary Americans also changed the nation in less obvious ways during these same years. For instance, the new mass culture came, in part, from "below"--the leisure patterns and preferences of immigrant and African-American workers transformed the ways that all Americans spent their free time. Thus, both the modern American state and modern American culture cannot be understood without considering the central role ordinary Americans played in their emergence.

For professional historians, this story of the years 1914 to 1946 is not particularly surprising--although certainly some would dissent from particular features of our analysis. As a synthetic work aimed at an in-school and public audience, our goal is not to break new interpretive ground so much as to provide an account rooted in the latest historical scholarship. Still, this version of the interwar years is relatively unknown to most students and members of the general public. Their

understanding of these years is likely to remain dominated by the actions of presidents and the story of military battles. Indeed, most of the history CD-ROMs published to date reinforce precisely this version of American history as a parade of generals and presidents.

Our account does not reject, of course, the importance of presidential or military history, but it does emphasize less well-known dimensions--especially, the transformation of the nation state, changes in mass culture, and the behavior and beliefs of ordinary Americans. Reviewers of the Pantheon book have found that we have successfully integrated these different perspectives into a coherent whole. Writing in the *Boston Globe*, for example, historian James Green noted that the volume shows that "its authors appreciate the diversity of our social and cultural life without ignoring the larger institutions, values and events that Americans experienced in common." Equally important, we have crafted this narrative in a way that we believe appeals to general readers and to students; the print version of *WBA* has sold equally well as a trade and classroom book. Our goal in both the book and the CD-ROM, thus, is to present a story of the American past that combines the virtues of sound scholarship and dramatic and engaging popular narrative. (See Appendix 7 for reviews of the *WBA* book.)

The narrative that worked well in the print book will structure the presentation of the history covered in the CD-ROM. We believe that such a structure makes the CD-ROM more useful than simply a collection of primary resources. But we would stress that the *WBA II* CD-ROM will go considerably beyond the print version, as did *WBA I*, becoming, in the process, something quite different and--we believe--more useful and engaging.

One of the most important ways that the CD-ROM will enrich the story of America in the years between 1914 and 1946 will be by presenting this era in multimedia. This will be even easier in the interwar years than it was in the period from 1876 to 1914. Indeed, our challenge will be selecting the most dramatic and revealing audio and video documents from the vast archive of possibilities. (A secondary challenge will be keeping those documents within our limited permissions and rights budget.) We expect that we will include the same quantity of film (about forty-five minutes) and sound (about four hours) in the new CD-ROM as in the previous one. (The current capacity of CD-ROMs will not permit us to include any more than that.) Among the film footage that we are likely to include is: pro- and anti-war rallies during World War I; troops going off to fight in the War; black migrants working in northern cities; the dedication of the Tomb

of the Unknown Soldier at Arlington National Cemetery; work on early Ford assembly lines; brief clips from Hollywood films of the 1920s like *Our Dancing Daughters*; the Bonus Army and Unemployed demonstrations in the early 1930s; FDR's inauguration; the Flint Sit-Down Strikes; the Memorial Day Massacre; brief clips from classic 1930s documentaries like *The Plow that Broke the Plains*; and excerpts from Frank Capra's World War II documentaries.

The possibilities for sound clips are even richer. We have found that oral history interviews were one of the most compelling features of the first disk, and we plan to include an even larger number of interviews in *WBA II*. They would include, for example: World War I soldiers describing their arrival in France; African Americans on the Great Migration; radicals on the Red Scare; Southern textile workers on life in the mill towns; black writers on the Harlem Renaissance; farmers on the Farm Holiday movement; supporters of Huey Long and Father Coughlin; actors and stagehands on the Federal Theatre Project; Japanese Americans on life in the internment camps; gays and lesbians on "coming out" during World War II. Naturally, we will also want to include contemporary recordings from such prominent Americans as Jane Addams, Marcus Garvey, Samuel Gompers, Margaret Sanger, Herbert Hoover, Franklin Roosevelt, Huey Long, Eleanor Roosevelt, Babe Ruth, Frances Perkins, and W. E. B. DuBois. The rich archive of recorded sound also includes early radio stars (from the Happiness Boys to Jack Benny), vaudeville comedians, and radio preachers. And, we will sample the rich diversity of American music from the interwar period: blues, country, folk, jazz, big band, musical theater, and Tin Pan Alley.

As in the previous disk, readers will be able to access the available audio, video, visual, and textual documents through a resource index; but the most important means of accessing the documents will be through excursions that take off from the textual spine that structures the historical analysis of the period. Each excursion will have an introduction that sets the documents and the topic in their proper historical context. Our experience developing the previous disk suggests that we incorporated more excursions (200) than people could reasonably use; in *WBA II* the excursions therefore will be less dense. We will have about 25 in each of the five chapters or, approximately 125 in all. Naturally, we have not yet developed the excursions themselves, since this is part of the work proposed for funding by the NEH; but the following brief descriptions are meant to give some examples of the kinds of materials we expect to include.

1. **"The Iron Road":** An excursion on the increase in Mexican immigration to the U.S. in response to the railroad opening up northern Mexico and the turmoil caused by the 1911 Mexican Revolution, including oral histories with Mexican migrants and border officials; songs of the migration like "El Ferrocarril" (The Iron Road); film footage of General John J. Pershing's expedition against Pancho Villa in 1916; statistics on Mexican migration; and excerpts from Manuel Gamio's study, *Mexican Immigration to the United States: A Study of Human Migration and Adjustment* (1931) and C. T. Connell and R. W. Burton's 1922 report to the Secretary of Labor, "Survey of Labor Conditions on the Mexican Border and Contiguous Territory as it Relates to Unskilled Labor."

2. **"Like Writing History with Lightning":** This excursion, which takes its title from Woodrow Wilson's response to a screening of *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) at the White House, explores that film's significance in the history of cinema and in the history of American racism. It includes an excerpt from the film; ads for the film; contemporary reviews of the film in *The New York Dramatic Mirror*, *New York Times*, *Boston American*, and other publications; protests against the film from the Boston branch of the NAACP and Jane Addams; and an excerpt from *The Birth of a Race*, the 1918 film intended to answer D. W. Griffith's work, as well documents relevant to that film (e.g., fundraising brochures and ads).

3. **"Lucky Lindbergh":** An excursion exploring the meaning of Lindbergh's transatlantic flight in the context of 1920s America. It would include: film footage of Lindbergh arriving in Paris; newspaper accounts of the flight and his return to America; songs generated by the event, such as Howard Johnson and Al Sherman's "Lindbergh (the Eagle of the U.S.A.);" and Charles Cohen's song about the Jewish Lindbergh, "Levine mit sazyn flaying maschin;" and advertisements featuring Lindbergh endorsing watches and other products.

4. **"We'd rather do without clothes than give up the car":** This excursion explores the changes that the automobile brought to America by examining contemporary depictions of cars in fiction, sociology, advertising, and films, including an excerpt from Sinclair Lewis's 1922 novel *Babbitt* (the satiric description of George Babbitt as he drives to work, preening himself in satisfaction with his new car and its up-to-the-minute gadgets); an excerpt from F. Scott Fitzgerald's 1925 novel *The Great Gatsby* (the description of Gatsby's luxury car, emblem of power and wealth and later of corruption); ads showing how car manufacturers directed sales pitches to male and female consumers; excerpts from Helen and Robert Lynd's *Middletown* (1929); cars and courtship: cartoons of young people driving and parking; and the opening montage of Orson Welles's *The Magnificent Ambersons* (1942), which illustrates the changing role of the automobile in family life.

5. **Shootout at Reeltown:** An excursion investigating a shootout between black sharecroppers and white sheriffs in rural Alabama in December 1932. Readers can compare several available accounts of the shootout and its meaning: two oral histories (Ned Cobb's account recorded by Theodore Rosengarten in his 1974 oral autobiography, *All God's Dangers*; Hosea Hudson's account recorded by Nell Painter and published in *The Narrative of Hosea Hudson* (1979); several newspaper accounts (from the *New York Times*; *Birmingham News*; *Daily Worker*; and *Mobile Advertiser*); and John Beecher's poem "In Egypt Land."

