

# American Stories

## A History of the United States

**FOURTH EDITION**  
**Combined Volume**

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## Chapter 30 Introduction

Artifacts as Evidence: Huey Helicopter

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Bill Brands: The 1968 Democratic Convention

## Chapter 31 Introduction

Artifacts as Evidence: Nixon and Mao Ping Pong Paddle Set

Artifacts as Evidence: AIDS Memorial Quilt Panel

Bill Brands: Long Lines at the Gas Pumps: First Oil Shock

## Chapter 32 Introduction

Artifacts as Evidence: World Trade Center Officer's Tool

Artifacts as Evidence: Michelle Obama Inaugural Gown

Bill Brands: The Berlin Wall Comes Down

## Revel™ Source Collection Documents

The following documents are available in the Revel version of *American Stories*, Fourth Edition, at the end of each chapter. They do not appear in the print version of the book.

### Chapter 1

- Thomas Hariot, The Algonquian Peoples of the Atlantic Coast, 1588
- Jacques Cartier *First Contact with the Indians* (1534)
- Bartolomé de las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies*, 1565
- Henry VII, *Letters of Patent Granted to John Cabot* (1496)
- Christopher Columbus, “*The Letters of Columbus to Ferdinand and Isabel*” (1493)
- Aztec Memories of the Conquest of Mexico, c. 1550
- José de Acosta, “Of Cacao” (1590)

### Chapter 2

- John Smith, “The Starving Time” (1624)
- Chief Powhatan, Remarks to Captain John Smith, c. 1609
- John Winthrop, *A Model of Christian Charity*, 1630
- Father Isaac Jogues, Description of New Amsterdam (1646)
- William Penn, *Model for Government* (1682)
- “Indenture of Wessell Webling” (1622)
- General Assembly, Of the Servants and Slaves in Virginia, 1705

### Chapter 3

- Prenuptial Agreement (1653)
- Anne Bradstreet, “Before the Birth of One of Her Children” (1650)
- A Defense of the Slave Trade
- James Oglethorpe, The Stono Rebellion, 1739
- Cotton Mather, Memorable Providences, Relating to Witchcrafts and Possessions (1689)
- Virginia Law on Indentured Servitude (1705)
- Witchcraft Trial of Elizabeth Clawson, Stamford, Connecticut (1692)

### Chapter 4

- Benjamin Franklin, Observations Concerning the Increase of Mankind, Peopling of Countries, etc. (1751)
- Benjamin Franklin on George Whitefield, 1771
- Jonathan Edwards, Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God, 1741
- Albany Plan of Union (1754)
- Pedro Naranjo, Testimony Regarding the Pueblo Revolt (of 1680) (1681)
- Iroquois Chiefs Address the Governors of New York and Virginia (1684)
- Alexander Hamilton, *Itinerarium* (1744)

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- James Otis, “The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved” (1764)
- Benjamin Franklin, Testimony Against the Stamp Act, 1766
- Boston Gazette, “Description of the Boston Massacre,” 1770
- Thomas Paine, “Common Sense,” 1776
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- Slaves Petition the Governor of Massachusetts to End Slavery (1774)
- Commissioners of the United States, “Proceedings of the Treaty of Hopewell” (1785)

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- Phillis Wheatley Publishes Her Poems, 1773
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- Publius (James Madison), Federalist Paper #10, 1788
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- From George Washington to Robert Morris (1786)
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- Alexander Hamilton, Report on Manufactures, 1791
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- George Washington, Farewell Address 1796
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- Judith Sargent Murray Argues for Equality
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- Pennsylvania Gazette, Indian Hostilities (1812)
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- Absalom Jones Delivers a Sermon on the Occasion of the Abolition of the International Slave Trade, 1808
- The Treaty of Ghent (1814)
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- Tecumseh, Speech to Governor Harrison (1810)
- Aaron Burr, Letter to James Wilkinson (1806)

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- “Memorial of the Cherokee Nation,” 1830
- Harriet Hanson Robinson, A Lowell Mill Girl Tells Her Story, 1836

- Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Jefferson Reacts to the “Missouri Question,” 1820
- John Marshall, Opinion of the Supreme Court, *McCulloch v. Maryland* (1819)
- James Monroe, *The Monroe Doctrine* (1823)

