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THE DEVELOPMENT OF CERTAIN ASPECTS OF CRITICAL THINKING FOR TEACHERS OF HISTORY BY WAY OF ORIGINAL RESEARCH USING PRIMARY MATERIALS

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of The Ohio State University

By

Sam Spencer Smith, B.S., M.A.

*****

The Ohio State University
1974

Approved by

Robert E. Jewett
Loren R. Tomlinson
Paul R. Klohr

Robert E. Jewett
Adviser
College of Education
DEDICATION

Nine years ago Dr. Alphus R. Christensen, President of Rio Grande College and Rio Grande Community College, suggested that I proceed with my doctoral studies. Through arrangements made by him and with his continuous confidence and support it has been possible to conclude those studies. In grateful recognition and acknowledgment, this thesis is dedicated to him, whose services to the cause of higher education for southeastern Ohio, the state, and the nation has yet to be adequately recognized.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Chapter I

THE PROBLEM

That something very serious is wrong with the teaching of history, or the social studies in general, in the schools of America appears evident. For almost a century leading educators have addressed themselves to the problem, a problem significant in its proportions, because the teaching of history, civics, geography, and various other social studies has been almost universally mandated by the various state and local authorities in this country. With the probable exception of instruction in English, the social studies have commanded the greatest amount of time and academic effort in the public schools, particularly at the secondary level. Throughout most of this time, and in most places, the implicit, if not always explicit, purpose of the effort was to help make young, immature citizens into effective adult citizens of a democracy.\(^1\)

According to Hertzberg,\(^2\) the history of the social


studies enterprise in American schools can be viewed in three successive stages, with appropriate rationales and teaching strategies for each. From the 1880's to the World War I era, the dominant approach recommended by scholars in the field was what one might call the "historiographic." The influence of the Ranke school of historians at university level, with their emphasis on "objective" research and reporting via the university seminar experience, was recommended and popularized as "the" method of teaching history at the public or pre-collegiate level. Using primary sources, or reproductions thereof, was supposed to provide a "valuable training in judgment." And, if we are to understand some critics, it did a lot of the university professor's job for him. At least, high school principals suspected as much when surveyed by the Committee of Seven. This approach, of course, might have made some sense in view of the more elitist college preparatory constituency of the high schools or academies at the turn of the century. The same attitude exists today, as demonstrated by the following:

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3 For example, see Mary Sheldon Barnes' *Studies in General History* (Boston: D. C. Heath, 1893).

4 The history of this endeavor in one state has been reported in Richard Smolens, "The Source-Study Method of Teaching History in Nebraska (1891-1920)--An Attempt at a Large Scale Teaching Innovation" (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1970).

No student should enter college without having written a dozen historical papers in high school; without knowing forms for footnoting and bibliography, and where to find historical material and how to analyze it; without understanding the criteria for a good historical paper; and without having been forced to think long and hard about not only what happened in history but why it happened and why it is significant for the present.6

Along with increased numbers seeking and completing secondary schooling, however, grew the demand for a broader and more general approach. The advent of the "social studies" brought about by The Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1913-1916) placed emphasis on "Man as a member of social groups," a problem centered approach using social science data (and courses) to explain contemporary conditions to students, the better to help the student contribute to society. Such was the emphasis from the highwater mark of the Progressive Era and the "war to make the world safe for democracy" to the decade of the 1960's. The strongest movement of the latter part of that era was the "core curriculum" of human understandings and skills to be experienced in a student centered, problem-solving fashion.

Phase III of the social studies odyssey began with Sputnik I, and the resulting demand for rigor and academic

achievement in the schools, which first produced a "revolution" in the teaching of the physical and natural sciences based on the "structure" of the disciplines "inductively" learned by "discovery." Thence, the "New Social Studies." Project upon project produced new packages of materials with elaborate Teacher's Manuals, frequently from the hands of "social scientists" rather than "educationists," often well funded by the federal government in the name of a "Great Society." The "Great Society," even as it was being elaborated, was also being torn apart by great unresolved issues of national purpose and priorities in such critical areas as war and peace, poverty and affluence, racism, individual versus societal rights, and technological versus ecological progress and survival.