6. **American Exodus:** An excursion exploring contrasting versions of the "Okie" migration of the 1930s, including photos by Dorothea Lange; letters and oral histories from migrants; excerpts from Steinbeck's 1939 novel *The Grapes of Wrath* and the 1940 film by John Ford; songs by Woody Guthrie; and excerpts from the documentary film by Pare Lorentz, *The Plow that Broke the Plains* (1936).

7. **Monuments to the New Deal: Federal Art in Washington:** This excursion will document Washington, D.C., murals and sculptures commissioned by the Treasury Section of Fine Arts. Photographs and letters illustrate the visual representation of the New Deal and the controversy that sometimes accompanied these monumental works: for example, William Gropper's "Construction of the Dam," a large mural with workers in the foreground in the Department of the Interior, along

with a letter admonishing Gropper to make sure figures "pretty typical Americans;" Emma Lou Davis, "Unemployment Compensation" in the Health and Services (then Social Security) Building, showing an employed man reaching out to an unemployed man, with the New Deal allegorized as a powerful protecting figure; Mitchell Jamieson's "An Incident in Contemporary American Life," in the Department of Interior, commemorating the Marian Anderson concert held on the Mall (with the assistance of Eleanor Roosevelt) after the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to allow the black contralto to sing in Constitution Hall.

8. "Concentration Camps, USA": An excursion on Japanese internment camps illustrating wartime suppression of civil rights during World War II. Documents might include: the executive order mandating internment of Japanese people in California; oral histories of people interned in camps (including those who volunteered to fight in the war and those classified as "disloyals" as well as the vast majority who swore "loyalty" to the U.S. but did not fight in the war); copies of loyalty questionnaires filled out by camp residents; Dorothea Lange photographs of camps; children's drawings of internment life; and reparations petitions made and granted long after the war.

9. "GI Joe": An excursion on the experience of the ordinary soldier in combat during World War II, including film clips (both Hollywood and documentary); letters home; oral histories; the range of opinion and experience recorded in soldiers' published cartoons in *Yank* (by Bill Maudlin and others) and in the front-line sketches of soldier-artists.

10. "Women on the Home Front": This excursion on women during World War II includes Norman Rockwell's 1943 "Rosie the Riveter" *Saturday Evening Post* cover; the song "Rosie the Riveter;" a War Production Coordinating Committee poster depicting women dressed for industrial work with the slogan "We Can Do It;" a film clip from *Glamour Girls of '43*, a War Information Office newsreel encouraging women to take war production jobs; excerpts from a contemporary study (1940s) of women workers at a West Coast shipyard; recipes for Spam and for baked goods, which made limited use of rationed items like sugar and butter; ads for cosmetics that urged makeup as important for the morale of others and the woman herself; and an ad for oatmeal that proclaimed motherhood as an important part of the war effort.

11. The Comics Go to War: An excursion exploring the importance and meaning of comic strips in the interwar years and especially during World War II. The center of the excursion will be the opportunity to read a full Sunday comics section (in facsimile form) from July 8, 1945, including such favorites as "Little Orphan Annie," "Dick Tracy," "Terry and the Pirates," and "Bringing up Father." We have selected that date because we will also be able to include the famous radio broadcast when New York City Mayor Fiorello LaGuardia read the comics to the city's children, who were denied their comics because of a newspaper strike. The excursion will also explore the ethnic and class origins of some of the most popular Sunday comics. By including earlier versions of some of these comics, we will allow readers to see how characters gradually became "assimilated" and lost some of their original ethnic flavor.

We believe that these and more than 100 additional excursions will make reading the CD-ROM a much richer experience than reading the book. On one level, the CD-ROM simply allows us to convey our basic interpretation about the importance of ordinary Americans in a more compelling fashion. Perhaps nothing better gives "voice" to the experience of this period than the ability to actually hear the voices of ordinary Americans. For the past three decades, oral history has been one of the most important tools for rewriting American history "from the bottom

up." Literally tens of thousands of hours of interviews have been recorded with sharecroppers, industrial workers, southern textile workers, and rank-and-file activists. These interviews have, in turn, been the basis of numerous pathbreaking and prizewinning books by scholars such as *Like a Family* by Jacqueline Hall et al. and *All Gods Dangers* by Theodore Rosengarten as well as such best-selling popular works as Studs Terkel's *Hard Times* and *The Good War*. Although thousands have *read* the results of oral history in such books, almost no one has had the opportunity to actually *hear* the voices on which they were based. We believe--and the reaction to our initial CD-ROM reinforces this belief--that the voices of ordinary Americans add a visceral and immediate quality to the telling of the past that is simply not possible in print.

Significantly, just as CD-ROM makes it possible for us to heighten and dramatize our central interpretation, it also offers the chance to undercut it. Or, more precisely, CD-ROM permits us to offer alternative interpretations more readily than does print. One way that we will do this is through excursions that explicitly offer alternative interpretations. For instance, we will include excerpts from the debates among a range of historians on the impact of advertising and the new mass culture of the 1920s and 1930s as well as Truman's controversial decision to drop the Atomic Bomb. Although the basic narrative argues that pressure from ordinary Americans played a significant role in bringing about and shaping the nature of the New Deal (the sort of interpretation one finds in Elizabeth Cohen's *Making a New Deal*), the excursion on interpretations of FDR and the New Deal will allow readers to consider other perspectives: for example, the traditional liberal interpretation of Arthur Schlesinger that emphasizes the revolutionary initiatives undertaken by FDR; the "New Left" view of Barton Bernstein that criticizes the limitations of the New Deal; and the modified "corporate liberal" interpretation of Thomas Ferguson, who argues that elites in capital-intensive and internationally oriented sectors of the economy provided crucial support for New Deal reforms.

But historiography is only one way for our readers to challenge our historical analysis. We will also present a number of the historical sources that are the bases of our interpretations and will, in effect, encourage CD-ROM users to consider whether those sources support the interpretations being made. For example, readers will be able to consider the sources of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) by listening to oral histories of workers who supported and rejected mass industrial unionism during the 1930s. Those oral histories might, for instance, lead some

readers to question whether the basic narrative overemphasizes the breadth of rank-and-file support for industrial unionism. Or, they will be able to draw their own interpretations of changing women's employment patterns by studying statistics as well as reading first-hand accounts of women workers. Overall, we plan to include in *WBA II* at least 3,000 pages of primary text documents, at least 400 illustrations, at least 50 charts and graphs, and at least 20 maps.

In essence, then, the disk's greatly increased capacity allows us to present a much fuller and more complex portrait of the interwar period than the book. For example, whereas the print book pays relatively slight attention to high culture, the CD-ROM version will include selections from classic works of literature, poetry, and art. The book includes no charts and tables and no timelines, but the CD-ROM will incorporate interactive charts and tables and an extensive timeline. In effect, these additional features will turn the book into a more comprehensive reference tool on the years 1914 to 1946, incorporating, for example, the most important historical texts as well as a detailed timeline of key events and people. These reference features will make the CD-ROM more appealing both to students and to members of the general public. As in the previous disk, we will try to present these features in a light-hearted, non-pedantic fashion, by including humorous sidelights on the past and a few quizzes that test knowledge of historical trivia.

Although the CD-ROM will incorporate a great many historical "facts," one of our larger goals is to show students and the general public that the past is much more than a collection of names and dates. Perhaps more readily than in a print book, the CD-ROM allows us to demonstrate that history is a complex and active process of construction and interpretation, not simply a straightforward process of uncovering "what happened." Many of the excursions, in fact, engage readers in that process of historical construction and interpretation. For example, the excursion noted above on the "Shootout at Reeltown" presents the reader with a set of contradictory accounts about what happened in rural Alabama in December 1932. The oral histories and newspaper accounts offer different perspectives on how the confrontation began, who was present, who shot first, who was shot, and even when and where the shootout took place.