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- Andrew Jackson, First Annual Message to Congress, 1829
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- Andrew Jackson, Veto of the Bank Bill, 1832
- Davy Crockett, Advice to Politicians, 1833
- Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America* (1836)

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- George Fitzhugh, *The Blessings of Slavery* (1857)
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- Reverend Peter Cartwright, *Cane Ridge and the “New Lights,”* (1801)
- Catharine E. Beecher, “A Treatise on Domestic Economy, for the Use of Young Ladies at Home, and at School” (1841)
- David Walker, *A Black Abolitionist Speaks Out*, 1829
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- “A Sermon on The Times: Rev. Henry Ward Beecher on Slavery and Its Outworkings,” *New York Times* (1862)

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- Thomas Corwin, “Against the Mexican War,” 1847
- William Barret Travis, *Letter from the Alamo* (1836)
- John L. O’Sullivan, “The Great Nation of Futurity,” 1839
- Samuel F. B. Morse, *Danger of Foreign Immigration* (1835)
- Massachusetts Legislative Report on 10-Hour Day (1845)

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- The Fugitive Slave Act, 1850
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- *Ex parte Milligan* (1866)

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- Frederick Jackson Turner, “The Significance of the Frontier in American History,” 1893

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- Andrew Carnegie, “*Wealth*,” *North American Review*, 1889
- Thomas Edison, *The Success of the Electric Light* (October 1880)
- “*Statement from the Pullman Strikers*” (1894)
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- Advice on Keeping Children on the Farm (1881)
- Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, from *The Working Girls of Boston* (1884)
- The Morrill Act (1862)
- W. E. B. Du Bois, The Talented Tenth, 1903
- Edward Bellamy, from *Looking Backward* (1888)
- Jane Addams, from *Twenty Years at Hull House*, 1910
- Lee Chew, *Life of a Chinese Immigrant* (1903)

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- *United States v. Workingmen’s Amalgamated Council* (1893)
- Proceedings of the Thirteenth Session of the National Grange of the Patrons of Husbandry (1879)
- Mary Elizabeth Lease, The Populist Crusader, 1892
- Ocala Platform (1890)
- William Jennings Bryan, “Cross of Gold” Speech, 1896

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- Theodore Roosevelt, from *The Strenuous Life* (1900)
- William Graham Sumner, “On Empire and the Philippines” (1898)
- Josiah Strong, from *Our Country* (1885)
- Alfred Thayer Mahan, *The Interest of America in Sea Power* (1897)
- Atlantic Monthly, “The War with Spain, and After” (1898)
- “Platform of the American Anti-Imperialist League,” 1898

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- The Niagara Movement Articulates Its Principles, 1906
- John Spargo, from *The Bitter Cry of the Children*, 1906

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- Lee Chew, *Life of a Chinese Immigrant* (1903)
- Samuel Gompers, *The American Labor Movement Its Makeup, Achievements and Aspirations*, 1914
- Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World (1905)
- Nineteenth Amendment (1919)

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- Susan B. Anthony, *The “New Departure” for Women* (1873)
- 17th Amendment (1913)
- National American Woman Suffrage Association, Mother’s Day Letter (1912)
- Eugene V. Debs, from “The Outlook for Socialism in America,” 1900
- Woodrow Wilson, from *The New Freedom* (1913)
- Theodore Roosevelt, from “The New Nationalism” (1910)

### Chapter 24

- Adolf K.G.E. von Spiegel, *U-boat 202* (1919)
- The Zimmermann Telegram, 1917
- Eugene Kennedy, A “Doughboy” Describes the Fighting Front, 1918
- Espionage Act (1917)
- Woodrow Wilson, *The Fourteen Points* (1918)
- Woodrow Wilson, *War Message to Congress* (1917)

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- Margaret Sanger, Family Planning, 1926
- Eleanor Rowland Wembridge, “Petting and the Campus” *Survey* (1925)
- A. Mitchell Palmer on the Menace of Communism, 1920
- Hiram Evans, “Klan’s Fight for Americanism,” 1926
- Executive Orders and Senate Resolutions on Teapot Dome (1920)