Where--an impartial observer might ask--were all these citizens so arduously educated for democracy over the past


8 Terry Northup makes a good case for demonstrating that "educationists" of 1930's and on were advocating much the same curricula but were ignored in Terry Northup, "Philosophical Analysis of the 'New' Social Studies--A Response," The Social Studies, LXIII (December, 1972), pp. 315-317.

three generations? Supposedly, an older generation had been trained in the precise and cautious judgment of the historian, a middle generation in personal and social problem adjustments at the very core, a younger generation in the enduring value and technique of inquiry, capable of threading the maze of social problems by way of knowledge of the social science disciplines. The answer, of course, would have to be that the citizens were indeed on hand. But the heat, rather than the light, of the conflict seemed to indicate that the citizenry was not overly well educated in clear and careful thinking, sharp historical and social insight, and dedication to a rational, structured analysis of social issues that led to democratic decision making. What, if anything, had they learned from their social studies education? Would the social studies enterprise claim responsibility or blame for the problems? Could it claim credit for the solutions (if there were any apparent) to any of the problems? It did not, in any case. There was little criticism from within or without the profession, nor in the public at large, of the enterprise for either its success or failure. All of which may be a way of saying that the whole enterprise has been largely irrelevant, and so recognized, to the developing of citizens and the democratic solutions to social problems all along. There appears to be little or no evidence that the problems and the reaction to them would have been any different had there never been such an enterprise.
The fact that we don't know only highlights the failure of current research to inform us of the results of the social studies enterprise in American life.

What would appear to be a defensible position on the nature of the teaching of the social studies in American schools is that the various rationales, programs, and methodologies proposed and attempted in the last century have probably made little difference in the actual conduct of the enterprise itself. The consensus of testimony on the teaching of the social studies would indicate that, despite the academic debates, university generated proposals, program packages, occasional changes in the emphases of academic majors and changes in methods course rationales, the preponderance of social studies classroom teachers have continued to "teach as they were taught."\textsuperscript{10} Traditional teaching means lecture and textbook delivery of preselected "knowledge," evaluation emphasizing memorized retention of data. To the extent that students participate actively, they might answer a few questions orally, these questions also requiring only recall. Such was largely true a hundred years ago; such is largely true today. It has, perhaps, been true ever since the medieval universities when the professors read verbatim the only available texts to the assembled students.

\textsuperscript{10} William C. Elwell, "Where are the Inquirers in Social Studies Education?" \textit{The Social Studies}, LXIII (December, 1972), pp. 326-328.
An iceberg changes little in mass or direction because a few sunny rays melt a little ice on its visible surface; so with the efforts at reform on social studies education. Neither the historiographic, core, nor inquiry approaches have made more than a dent in the overall practice of the profession, particularly in the secondary classroom. "It must be concluded that the vaunted revolution in the social studies is no revolution at all, but only a small and thus far inconsequential insurrection that has not yet attained great appeal in the ranks."\(^{11}\) Thus the verdict in regard to the latest movement. In a profound sense then, the effort of the social studies enterprise to educate better citizens for a democracy has been largely irrelevant, unless indeed all the lectures on American history and government in the usual "sweetness and light" tradition of the typical textbook has but served to encourage further passive, unquestioning patriotism. If that is the meaning of good citizenship, it might be possible to make out a case that the social studies enterprise in the schools has had some effect.

What--it might be asked--has been wrong? Why has all the effort had so little effect? Why has the teaching of social studies in American school remained largely beyond the reach of the several efforts to rationalize it for more

successful citizenship education? An overview of the enterprise suggest that these efforts have been misplaced. Emphasis in each attempt (historiographic, core, inquiry approaches) to reform the enterprise has been placed on the methods and materials of the classroom teacher. New objectives have been delineated, curricula have been revised, the approach to methods and materials have been appropriately changed. But in each case the prescription has been directed at the then current classroom teacher, one already so immersed in his job, perhaps overwhelmed by it, that he has little or no time or opportunity to do other than perform in his accustomed manner, i.e., to teach as he was taught. Further, except for an occasional methods course in colleges of education, the preservice teaching candidates have continued to be taught by college history, social science, and education professors in much the same traditional manner. History and social science faculties have largely ignored pedagogical recommendations, perhaps deliberately, en masse. Professional education professors have frequently continued to lecture, even when proclaiming the values and necessities of the new strategies, whatever they may be. This, unfortunately, is largely true of social studies education professors, according to Elwell who says they do not "practice what they preach." 12 Thus the new social studies teacher has emerged