Even more important than trying to reconstruct the event is trying to understand why the shootout took place at all and what it tells us about the South in the 1930s. What was the role of the federal government and the Communist Party in the confrontation? Was the shootout fundamentally about issues of race

or class? Other excursions will similarly engage readers in other problems of historical reconstruction and analysis. What were the most important forces that impelled Mexican migration to the United States? What does the response of Lindbergh's flight tell us about basic American values during the 1920s? How did the automobile alter family and gender relations? What are the uses and limitations of oral histories, photographs, songs, films, and novels as representations of the experiences of "Okie" migrants? What does New Deal art tell us about the role and perception of the federal government in the 1930s?

In sum, we believe that we can use the newest digital media to engage students and the public in probing very important and longstanding questions about historical interpretation and about the nature of historical evidence.

IV. PROPOSED CD-ROM SERIES

LANDSCAPES IN TIME

A new series of CD-ROMs will expand upon and complement the two *Who Built America?* CD-ROMs. Each *Landscapes in Time* disk focuses on a specific geographical location and a particular moment in time, allowing users to explore a dramatic historical "case study" to learn about the American past.

Rather than approaching history through the linearity of a textual narrative, the *Landscapes in Time* programs situate the user as a time-traveler who enters a particular spatial environment. Each venue is a mystery whose meanings unfold through the user's inquiry and exploration. Using the hypertextual and multimedia capacities of CD-ROM, the user moves about geographic panoramas to discern the material circumstances of the place and access information about the time. Discovering material culture, encountering and interrogating characters, observing events and conflicts, users gain access to an extensive range of archival materials and information--textual, visual, audio, and video--and, in the process, come to understand not only a specific era and location in the U.S. past but also how local issues are connected to national and even international events. At the same time, they gain an understanding about the varied nature of historical evidence and methods of historical inquiry. *Landscapes in Time* offers an experiential, multi-layered and uniquely visual entrée to the study of history.

We are seeking funding for research and development of the four-part *Landscapes in Time* CD-ROM series and production of the pilot program. The four proposed *Landscapes* disks span subjects from the late seventeenth century to the second decade of the twentieth, drawing on the most recent historical scholarship. We have deliberately chosen topics that will appeal to teachers as well as to the general public. The pilot program, *The Molly Maguires: Schuylkill County, 1875*, transports users into the hardships and violence of the eastern Pennsylvania coalfields in the 1870s as a window onto nineteenth-century industrialization, immigration, and economic depression. *The Witch Trials: Salem, 1692* takes users through the colonial worlds of religion, gender relations, and the emerging social and economic structures of early America. In *Unsettling the West: Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1889* western expansion, the spread of the railroads, and the rise of populism in the Southwest emerge from the story of

conflicts between Las Gorras Blancas (the White Caps) and cattle ranchers. *City of Hope and Violence: Chicago, 1919* introduces the new urban culture and ethnic and racial divisions as experienced by African American migrants from the South and recent immigrants from eastern Europe. A more detailed treatment of *The Molly Maguires: Schuylkill County, 1875* and shorter descriptions of the other three programs in the series follow.

The *Landscapes in Time* series builds on the successful "case studies" approach pioneered in the American Social History Project's ten-part "Who Built America?" video documentary series. The award-winning videos, which combine archival images and dramatic accounts of specific events and themes to provide a sophisticated overview of American life from the Revolution to the onset of the Great Depression, have been used extensively in colleges and high schools (as well as among out-of-school audiences) to link specific experiences and events with the larger narrative of U.S. history. In the *Landscapes in Time* series, users investigate the objects, events, relationships, and conflicts in a particular time and place, uncovering links to broader regional and national issues. In order to understand the mysteries of the location and time period the user must develop hypotheses, decide who and what to "research" or question further, and interpret primary sources.

The exploration of unknown territories also introduces users to questions about how we learn about the past. In the process of exploration and inquiry users evaluate the nature of historical evidence, gain a sense of the multi-vocality of historical information, and face the problems of historical contingency and ambiguity. The case study approach allows users to consider significant issues about the nature and meaning of the past. Equally important, the inquiry, game-like approach allows users to become participants in the process of interpreting the past. *Landscapes in Time* is "interactive" in the most meaningful sense of the term in that it requires users (in the role of "time travelers") to become active participants in sifting and evaluating historical evidence rather than passive consumers of historical "facts" presented by "authorities." The digital medium, thus, makes it more possible than traditional print history to simulate the complexities and ambiguities of reconstructing the past, thus involving users in an active process of historical interpretation.

The *Landscapes in Time* series is designed not only to break new ground in the presentation of history but also to appeal to and bridge diverse audiences, to use the new media to bring the insights of the humanities to both in-school and out-

of-school audiences. In the past few years a significant genre of computer games has emerged that is based on intellectual curiosity, mystery solving, and spatial exploration. The popularity of programs like *Myst*, *Sim City*, and *The Cosmology of Kyoto* is based, in part, on their ability to transport the user into another reality that requires problem solving and intellectual exploration in order to navigate through a new space. Some indication of the appeal of such programs is that, as of April 1994, 200,000 copies of *Myst* have been sold.

Landscapes in Time will have a similar appeal; it transports users into a different historical reality and places them in the midst of dramatic social conflicts. Progress through the program occurs through the accumulation of information drawn from the scenes encountered as well as from revealed primary textual and visual documents, maps and charts, and audio and film. The game-like inquiry approach and rich visual environment make the programs ideal for libraries and the home, while their depth of information and historiographical emphasis also directly address the needs of educational institutions. The exploration of environment is only one way to access the multitude of documents and subjects covered by *Landscapes in Time*. Each disk will also have a comprehensive resource index (modeled on the index in the *WBA I* CD-ROM) that gives the user the ability to quickly locate specific documents and create resource collections. Instructors in the classroom would, thus, be able to easily present particular archival materials to their students in the classroom.

V. LANDSCAPES IN TIME TREATMENT AND DESCRIPTIONS

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES: Schuylkill County, 1875 A Simulation of a *Landscapes in Time* CD-ROM Program

In each *Landscapes in Time* program users encounter locations and events in a specific historical era. In the pilot program, *The Molly Maguires: Schuylkill County, 1875*, the terrain explored is the anthracite coalfields of eastern Pennsylvania in the 1870s. Users descend into and maneuver through underground coal shafts, investigate a tavern and company store in a mining town, visit miners' cabins clustered in the desolate valleys of the region, and witness a Schuylkill County trial. Moving from place to place, probing artifacts and evidence, interrogating participants about conditions and events, users learn about living and working conditions, family and community relations, and social and economic turmoil in the mining region. Each scene is linked to further documentation and imagery that unveils the context of industrialization, depression, immigration, law, and press coverage.

The story that frames the user's investigation has long preoccupied historians. During the 1860s and 1870s, pervasive violence in the anthracite region of Pennsylvania drew national attention. Sixteen men were assassinated, most of them mine officials and superintendents. The culprits were believed to be members of a mysterious secret society imported directly from the Irish countryside, the Molly Maguires. A wave of recent Irish immigration had transformed the workforce in the anthracite fields during the Civil War and after. Many of these new Irish miners carried with them rural radical traditions that helped spur labor organization in the region, but also put them in conflict with British, Welsh, and Scots miners and mine officials. By the mid-1870s the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, which had gained control of the region's coal industry by absorbing local independent operators and defeating the recently formed miners' union, dispatched Pinkerton agents into the area undercover. In the late 1870s the hunt for the Molly Maguires climaxed in a series of sensational trials and executions: twenty Irishmen were hanged and twenty more were sentenced to long prison terms. The actual nature of the Molly Maguires and its actions remain the subject of intense historical debate. Over the past century, historians and popular commentators have argued over such questions as who

the Molly Maguires were, did the organization actually exist, and was it fundamentally predicated upon ethnic, class, religious, or political affiliation?