### Chapter 26

- Franklin D. Roosevelt, *First Inaugural Address* (1933)
- E. E. Lewis, *Black Cotton Farmers and the AAA* (1935)
- Meridel Le Sueur, “Women on the Breadlines,” *New Masses* (1932)
- Mrs. Henry Weddington, Letter to President Roosevelt, 1938
- Huey Long, “Share Our Wealth,” 1935
- Frances Perkins and the Social Security Act, 1935, 1960
- Carey McWilliams, *Okies in California*, 1939

### Chapter 27

- Barbara Woodall and Charles Taylor, *Letters to and from the Front* (1941–1944)
- Franklin D. Roosevelt, “The Four Freedoms,” 1941
- Charles Lindbergh, *Radio Address* (1941)
- Virginia Snow Wilkinson, “From Housewife to Shipfitter,” 1943
- Supreme Court Opinions in *Korematsu v. United States*, 1944

- John A. Siemes, *An Eyewitness to Hiroshima*, 1945
- Manhattan Project Notebook (1942)

### Chapter 28

- Henry Wallace, *Letter to President Truman* (1946)
- NSC-68 (1950)
- The Truman Loyalty Order (1947)
- Winston Churchill, “Iron Curtain” Speech, March 5, 1946
- George Kennan, *The Long Telegram* (1946)
- Harry S. Truman, The Truman Doctrine, 1947
- Ronald Reagan, Testimony Before the House Un-American Activities Committee, 1947

### Chapter 29

- Southern Manifesto on Integration (1956)
- President Eisenhower Uses the National Guard to Desegregate Central High School, 1957
- Profile of Jack Kerouac (1922–1968)
- *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, 1954
- Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Statement of Purpose, 1960
- President Eisenhower, Press and Radio Conference #123 (1957)

### Chapter 30

- Lyndon Johnson, *Message to Congress and the Tonkin Gulf Resolution* (1964)
- John F. Kennedy, Inaugural Address, 1961
- Executive Discussions on the Cuban Missile Crisis (1962)
- Lyndon B. Johnson, The War on Poverty, 1964
- Lyndon B. Johnson, *Why We Are in Vietnam* (1965)
- The Civil Rights Act of 1964

### Chapter 31

- Testimony at the Winter Soldier Investigation (1971)
- Patricia Morrisroe, “Yuppies—The New Class” (1985)
- Jimmy Carter, “Crisis of Confidence” (1979)
- Richard Nixon, Vietnamization, 1969
- House Judiciary Committee’s Conclusion on Impeachment, 1974
- *Roe v. Wade* (1973)
- Ronald Reagan, First Inaugural Address, 1981
- Richard Viguerie, *Why the New Right Is Winning* (1981)

### Chapter 32

- *Anthony Kennedy, Opinion of the Court in Obergefell v. Hodges* (2015)
- George Bush, Allied Military Action in the Persian Gulf, 1991
- Republican Contract With America, 1994
- Bill Clinton, Answers to the Articles of Impeachment, January 11, 1999
- George W. Bush, Address to Congress, 9/20/2001
- Barack H. Obama, *A More Perfect Union* \_\_\_\_ (2008)
- Pres. Obama Delivers a Statement on the Ferguson Grand Jury’s Decision Not to Bring Charges (2014)

# Preface

## In This Edition

Teachers familiar with previous editions of *American Stories* will find that this fourth edition expands impressively on its predecessors. The major changes include:

### Revel for *American Stories*

Revel™

Revel is an interactive learning environment that deeply engages students and prepares them for class. Media and assessment integrated directly within the authors' narrative lets students read, explore interactive content, and practice in one continuous learning path. Thanks to the dynamic reading experience in Revel, students come to class prepared to discuss, apply, and learn from instructors and from each other.

Learn More about Revel

<http://www.pearson.com/revel>

Rather than simply offering opportunities to read about and study U.S. history, Revel facilitates deep, engaging interactions with the concepts that matter most. By providing opportunities to improve skills in analyzing and interpreting sources of historical evidence, for example, Revel engages students directly and immediately, which leads to a better understanding of course material. A wealth of student and instructor resources and interactive materials can be found within Revel. Some of our favorites are mentioned in the information that follows.

For more information about all the tools and resources in Revel and access to your own Revel account for *American Stories*, go to [www.pearsonhighered.com/revel](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/revel).