12 Elwell, op. cit., p. 326.
from his college experience, entered the classroom, and, whatever rationale and strategies have been prescribed for him by his teacher training, simply proceeded to "teach" in the grand old manner. The crux of the problem of changing social studies education for more effective citizenship education, or anything else, then, has been failure to train social studies teachers to the task. "More and more critics are reaching the realization that while course revision is important, the crux of the problem centers on teacher inadequacies."\(^{13}\)

The problem, indeed, may call for more radical solution. Continuing the same deductive procedure which brought us to the conclusion just stated, we might maintain that the failure to change social studies education for more effective citizenship education lies in the training or retraining of professors of history, the social sciences, and social studies education. "There is nothing wrong with secondary school education that a substantial change and improvement in college and university teaching would not help"\(^{14}\) may be too simplified a diagnosis of a complex problem, but it has more than a touch of truth about it. And there is some recognition within the higher education disciplines of the problem.


"College historians for the most part cannot understand that they are integrally involved in preparing teachers for the schools...by the mere fact that there are teachers and future teachers in their courses, and that these students are conditioned, either positively or negatively, by the experience that they have in that course."\textsuperscript{15}

It is the assumption of the author, however, that a great many of those involved at the higher education level have the time, opportunity, capacity, and necessary background to reformulate and redirect their own instructional strategies. This study will, therefore, be limited to a recommendation relevant to their programs for social studies teacher preparation, and not specifically be directed to their own retraining as such.

This study is essentially concerned, then, with the preparation of teachers of the social studies for secondary schools. It is assumed that the appropriate task of the social studies in American education is, indeed, effective citizenship education. It is admitted that citizenship education involves the possibility of the development of a whole set of skills, attitudes, and understandings appropriate to decision-making tasks of persons in an "open" or "democratic" society. It is assumed that the effective education of citizens in the appropriate skills, attitudes, and

\textsuperscript{15}American Historical Association History Education Project: The Status of the Project and its Regional Teams as of the End of 1970, p. 7.
understandings requisite to decision-making in an open society depends in some part on the skills, attitudes, and understandings of the social studies teacher. It is further assumed that the social studies teacher's skills, attitudes, and understandings, not just as a citizen, but as a teacher of citizens, depends in large part on the nature of his pre-service preparation in higher education.

It is not the purpose of this study to explore, determine, justify, or defend the entire area of the requisite skills, attitudes, and understandings for effective citizenship education via the social studies enterprise. Nor is it the purpose here to explore, propose, justify or defend the entire program of social studies education. No doubt there needs to be new attempts— rather— a continuing effort, to identify, clarify, and explicate the pedagogical implications of the meaning of citizenship within the enterprise. Such an effort is much too ambitious for the limited scope and purpose of this study. Rather, it is hoped that from the contributions of dozens of studies similar to this, each identifying a single and particular need for social studies teachers, and each exploring a technique or strategy for meeting that need in their pre-service training, a more effective and defensible program can eventually be structured.

It is the purpose of this study to identify and clarify one significant aspect of citizenship education via the social studies, that being the essential elements of critical
thinking in the handling of information or data, and to propose a procedure for the training of social studies teachers the better to prepare them for the related classroom task.

It should be noted that the study does not propose to address itself to secondary social studies classroom teaching rationales or strategies. Social studies teachers have already been "told" more to do than they can handle in terms of their own previous education and training. What they have not experienced is the kind of pre-service training that would make them capable of performing as they have been "told" to perform.16 "It is extremely presumptuous to act as if classroom teachers possess all the necessary skills and attitudes implicitly demanded by most materials," says Richard Newton. "...don't tell them how it is, have them do it."17 The essential task in the social studies enterprise at this point, it is maintained, is to begin to prepare social studies teachers, largely at the pre-service stage, with the essential skills, attitudes, and understandings requisite not only to citizenship in an "open"