As an episode shrouded in ambiguity, the story of the Molly Maguires offers us a fascinating mystery to unravel. At the same time, as recent scholarship has demonstrated, its far-reaching links to many of the major institutions and processes of the Gilded Age serve to illuminate the broader trends of the era. The microcosm of industrializing Pennsylvania reveals, among other significant phenomena, how infusions of new waves of immigration restructured the American working class and its trade union organizations, and transformed the nation's economy and society during the late nineteenth century as small independent producers gave way to large-scale concentrations of corporate wealth and power.

The following description is an attempt to simulate in textual form how a user might maneuver through a multimedia program. As a preliminary treatment, some sections have been sketched out in greater detail than others; many of the program's narrative and technical details will be worked out during the early stages of the project. To clarify our descriptive strategy: unless otherwise indicated, the visuals are composed of individual screens that are linked to permit exploration of a 360-degree space. In any individual screen there may be limited animation (accomplished via editing programs such as Macromedia Director). Users will travel over a panoramic landscape and in each "level" may freely explore and interrogate spaces (entering buildings, tunnels, etc.). The journey is true to the contours of a landscape in that users move from level to level by traversing a virtual terrain--for example, users must travel on a road from the town to a mining settlement, as opposed to "jump-cutting" between locations.

The program will be divided into nine different levels. On each level, the user uncovers different pieces of the complex story of the Molly Maguires. Clicking on objects and individuals, users learn information in different ways: they may examine facsimiles of archival documents or read the text of "composite" documents (materials based on documentary evidence but adapted to the program's needs, such as the user's paycheck on Level Two or the user's company-store bill on Level Three); they may view slideshows composed of contemporary images as well as later documentary and dramatic film footage; and they may hear the testimony of participants (actors' voices based on primary sources). Throughout the program, we have built in elements of novelty and surprise to motivate exploration in and progression through the levels. Only when users

investigate most (but not necessarily all) of the subjects covered on a level can they move on to the next level. On some levels users will be compelled to move on after they have gained sufficient knowledge.



Program Opening

The screen is black. A rumbling sound is heard, growing in pitch and volume. An electronic voice intones: "10 . . . 9 . . . 8 . . . 7 . . ." At the end of the countdown a searing light flashes across the screen, instigating a flurry of still images of people, places and events. Pictures depicting the present rapidly move backward in time, increasing in velocity as the soundtrack conveys escalating speed. Another flash: the eastern seaboard of the United States. Another flash: the mid-Atlantic region. Another flash: eastern Pennsylvania. A rapid sequence of closeups culminates in a bird's-eye view of a small town amid rough, hilly terrain that is pocked by clusters of smaller settlements (patches) and intersected by canals and railroad tracks. (This view of the Pottsville region of Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, labeled to demarcate specific landmarks, will be constantly accessible to users as a reference map to locate their current placement in the area and to orient them to the overall geography.) With a final flash, the roaring abruptly stops and the screen goes black.

SCHUYLKILL COUNTY
PENNSYLVANIA
1 8 7 5

The words fade and the screen returns to black. The sound of dripping water is heard. By maneuvering the mouse, arrows appear on the screen indicating possible avenues for movement (depending on the screen): left, right, forward,

and back. Perhaps the user clicks on the left arrow: it is still dark but they hear the dripping of water--and the faint, echoing sound of metallic scraping. Moving further left, a faint light is seen and the sounds grow louder. Moving forward now, the sounds of digging merge with coughs and labored breaths, and the light increases to reveal the rough timbers and cragged walls of a mine shaft.

Level One: Mine

We emerge into a central chamber. It is dimly lit by kerosene lamps as well as by the miners' headlamps. Driver boys, their faces smeared with coal dust, escort mules pulling cars laden with coal toward the mine shaft. Other tunnels lead off from this chamber; moving into different ones, we uncover different aspects of work process and working conditions. In one tunnel, for example, we glimpse two miners working at the coal face: clicking on them, we learn that they are skilled Welsh workers and we see, in a short Macromedia Director sequence, how they prepare their black powder for blasting. Clicking downward, we examine the chute into which the loosened coal descends and discover miners below emptying coal from the bulkhead and filling mule cars: clicking on them, we learn they are unskilled Irish manual laborers. Moving into other passageways, we sometimes encounter deadends; there are moments when we are temporarily lost.

In one tunnel, we see a miner raising and lowering a lamp, closely examining its flame. Clicking on him, we learn he is checking the flame's color to detect the presence of lethal gases ("damp"); further inquiry delineates the various gases and their effects, and we learn other warning signs, such as rats deserting the coal face and the telltale creak of timbers that foretells a cave-in. We encounter a miner crouched against the mine wall; he looks up at our approach; clicking on him divulges a number of archival sources about recent mine accidents (such as the 1869 Avondale fire, the 1870 Stockton cave-in, and the 1871 Pittston disaster): contemporary news engravings depicting mine disasters; selections from a column called "Casualties of Mining" published regularly in *Anthracite Monitor*, the newspaper of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association, the miners' union; a description of WBA founder John Siney's stirring eulogy to the Avondale victims as later recorded in Knights of Labor leader Terence Powderly's autobiography, *The Path I Trod*; and a recording of a song commemorating the Avondale accident.

While users may explore the tunnels, they will be unable to ascertain their location in the mine or the route to the surface until they have sufficiently investigated their surroundings, at times encountering blocked passageways

resulting from cave-ins and being diverted from areas suffused with poisonous gases. After they have made enough inquiries, users come upon a map of the mine that will lead them to the surface.

Above ground, we observe the breaker constructed above the mine shaft. Entering it, we see "breaker boys" and "old" men perched over chutes, picking out slate and dirt from the coal. In this case the tableau comes to life in a QuickTime movie showing documentary footage of break work in the early twentieth century (virtually indistinguishable from the Gilded Age setting).

Level Two: Superintendent's Office

Now on the surface, we look around the landscape. A road leads toward a nearby town. We also see a group of miners lining up in front of a shed. If users choose to join the line, they learn it is payday. Advancing through the door, we enter a rough room and are confronted by a scowling clerk. Clicking on him we are given an accounting of our wages and the many deductions (for tools, lamps, powder, merchandise bought at the company store, and rent) that nearly reduce the pay to a worthless "bobtail check." Further inquiry reveals facsimile pages of mine operators' pay books (from the collection of the Historical Society of Schuylkill County) and tables showing mine wage rates (from an 1881 *History of Schuylkill County*).

Level Three: Pottsville

We take the road and enter the town. Walking along Pottsville's unpaved main street, we discover there are a range of directions open to us. Among the possible choices for investigation are:

- The Miner's Journal office: In the newspaper, run by small, independent coal operators, we learn about their opposition to the consolidating schemes of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, which by 1875 controls over two-thirds of the region's industry. We also learn about the operators' resistance to trade unions and their nativist denunciations of immigrant labor. We read editorials in the *Miner's Journal*, and are shown anonymous "coffin notices," attributed to a criminal secret society called the Molly Maguires, threatening operators with sabotage and death.

- A company store: Investigating the merchandise in the store presents us with equipment used by miners, and the meager clothing and supplies available to mining families. Opening a drawer behind the counter, the user discovers a piece of paper comparing the price of goods in the company store with lower prices at a nearby independent merchant.

- The Workingmen's Benevolent Association office: In the rude headquarters of the miners' union, we learn about the emergence of the labor movement in the late 1860s (and earlier, rudimentary forms of labor activism, such as anti-draft riots during the Civil War). Examining copies of the union's *Anthracite Monitor* and listening to a weary organizer, we see how the union has been decimated by severe economic depression and the failure of the recent "Long Strike" (1874-75) instigated by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad.