*American Stories, 4e*, features many of the dynamic interactive elements that make Revel unique. In addition to the rich narrative content, *American Stories* includes the following:

- **Engaging Video Program:**
  - Chapter opening videos. These videos capture the attention of today's students and provide a brief introduction to the key themes and content in the chapter.
  - Author guided videos. Videos, featuring author Bill Brands, presented in a friendly and inviting style, provide learners with complementary and compelling content not in the narrative.

- **Artifacts as Evidence videos.** Created in partnership with the Smithsonian Institution, these videos focus on a wide range of unique artifacts from the Smithsonian collection, using these artifacts as starting points for explaining and illuminating the American historical experience.
- **Charting the Past** modules combine interactive maps, documents, and images to create in-depth opportunities for students to explore the relationship between geography, demography, and history.
- **Key Term Definitions:** Key Terms appear in bold and include pop-up definitions inline that allow students to see the meaning of a word or phrase while reading the text, providing context.
- **Interactive Maps:** Interactive maps throughout the text include a pan/zoom feature and an additional feature that allows students to toggle on and off map details.
- **Assessments:** Multiple-choice end-of-module and end-of-chapter quizzes test student's knowledge of the chapter content, including dates, concepts, and major events.
- **Chapter Review:** The Chapter Review—which contains a timeline, Key Term flashcards, an image gallery, video gallery and review questions—is laid out using interactive features that allow students to click on specific topics to learn more or test their knowledge about concepts covered in the chapter.
- **Source Collections:** An end-of-chapter source collection includes three to five documents relevant to the chapter content. Each document includes header notes, questions, and audio. Students can highlight and make notes on the documents.
- **Journal Prompts:** Revel is rich in opportunities for writing about topics and concepts and the Journal Prompts included are one way in which students can explore themes presented in the chapter. The ungraded Journal Prompts are included inline with content and can be shared with instructors.
- **Shared Writing Prompts:** These prompts provide peer-to-peer feedback in a discussion board, developing critical thinking skills and fostering collaboration among a specific class. These prompts appear between modules.
- **Essay Prompts:** These prompts appear in Pearson's Writing Space and can be assigned and graded by instructors.

### ENGAGE STUDENTS AND IMPROVE CRITICAL THINKING

- **Chapter introductory vignettes**
- **Chapter images, maps, and figures** are bigger, visually interesting, and informative. Photographs and pieces of fine art encapsulate emotional and historical meaning. Captions provide valuable information that allows for a fuller understanding of the people who lived the American story.
- **Quick Check Questions** give students the opportunity to review as they read, leading to a more complete understanding of chapter content.

### SUPPORT INSTRUCTORS

- **Learning Objective questions** highlight the important issues and themes. Each is linked to one of the chapter's main sections, and they are all emphasized in the chapter overview.
- **Key Terms** throughout the chapters highlight important topics as they are introduced.
- The **thematic timeline** ending each chapter reinforces the essential points of the narrative.

### SUPPLEMENTS FOR INSTRUCTORS

**Instructor's Resource Center.** [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc). This website provides instructors with additional text-specific resources that can be downloaded for classroom use. Resources include the Instructor's Resource

Manual, PowerPoint presentations, and the Test Bank. Register online for access to the resources for *American Stories*.

**Instructor's Resource Manual.** Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc), the Instructor's Resource Manual includes an Introduction to Revel section that walks the user through the Revel product using screen shots that identify and explain the numerous Revel features, detailed chapter overviews, and discussion questions.

**Test Bank.** Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc), the Test Bank contains more than 1,700 multiple-choice, and essay test questions.

**PowerPoint Presentations.** Strong PowerPoint presentations make lectures more engaging for students. Available at the Instructor's Resource Center for download, [www.pearsonhighered.com/irc](http://www.pearsonhighered.com/irc), the PowerPoints contain chapter outlines and full-color images of maps and art. All PowerPoints are ADA compliant

**MyTest Test Bank.** Available at [www.pearsonmytest.com](http://www.pearsonmytest.com), MyTest is a powerful assessment generation program that helps instructors easily create and print quizzes and exams. Questions and tests can be authored online, allowing instructors ultimate flexibility and the ability to efficiently manage assessments anytime, anywhere! Instructors can easily access existing questions and edit, create, and store using simple drag-and-drop and Word-like controls.