- A tavern: In a saloon, we encounter the miners' rough pastimes. Users bet on a cockfight and learn about the exploits of volunteer fire companies and local gangs whose allegiances go back across the Atlantic (such as the Sheet Iron Gang, composed of skilled Irish miners from County Kilkenny, and the Welsh miners' Modocs). We hear ballads, including those dedicated to the Molly Maguires, and witness a chapter meeting of a secret Irish fraternal society called the Ancient Order of Hibernians.

Exiting the tavern (or the Workingmen's Benevolent Association), we are accosted by a squad of armed and uniformed Coal and Iron Police.

- The Coal and Iron Police headquarters: Brought to headquarters, we are interrogated and presented with evidence about recent assaults and murders attributed to the Molly Maguires--in the view of the Coal and Iron Police, the terrorist arm of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association. We are released with a warning that the police will be watching our every step.

- A Catholic church: Discovering how religious observance has changed in the mining regions (extending from a "devotional revolution" in Ireland), we also hear a sermon that denounces the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Diocesan newspaper editorials in the *Boston Pilot* and *New York Freeman's Journal* and

Catholic Register continue the charges, saying the secret order and the Molly Maguires are one and the same.

- The railroad station: The depot functions differently from the other town locations, serving as a connection to the "outside world." Following the rails and telegraph wires, we examine the links between the anthracite coal region and the Philadelphia headquarters of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad and Pinkerton National Detective Agency. We learn about the railroad's rapid growth in economic and political power and its consolidation of eastern Pennsylvania's coal industry in the 1870s. Handwritten reports from undercover Pinkerton agents describe the Molly Maguires' "reign of terror." In Philadelphia, we also glimpse the pomp of the Centennial Exposition fairgrounds under construction and, in contrast, see in the surrounding neighborhoods the human cost of the severe economic depression that has gripped the nation since 1873. Other rails take us to Harrisburg, the state capital, and the passage of mine safety laws that reveal employer abuses and legislation that endorses public and private police maintenance of order in the coal region. Another route takes us to Washington, D.C., which reveals the background of national post-Civil War politics, including the waning of federal Reconstruction policies.

As in the earlier mine level, users' sojourn in Pottsville is determined by the extensiveness of their investigation. We find that we cannot leave the town until we have explored enough places and gathered a sufficient amount of information; if we try to leave prematurely our path is barred by Coal and Iron Police enforcing a curfew. Conversely, at a certain point users have--as far as the Coal and Iron Police are concerned--asked *too* many questions and we are warned out of Pottsville and set on the road to Wiggans Patch.

Level Four: On the road to Wiggans Patch

We embark on the road from Pottsville "over the mountain" to the small settlement of cabins constructed around a mine called Wiggans Patch. Crossing the lonely terrain, we encounter a newspaper artist/reporter from New York. We see how the Long Strike and Molly Maguires have been reported by the national press, in text as well as images (and the response of some readers to the coverage).

Level Five: Wiggans Patch

The patch offers a number of directions and choices, among them:

- We enter one of the dozen rudimentary houses and observe in its cramped quarters the "extended" nature of Irish mine households: a man and woman, their six children, and an additional six young male boarders. Consulting British government reports on the condition of the Irish peasantry, we learn about the pattern of immigration to the U.S., and returns from the 1870 U.S. census document the pattern of settlement in the anthracite region.
- In another cabin, we encounter one of several woman-led households in the patch and learn how mine widows and their daughters survive by doing low-paying sewing work at home for clothing manufacturers.
- Visiting another cabin, we meet a dying man and learn the causes and symptoms of the miners' occupational disease, silicosis.
- We are drawn to wails coming from one house and enter to discover the funeral of members of the O'Donnell family who were murdered by "vigilantes" on December 10, 1875. Attending the wake we observe Irish rural mourning customs, and overhear stories about agrarian protest and violence in Ireland, including actions attributed to Molly Maguires there in the 1840s. We also learn about rumors claiming that the killings were to avenge the murders of mine boss Thomas Sanger and miner William Uren on September 9, 1875, and read a Pinkerton document addressed to the "Vigilance Committee" that lists the names and addresses of twenty reputed Molly Maguire assassins (all members of the Ancient Order of Hibernians in the mining region).

As before, users cannot move to the next level until they have sufficiently investigated Wiggans Patch. Once we have uncovered enough information, we are suddenly confronted by a band of uniformed and armed men. Identifying themselves as the "Flying Squadron," the men proceed to arrest the user along with other suspected Molly Maguires.

Level Six: On the road back to Pottsville

We are taken by the "Flying Squadron" on a circuitous route as it moves from patch to patch on a round-up of reputed Molly Maguires. On the way, we learn the identities of the arresting party (composed of seven Pinkerton agents and seven Coal and Iron Police, led by Captain Robert Linden) and its suspected role in the O'Donnell murders. We are shown the indictments and, as they are arrested, discern the "profile" of the men accused of being Molly Maguires. When the party finally reaches Pottsville, we are released from custody while the other accused Molly Maguires are incarcerated in the town jail.

Level Seven: Pottsville court house

It is now 1876 and we witness a trial in the Pottsville court house of indicted Molly Maguires accused of, in total, sixteen assassinations. We learn the identities and backgrounds of witnesses (including Pinkerton undercover operative James McParland), prosecutors (including Philadelphia and Reading Railroad president Franklin Gowen), and the jury (composed remarkably of German farmers from the outlying agricultural parts of the county who speak little English). We hear key testimony and examine documents such as court transcripts, McParland's reports, and the published pamphlets of prosecutor Gowen's closing summation to the jury.

Level Eight: Pottsville jail

It is "Black Thursday," June 21, 1877. Ten convicted Molly Maguires are scheduled to be hanged this day (ten more are scheduled for execution in the near future, while an additional twenty men have been sentenced to prison). Walking through the prison (aided by a map of its interior), we observe the construction of the scaffold and encounter the cast of characters drawn to the execution: the pageant-like preparations of church officials; the near hysteria of crowds waiting outside the gates; and the maneuvering of Pennsylvania politicians. We examine the extensive press coverage that reveals, among other things, how the executions affect state and national political careers. Finally, following the map, we locate the condemned prisoners (and their families) and interview them, evaluating their final accounts in the light of the testimony and evidence we have gathered.

Level Nine: Legacy

The final level occurs in a musty courtroom; through its windows we glimpse an ominous backdrop of coal mountains . . . and also catch the occasional anachronistic sound: the distant roar of a jet engine, the faint sputter and protest of a traffic jam. In this space, users finally have the capacity to step out of the specificity of historical time and place to compare their experience in and investigation of the past with the Molly Maguire "legacy": the ways that the story of violence in the coal region has been depicted and interpreted in both popular and scholarly accounts. This exploration stretches over more than a century, but occurs within the confines of the courtroom whose interior reveals a rich archive of primary evidence. We begin with the immediate representation and reinvention of the Molly Maguires in the commercial culture of the 1870s: users may read selections from a number of contemporary dime novels published in tandem with the executions, as well as Allan Pinkerton's 1877 *The Molly Maguires and the Detectives*. A short leap in time takes us to Arthur Conan Doyle's 1914 Sherlock Holmes mystery, *The Valley of Fear*. Users consider various twentieth-century written accounts by academic and popular historians before clicking on a movie projector to view a scene from Martin Ritt's 1969 feature film, *The Molly Maguires*. At a certain point, the courtroom begins to fill with people, and we learn that this chamber is the interior of an extant nineteenth-century court house in Jim Thorpe (formerly Mauch Chunk), Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania. We witness highlights of the retrial of Molly Maguires that occurred there in December 1993, including television and radio coverage of the event, interviews with descendants of the convicted men, and the Pennsylvania governor's proclamation pardoning the Molly Maguires' putative leader.