# A Note to My Fellow Teachers

**H.W. BRANDS** I've been teaching American history for thirty-five years now, and in that time I've noticed something. Our students come to our classrooms with increasingly varied backgrounds. Some students are better prepared, having taken A.P. courses and acquired a solid grounding in historical facts, interpretations, and methods. Other students arrive less well prepared. Many of these are international students; some are students for whom English is a second or third language. Some of these, and some others, simply never took American history in high school.

Different students require different methods of teaching. Students well versed in American history do best with a book that presupposes their preparation and takes them beyond it. Students for whom the subject is new or otherwise challenging are more likely to succeed with a book that focuses on essential themes, and offers features designed to facilitate the learning process. Any textbook can be intimidating, as even my best students have reminded me over the years. For that reason, whatever reduces the intimidation factor can help students succeed.

This is the philosophy behind *American Stories: A History of the United States*. A single purpose has motivated the creation of this book: to enhance the accessibility of American history and thereby increase students' chances of success. This goal is what brought me to the classroom, and it's one I think I share with you. If *American Stories: A History of the United States* contributes to achieving this goal, we all—teachers and students—will be the winners.

The most frequent complaint I get from students regarding history textbooks is that the mass of information is overwhelming. This complaint provided the starting point for *American Stories*, which differs from standard textbooks in two fundamental respects.

First, we reduced the number of topics covered, only retaining the essential elements of the American story. We surveyed over five hundred instructors from across the country to find out what topics were most commonly covered in a typical survey classroom. Once we received the results, we culled the most commonly taught topics and selected them for inclusion in *American Stories*.

Second, we integrated a variety of study aids into the text. These were originally developed with the assistance of Dr. Kathleen T. McWhorter and Debby Kalk. Kathleen is a professor and author with more than 40 years of experience who specializes in developmental reading, writing, composition, and study skills. Debby is an instructional designer and author with more than 20 years of experience

producing materials. With the help of both Kathleen and Debby, *American Stories* is the first college-level U.S. history survey completely designed to meet the needs of the instructor and the student.

Beyond this, *American Stories* places great emphasis on a compelling narrative. We—I and my fellow authors—have used significant incidents and episodes to reflect the dilemmas, the choices, and the decisions made by the American people as well as by their leaders. Our story of the American past includes the major events that have shaped the nation. We examine the ways in which the big events influenced the lives of ordinary people. How did the American Revolution alter the fortunes and prospects of men, women, and children around the country? What was it like for blacks and whites to live in a plantation society?

Each chapter begins with a vignette that launches the narrative of that chapter and identifies its themes. Some of the vignettes have special meaning for the authors. The vignette that opens Chapter 26, on the Great Depression of the 1930s, reminds me of the stories my father used to tell about his experiences during that trying decade. His family wasn't nearly as hard hit as many in the 1930s; Like Pauline Kael, he was a college student and like her, he saw how hard it was for many of his classmates to stay in school. He himself was always working at odd jobs, trying to make ends meet. Times were hard, yet he learned the value of a dollar—something he impressed on me as I was growing up.

By these means and others, I and my fellow authors have attempted to bring history to life for students. We believe that while history rarely repeats itself, the story of the American past is profoundly relevant to the problems and challenges facing the nation today.

## Pedagogical Features

The pedagogical elements in *American Stories* have been carefully constructed to be accessible to students and to support a better, deeper understanding of U.S. history. These elements fall into two categories, Narrative Pedagogy that appears throughout the main body of each chapter, and Study Resources collected at the ends of chapters.

- **Narrative Pedagogy** Each chapter follows a consistent pedagogy that maximizes student learning. *Focus Questions* in the chapter openers preview the main idea for each major section and provide a framework for the entire chapter. As a reminder to students, these

questions are repeated in the margins after each major section. *Quick Check Questions* follow each subsection for immediate reinforcement. *Key Terms* are highlighted throughout each chapter and are defined in the text's glossary.

- **Study Resources** Each chapter concludes with series of study resources. A chapter *Timeline* surveys the chronology of key events with page references for easy look-up of information. The *Chapter Review* connects back to the Spotlight Questions, providing brief answers that summarize the main points of each section.