THE WITCH TRIALS: Salem, 1692

Recent accounts of the Salem witch trials, especially Paul Boyer and Stephen Nissenbaum's *Salem Possessed* (1974), have focused on how geography influenced the course of witchcraft charges. Spatial and social stratification, barely acknowledged at the time, exacerbated the class and familial conflicts that drove much of the witchcraft hysteria. In *The Witch Trials: Salem, 1692* the tensions and realities of colonial America emerge as the user explores social relations in a

variety of settings--in the households where women, young and old, become possessed; in the churches where Puritan ministers preach the covenant theology; in the village meetings where townspeople confront the problems of land scarcity as new generations move out to establish their farms; and in the witch trials themselves. Extensive documentary evidence illuminates the colony's complex social and economic structure with its intra-community tensions, patterns of debt, strict gender relations, and fears over destabilizing the Puritan community. For all their drama, their stark, superstitious horror, their vast distance from our time, the trials resist definitive interpretation. Why did they occur? What motivated the witches, their victims and their judges? By investigating the physical and social terrain of Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692 the user will explore these questions within the context of seventeenth-century colonial society.

•

UNSETTLING THE WEST: Las Vegas, New Mexico, 1889

Events in New Mexico in the 1880s and 1890s reveal unique aspects of western history while also reflecting endemic social and political conflicts in late nineteenth-century America. Las Gorras Blancas, or the White Caps, of New Mexico was a group of Mexicano farmers who organized secretly to defend traditional land grants from railroad encroachment, land speculators and enclosure by cattle ranchers. In the process they drew inspiration from and worked with a wide variety of Gilded Age social and political institutions, including the Knights of Labor and the Populist Party. The program opens in the seemingly barren landscape of the New Mexican mesas among the remains of Pueblo villages and sheep grazing in the scattered arroyos. As users investigate the landscape, they encounter a fence cutting confrontation, a secret meeting of the White Caps, the Mexican-American community rallying to the support of arrested vigilantes, and the subsequent formation of *El Partido del Pueblo Unido* and electoral victories of White Cap leaders in local elections. The story of the White Caps delves into a unique historical time and place yet introduces a wide range of important nineteenth-century historical issues: the influence of Native Americans on land settlement and use; the vitality of the Knights of Labor among workers in the West and their inclusive philosophy of organizing all workers into a single

labor organization; the rise of Populism; the tradition of secret societies in the U.S.; the impact of the critiques of monopoly by the Henry George and Land League movements; and women's suffrage struggles in the West.

CITY OF HOPE AND VIOLENCE: Chicago, 1919

City of Hope and Violence takes the *Landscapes In Time* explorer to a rich, complex and contentious time and place in our past. Thousands of U.S. soldiers are returning from war in Europe, fifty thousand black migrants have recently arrived from the South, a steel strike is in progress, the "Red Scare" is about to begin, and some of the stars of the Chicago White Sox baseball team are contemplating a fix on the World Series. Navigation through Chicago on foot or by trolley becomes a means by which the user discovers the changing ethnic, class, and racial mapping of this urban landscape. A glimpse of each community and industry reveals its particularity in the larger urban environment and leads to a range of events and themes to explore. In the Polish immigrant "Back of the Yards" neighborhood users are introduced to everyday life, including the relationship to new forms of popular urban culture and the growing presence of social reform institutions such as Jane Addams's Hull House. The steel mills and slaughter houses reveal how the industrial workforce is divided racially and ethnically, and the tensions that emerge from a regimented and dangerous work process. The South Side community opens a door to a vibrant social, political and cultural world. The rise of black politicians, racial violence and the July 1919 race riot, women's club and church activities, and the burgeoning jazz scene are some of the issues, events and places examined. Winding through the sites of *City of Hope and Violence*, the user is offered a unique understanding about the conditions and actions that comprised this complex historical moment.

VI. AUDIENCES

The American Social History Project has been engaged for more than a dozen years in the development of print and visual materials on U.S. history themes and subjects intended for diverse audiences including teachers and students, adult learners (through adult education and labor education programs), and the general public (through libraries, museums and home use). ASHP's "Who Built America?" multimedia curriculum--texts, video documentaries, viewer and teacher guides--and the Project's ongoing public education programs have had a significant impact on the teaching and learning of American history in high school and college classrooms across the country. In collaboration with the Center for History and New Media at George Mason University, ASHP now hopes to broaden the audience for history by employing new interactive digital technology. Digital media--especially CD-ROM, with its vast storage capacity and multimedia capabilities--are particularly appropriate for conveying history because they offer the potential to reach two broad and distinct audience venues at once: the general public and the classroom.

Some indication of CD-ROM's ability to bridge these audiences can be found in the critical response to *WBA I*, which has been praised by both popular and academic reviewers alike. Walter Mossberg, personal technology columnist for *The Wall Street Journal*, nominated *Who Built America?* to his CD-ROM "Hall of Fame," describing it as "a truly exciting, high-quality electronic book" that "reveal[s] the real potential of electronic learning." Robin Raskin, executive editor of *PC Magazine* wrote: "The winner of my 'master the medium' contest goes to . . . *Who Built America?*, a beautifully presented collection of documents, songs, oral histories, images and videos. The depth of the material is staggering; history comes alive." Carolyn McMaster, writing in *New Media Magazine*, called it "a superb general history" and "a fabulous compendium of U.S. history." And in summer 1994 the History Book Club division of the Book-of-the-Month Club made *Who Built America?* its first CD-ROM offering. In its monthly mailing to its 250,000 members, the Club said: "We've been waiting to find a CD-ROM that would merit the high standards of History Book Club Members: it had to be rich in archival sources, innovative in its technology, rigorous in its scholarship. Then *Who Built America?* appeared at our office, and we were transfixed for days." Particularly gratifying were instances where even publications with few historians in their

audience enthusiastically recommended *WBA I* to their readers. *CD-ROM World*, for example, concluded that "if you want an accessible, comprehensive history of turn-of-the-century America, this entertaining journey back in time is an experience you will enjoy."

Academic and library commentators were equally positive in their assessments of *WBA. Technology and Learning*, a publication for educators, described it as "a well-written social history of America between 1876 and 1914" that offers "insights into subjects often absent from traditional textbook" and "does a particularly good job of using multimedia to bring material to life." The higher-education magazine *Lingua Franca* noted that: "Unlike many CD-ROMs, which seem to promise libraries of information and deliver only shallow gimmicks, *Who Built America?* sends readers deep into the experience of American daily life in the Gilded Age, and it provides splendid indexing tools to guide them through it. . . . The additional source material is wonderfully sensual--you couldn't experience this stuff just reading transcripts." *Booklist*, a publication of the American Library Association, described the disk as a "virtual encyclopedia of the development of America from 1876-1914" and noted further that "this resource can be used for ready-reference or as an in-depth guide to issues of the period." In a long review essay in *Labor History*, historian Norbert Finzsch described *WBA I* as "an outstanding tool" that is "structured by a well thought-out analysis of American history between 1876 and 1914, covering every imaginable aspect of that period." "This," he concluded, "is not only history brought alive, but a second Gutenberg revolution, for students in the classroom will be able to (re)construct their own version of American history with the material provided by *Who Built America?* at hand." And the American Historical Association, the organization of historians living and working in the U.S., recently awarded the *WBA* CD-ROM its biennial James Harvey Robinson prize for the teaching tool that has made the most outstanding contribution to the teaching of history. (See Appendix 8 for reviews of the *WBA I* CD-ROM.)

The diverse praise that *WBA I* has garnered suggests the possibilities of combining new digital technology and scholarly content in a product that meets the rigorous and seemingly contradictory needs of both educational and popular audiences. We believe that we can build on those possibilities in the two disks proposed under this grant.