#### A FINAL WORD

My fellow authors and I, with the assistance of the professionals at Pearson, have devoted a great deal of effort to making a textbook of which we are all very proud. Our goal with *American Stories* is to convey our excitement for history to our students in the most accessible manner possible. We've done what we can toward this goal, but we realize that our success depends on you, the classroom instructors. Our job is to make your job easier. All of us—authors and instructors—are in this together. So keep up the good work, and thanks!

# A Note to Students: Tips for Studying History

Nearly every semester for many years I have taught an introductory course in American history. Over that time I've come to appreciate the value of devoting the first class session to the fundamentals of studying and learning. Different students have different learning styles, but the experiences of the many students I've taught have convinced me that certain general techniques produce good results.

I always tell students that these techniques aren't the only way to study; they may have their own methods. But I also tell them that these techniques have worked for a lot of students in the past, and might work for them. Here they are:

- 1. History is a *story*,** not just an assortment of facts. The connections are critical. How do the events and people you are reading or hearing about relate to one another? This is what historians want to know.  
Therefore:  
**Find the story line,** the plot. Identify the main characters, the turning points. How did the story turn out? Why did it turn out that way and not some other?
- 2. Dates matter, but order matters more.** Students often get the idea that history is all about dates. It's not. It's about what caused what (as in a story: see Rule 1 above). Dates are useful only in that they help you remember what happened before what else. This is crucial, because the thing that came first might have caused, or at least influenced, the thing that came later.  
Therefore:  
**Concentrate on the order of events.** If you do, the dates will fall into place by themselves.
- 3. History takes time** —to happen, and to learn. History is a story. But like any richly detailed story, it can take time to absorb.  
Therefore:  
**Spread out your studying.** If you have three hours of reading to do, do it over three days for an hour a day. If you have a test coming up, give yourself two weeks to study, allocating a half hour each day. You'll learn more easily; you'll retain more. And you'll have a better chance to enjoy the story.
- 4. History's stories are both spoken and written.** That's why most classes involve both lectures and readings.  
Therefore:

**Read the assigned materials before the corresponding lectures.** It's tempting not to—to let the reading slide. But resist the temptation. Advance reading makes the lectures far more understandable—and far more enjoyable.

- 5. Less is more,** at least in note-taking. Not every word in the text or lecture is equally important. The point of notes is to distill a chapter or a lecture into a smaller, more manageable size.

Therefore:

**Hit the high points.** Focus on where the text and lecture overlap. Write down key phrases and words; don't write complete sentences. And if you are using a highlighter on a book, be sparing.

- 6. History is a twice-told tale.** History is both what happened and how we've remembered what happened. Think of your first exposure to a particular historical topic as history *happening*, and your second exposure as history *being remembered*. An awareness of both is necessary to making the history stick in your head.

Therefore:

**Take a rest** after reading a chapter or attending a lecture. **Then go back and review.** Your class notes should not be comprehensive (see Rule 5), but as you go back over them, you will remember details that will help you fill out your notes. While you are reviewing a chapter, ask yourself what your notes on the chapter mean, and why you highlighted this particular phrase or that.

To summarize, when approaching a history course:

- **Find the story line.**
- **Concentrate on the order of events.**
- **Spread out your studying.**
- **Read the assignments before the lectures.**
- **Hit the high points in taking notes.**
- **Take a rest, then review.**

A final suggestion: Allow enough time for this course so you aren't rushed. If you give yourself time to get into the story, you'll come to enjoy it. And what you enjoy, you'll remember.

Best wishes,  
H. W. BRANDS

# About the Authors



**H.W. BRANDS** Henry William Brands was born in Oregon, went to college in California, sold cutlery across the American West, and earned graduate degrees in mathematics and history in Oregon and Texas. He taught at Vanderbilt University and Texas A&M University before joining

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**T. H. BREEN** T.H. Breen, currently the William Smith Mason Professor of American History at Northwestern University Emeritus, the James Marsh Professor At-Large at the University of Vermont, and the John Kluge Professor of American Law and Governance at the Library of

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**R. HAL WILLIAMS** R. Hal Williams was professor of history emeritus at Southern Methodist University. He received his A.B. from Princeton University in 1963 and his Ph.D. from Yale University in 1968. His books include *The Democratic Party and California Politics, 1880-1896* (1973); *Years of*

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