Colleges and High Schools

The positive critical response to the publication of the first *Who Built America?* CD-ROM resulted in a number of invitations to the authors to present and demonstrate the disk at national educational and academic conferences and forums. These included major sessions at annual meetings of the Organization of American Historians in April 1992 and 1993 and at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in December 1993. WBA CD-ROM authors were featured presenters at the May 1994 Yale University conference entitled "Beyond Gutenberg: Hypertext and the Future of the Humanities" attended by nearly 300 teachers, academics, librarians and multimedia producers. Other presentations include:

- the keynote presentation to the November 1993 Harvard University Library Gateways to Knowledge conference, attended by over 200 public and university librarians;
- CUNY New Technologies conferences, April and October 1992;
- Brown University presentation to faculty and students in the Department of History, May 1993;
- Northern Virginia Community College presentation to faculty and students, May 1993
- Educom '93 Annual Conference, Cincinnati, October 1993;
- CUNY faculty development seminars on new technology in the classroom at New York City Technical College (May 1993), the Graduate Center (November 1993), and Brooklyn College (April 1994);
- Educational Fair Access and the New Media National Conference, American University, June 1994;
- Multiple Currents: Toward an Interactive Media Community Conference sponsored by Media Alliance and Borough of Manhattan Community College, CUNY, November 1994.

These and other presentations reflect the producers' stature in both the scholarly and new media fields; more important, they suggest our presence in the national discussion about the increasing digitalization of information and its impact on learning and scholarship. The producers expect to continue and in fact

expand such participation in the ongoing national dialogue about multimedia; when the *WBA II* and *Landscapes* disks are completed we anticipate presenting them in academic, educational, public humanities, and new media venues, not only to publicize their availability but also to use them as the basis of discussion about the possibilities and limitations of using multimedia materials to convey an understanding of the humanities to a broad public audience. Indeed, one of the most important purposes of this grant is to develop models for presenting scholarly work in digital media--prototypes that can be discussed and debated by producers, scholars, librarians, and museum and school educators.

The education programs already organized by ASHP provide additional opportunities to reach school and college audiences. Our professional development programs not only create numerous opportunities for outreach to potential users; they also create venues for testing new disks, generating research data, and organizing reflective examination that can overcome faculty resistance to new technology and facilitate educational adoptions. Moreover, the insights into learning and cognition already generated through these dialogues with educators will inform the design of the proposed new disks and increase their accessibility and effectiveness in a wide range of settings.

Since 1987 ASHP's Education Division has organized an ongoing series of interdisciplinary professional development workshops and seminars for college and high school faculty in New York City. Focusing on recent scholarship and innovative pedagogy, these programs link the examination of new research and theory with practical discussion of what works in the classroom. Supported by nearly \$1 million in funding from the New York City Board of Education, CUNY, and the Aaron Diamond Foundation, ASHP's High School Collaboration has helped hundreds of teachers and thousands of students use the *Who Built America?* video and print materials to transform teaching and learning in social studies and English courses. Expanding the study of history from the transmission and memorization of facts to the development of higher order critical thinking skills, the program generates an average 15-20 percent increase in the pass rate of participating students on the New York State Regents' examinations in U.S. history and English. ASHP has been honored for this work as an "Exemplary Program for Minority Student Achievement" by the American Association of Higher Education, the College Board, and the National Association of Secondary School Principals.

ASHP recently received a \$1 million grant from the DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund and a \$600,000 grant from the Pew Charitable Trusts to expand our school/college program nationally. As a result, this pioneering program is being implemented in high schools located on community college campuses in twelve urban centers, including Boston, Dallas, Flint, Honolulu, Los Angeles, Lowell, Memphis, New York, Peoria, San Francisco, and Seattle. These schools draw students who are largely from poor families and are academically "at risk." In these schools, as in the New York City program, interdisciplinary teams of teachers will transform their own practice while deepening students' understanding of history and building academic and critical thinking skills. These schools and colleges will also be seed beds for spreading the use of the *Who Built America?* multimedia materials. Faculty and administrators at participating schools have indicated strong interest in the incorporation of existing and future ASHP CD-ROM materials to invigorate and reshape instruction in U.S. history and other humanities and social science courses. ASHP's well-established working relationship with these schools--and their positions as educational leaders within their communities--will ensure a lively exchange of ideas and broaden the national awareness of multimedia's potential for enhancing learning in diverse settings.

Our ability to engage educators in sustained conversation about their practice has already begun to provide insight into effective strategies for the design and production of multimedia learning tools. At the City College of New York (CCNY), History Department chair James Watts has incorporated the educational version of the *WBA* CD-ROM into the department's basic undergraduate U.S. history course. (The educational version of the *WBA* CD-ROM includes electronic editions of key primary books written in the 1876-1914 era--Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*, Booker T. Washington's *Up From Slavery*, W. E. B. DuBois's *The Souls of Black Folk*, Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets*, and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*--as well as a teacher handbook by Kevin Smead, a high school history teacher who collaborated in the *WBA I* project.) The ASHP disk has been integral to three sections of the required CCNY history course during the fall 1994 term. Faculty use the disk for presentation of video, audio, and visual material to large lecture classes. Working in teams at computer workstations, students use the *WBA I* disk to engage in weekly research and writing assignments and prepare for classroom discussion. Evaluators observing the class report that students often stay late working with the CD-ROM, suggesting they enjoy the

combination of new technology and the challenging content. Participating CCNY faculty report that the *WBA* CD-ROM encourages students to examine the interplay of interpretation and evidence in historical presentation. Professor Watts and his colleagues have indicated they are eager to expand the use of multimedia when the next *WBA* CD-ROM becomes available. (*See Appendix 4 for a letter from Professor Watts.*) The experience of observing CCNY students and faculty using the initial disk will also help us improve future CD-ROMs to make them more effective learning tools.

Evaluation has been an integral step in the development of all ASHP books, videos, and multimedia programs. Drawing upon our national network of history educators, we will bring together college and high school instructors, students, museum curators, and librarians to test and critique our proposed disks in their preliminary and secondary (alpha and beta) versions. Built into the production schedule of both the *WBA II* and *Landscapes in Time* disks, these tests will enable us to enhance the effectiveness of the programs and further sharpen our insights into the contribution of multimedia to the learning process. Evaluation by public humanities programmers as well as teachers and students will allow us to examine how different audiences respond to the inquiry-based pedagogy of the *Landscapes in Time* series.

As the proposed disks are completed, our standing among educators (together with our scholarly credentials and Voyager's reputation as a leading multimedia publisher) will enable us to mount a far-reaching academic outreach campaign. In addition to the organizations and presentations listed previously, ASHP has well-established ties with the Association of Supervisors and Curriculum Developers, the National Association of Secondary School Principals, and other prominent educational organizations. In 1993 ASHP presented our initial CD-ROM to more than 100 social studies assistant principals from New York City high schools, generating calls to shift portions of the system's technology budget from the sciences to social studies to provide more students access to programs like *WBA*. ASHP also conducted multimedia demonstrations at suburban public schools with existing multimedia labs, including those in Greenwich and Danbury, Connecticut, the Ramapo-Indian Hills School District in New Jersey, and Newton South High School in Boston. Meanwhile, education reform networks such as the Coalition of Essential Schools have introduced ASHP to hundreds of teachers seeking innovative classroom tools that challenge students' higher order thinking

skills. ASHP's ability to address such diverse groups will promote wide use of our proposed multimedia programs.

Our efforts to reach out to school and college audiences will be enhanced by our publisher, the Voyager Company. Voyager reports first-year sales of the initial WBA disk at nearly 4,000 units, about half to educational institutions. To reach the educational market, Voyager did targeted mailings about the WBA CD-ROM to rented lists, aiming to reach teachers and librarians with specific interest in U.S. history. Voyager also offered the disk to educational and specialty distributors that target libraries and institutions of higher education. In addition, Voyager sent promotional materials to individuals and organizations that serve the educational community, such as book fair organizers, programs for librarians, and writers working for educational trade publications. We anticipate expanding on these distribution initiatives when WBA II is completed; the new disk, like its predecessor, will be published by Voyager in both educational and individual editions.

In August 1993 Voyager distributed 75 free CD-ROMs to history teachers across the country, most at colleges and universities. We have received many positive responses to the disk, most of which focused on the disk's success in expanding student interest in studying the past. For example, Professor Michael Katz, chair of the History Department at the University of Pennsylvania, wrote our publisher to say that the disk was "spectacularly good. . . . I found it wonderfully imaginative, full of nice touches and bits of humor, easy to use, and packed with a marvelous collection of different sorts of primary sources, many of which I had never seen. My sense is that it would captivate most students." "Student response to date has been terrific," writes Professor Gary Kornblith of Oberlin College. "[Students] love the freedom afforded by hypertext to explore the material in their own particular ways. . . . I believe the disk stands as a model for the future of American history teaching." (*See Appendix 4 for these letters.*)

Building on this base, Voyager, ASHP, and the GMU Center for History and New Media will distribute 75 free copies of the new disks produced under this proposal to faculty around the country to promote the use of multimedia materials in the study of history. Priority in distributing the free disks will go to schools with fewer resources but with specific plans for making use of multimedia in their classes. We will use our existing network of educational contacts to identify likely sites for this project. This distribution plan will be coordinated with a broader campaign to encourage testing and use in a range of secondary and post-

secondary settings. We are committed to exploring these testing opportunities in subsequent proposals to the NEH Education Division and other government agencies, including the U.S. Department of Education.

Reaching the General Public through Museums, Libraries, and Electronic Networks

In addition to its educational outreach and commercial distribution efforts, ASHP has a strong commitment to bringing its educational materials, especially the *Who Built America?* CD-ROM, to a broad general audience through a variety of public venues. A demonstration of *WBA I* was part of the Voyager Company's keynote presentation at the 1993 MacWorld conference in Boston, attended by more than 10,000 computer enthusiasts. And in 1994, the *Who Built America?* disk was selected as a finalist in the Interactive Media Festival, which presented the first national awards to outstanding multimedia programs. The seventeen finalists were displayed in a special exhibit at the Digital World convention in Los Angeles and included some of the most innovative, pioneering works in interactive multimedia.

We have also been eager to make the *Who Built America?* disk available as a resource in museums. Today, it is the first "electronic book" available to the five million annual visitors at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of American History in Washington, D.C., where it is currently on display in a specially designed area in the "Engines of Change" exhibit on the main floor. Also, the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City maintains a copy of the *Who Built America?* disk as a permanent resource in its library.

We have received indications from several public libraries that the *Who Built America?* disk is a long-awaited counter-weight to the less intellectually credible educational software that is flooding the CD-ROM market. For instance, Thomas Corbett, Adult Services Librarian at University Public Library in St. Louis, writes that "much of the current multimedia CD-ROM products on the market are more flash than substance. . . . The market . . . will make the flashy products available to libraries at a reasonable cost. It is not as certain that multimedia CD-ROM products that provide depth and reflect recent scholarship will be as accessible to public libraries. Your product would fill that important niche." Ruth Carr, Chief Librarian of the U.S. History, Local History and Genealogy Division of the New York Public Library, has already acquired *WBA I* for her collection and writes:

"Increasingly, researchers have come to expect The Library to provide multi-media sources, in addition to the print sources we have traditionally collected. The American Social History Project CD-ROM will be of great interest and value to our users." And David Myers, historian and Associate Dean for Libraries at New Mexico State University, has indicated his desire to make the *WBA* and the *Landscapes in Time* disks available to NMSU's unique student population, which is more than one-third Latino. "Because I have seen and used the CD-ROM of *Who Built America*," Myers writes, "I know of its great value. . . . [It] is a wonderful tool for helping students . . . discover new ways of understanding American history. I am particularly pleased to hear that your new series will have a New Mexico component devoted to the 'White Caps.' *Landscapes in Time* will be particularly valuable to the Library and to several departments on campus." (See Appendix 4 for letters.)

ASHP and the Center for History and New Media will work closely with the American Library Association and other library organizations to assure that the *Who Built America?* and *Landscapes in Time* disks are made available to public library patrons through free distribution of the disks to selected public libraries across the country. ALA administrator Peggy Barber has helped us generate contacts in major public library systems around the country that already possess the necessary computer equipment to play CD-ROMs. Ms. Barber estimates that more than 3,300 main libraries (with a total of more than 4,600 branch libraries) currently own such equipment. A number of librarians in such places as Chicago, St. Louis, Monterey, California, Ames, Iowa, New York City, and Port Washington, New York, have agreed to make available donated copies of both the *WBA* and *Landscapes* disks to their patrons. (See Appendix 4 for letters.) Based on the contacts we are making with public libraries, we will donate 50 free copies of the CD-ROMs, with priority going to libraries with the fewest resources but with the most developed plans for using multimedia.

Another measure of our commitment to reach out to public librarians is evident in our collaboration with the Video Education for Librarians Project, which will be offering a week-long institute for more than one hundred library educators in summer 1995 entitled "Video, CD-ROM and Beyond: Visual Media and the Library of the Future." Debra Franco, Senior Project Advisor to the Librarians Project, which is sponsored by the MacArthur Foundation and National Video Resources (supported by the Rockefeller Foundation), has asked ASHP staff to participate in the summer institute. The institute will feature the first *WBA*

CD-ROM as "one of our case studies in high quality multimedia appropriate to library collections." (*Debra Franco's letter can be found in Appendix 4.*)

Naturally, the disks will also be available to the general public through commercial channels. Many CD-ROMs are currently marketed through mail order, but a large number of computer stores carry CD-ROMs. Voyager, our publisher, has also made an aggressive effort to get CD-ROMs into bookstores, and *WBA I* and similar CD-ROMs are becoming increasingly available there. *WBA I* sells for \$49.50 list price (and \$35 through discount catalogs), and we would anticipate a similar price for the new CD-ROMs.

In addition to vigorous outreach to schools, libraries, and museums, we will also place portions of both disks on-line on the Internet. We will create a World Wide Web server at George Mason University, which has just begun a major infrastructure upgrade to fast T3 lines that allow the rapid downloading of large data files, including video and audio resources, onto individual desktop computers. We will take ten of the excursions from the *WBA II* disk and connect them together with a short narrative that will allow Internet users to explore a rich array of print, visual, audio, and video documents from the 1914-1946 period. To avoid copyright problems, we will select excursions that include only public domain text, film, sound, and visual documents.

We will also place the opening section of the *Landscapes* disk on the Molly Maguires on-line in a similar fashion. Unfortunately, the current state of technology--particularly slow overall transmission speeds over the Internet--makes it difficult, if not impossible, to distribute the full version of the disks over the World Wide Web. This sort of distributed access to complex multimedia products will probably not be possible for another five years. Nevertheless, we think it important to experiment with allowing public access, no matter how limited at present, to the historical resources developed under this grant by making at least a portion of that material freely available on-line to the general public. At the moment, multimedia, hypertextual browsing tools like Mosaic come the closest to duplicating on-line what we are trying to do on CD-ROM.

We also want to foster on-line discussion of the larger historical and humanities themes raised by these disks. We will, therefore, set up a "listserv" (a group mailing list) at GMU, linked to the Internet, for interested citizens to engage in on-line discussions of the disks. In addition, we will build upon the ASHP on-line discussion area on American On-Line (AOL), which we are about to launch. This discussion area will be particularly oriented to teachers who are using media

in their classrooms. We will be adding to that a particular discussion "room" for teachers who want to engage strategies for effective use of multimedia. The disks' authors and the project's producers will be active participants in these on-line conversations. Product information in each CD-ROM will include details on how to sign up for these Internet lists and how to contact the authors and producers directly on electronic mail. We will also work with Voyager to set up similar on-line discussion groups through American On-Line and CompuServe and on Voyager's own World Wide Web site.