16 There is some indication that the instructor model is most effective in changing trainees' classroom instructional behavior, although not their intentions or attitudes. See Milton Robert Baker, "Training Prospective Social Studies Teachers in Aspects of the Inquiry Method: The Effects of Different Models on a Trainee's Attitudes, Intentions, and Behaviors." (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, The University of Michigan, 1969).

society, but to the instruction of others in the same skills, attitudes, and understandings. Weintraub, in his review of research in this whole problem area, came to the conclusion that it "...appears not to be the amount of subject matter knowledge...but rather training in new behavior, and alternative roles and attitudes for teachers that are most important." The contention is that teachers cannot teach (provide adequate learning experience for students) a skill, attitude, or understanding which they have not mastered themselves. In any enterprise as delicate and complicated as the instruction of citizens in appropriate and effective civic characteristics, there simply cannot be anything approaching teacher-proof materials and strategies. The teacher who doesn't have critical thinking skills cannot adequately determine whether his students are acquiring them; the teacher who does not have a democratic attitude, an open frame of reference, can hardly be expected to provide the model or experience for his students to acquire one; the teacher who does not understand the function of controversy in a democratic society can hardly be depended upon to provide for the use of controversial issues in his classroom. "When the student can differentiate between propaganda and fact, can

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distinguish the demagogue from the statesman and recognize the myth from the truth, the teacher knows he has made real progress," notes Steinkamp. Concurrence and support for the statement leaves only the nagging question of "How do we know the teacher will know?" Granted the validity of the foregoing statement, the task of preparing social studies teachers becomes one of identifying the necessary skills, attitudes, and understandings relevant to citizenship education, and providing for the opportunity to master them in the college curriculum.

Whether one adopts the rationale and strategies of the historiographic school of social studies educators, the proponents of the core approach, or the advocates of discipline-discovery or reflective-decision-making, and whether the approach is subject-matter centered, student-life centered, or social issue centered, one central primary task required

19 John R. Steinkamp, "The Demands on the History Teacher Using the Inquiry Method," The Social Studies, LXI (March, 1970), p. 102. Steinkamp also delineates the characteristics requisite to the teacher of inquiry as a. logician, b. questioner, c. admitting to nebulous answers, d. a solution seeker, nonetheless, e. patient, f. exemplar of goodwill, g. knowledgeable in his subject, h. capable of assisting in reading difficult sources. This type effort is a beginning of the analysis needed to determine requisites of social studies teacher education, the author would maintain.

20 For a concise and insightful analysis of the difference between these two approaches (discipline-discovery and reflective-decision-making), both frequently labeled "inquiry," see Northup, op. cit.
in all social studies prescriptions is the handling of historical and social data. This data is the stuff of which hypotheses are formulated, inferences made, beliefs tested, conclusions formed, decisions arrived at. It is also the stuff which, throughout his life, the citizen must handle in order to do his own thinking. How he handles it, in the classroom, and in his life as a citizen, very largely indicates his effectiveness as an independent thinker, or decision-maker in a democratic society. Shirley Engle pinpoints the nucleus of the resultant task of the social studies enterprise in his assertion that the "most important lesson we can teach our students is to make the distinction between fact and opinion, analysis and advocacy." Thus the profound significance for the social studies enterprise of the teacher's attitude, understandings, and skills in handling data (information, subject matter), whatever his professed aim or grand strategy.

Teachers in the social studies have the capability of misusing data, in terms of its use in effective thinking, more than any of the other academic enterprises on the secondary school scene. In the natural and physical sciences, and in mathematics, the very nature of the discipline and the data with which they deal almost invites classroom and

21Engle, op. cit., p. 283.
laboratory experiences which can reconfirm the conclusions (knowledge) which teacher and textbook have to offer. In those disciplines, once a conclusion is warranted by experiment, it is (within philosophical limits) reaffirmable by experiment at almost the one hundred per cent level. The teacher, and the student, can "discover" or "prove" precisely the same conclusions that the most profound scholars in the field have arrived at, limited only by mental capacity, sophistication of skills, and available resources. In the arts, from language and literature to the fine and applied, the teacher and student are, in a sense, called upon to be creators and interpreters of reality by the very nature of the enterprise. But history and the social sciences, used in the social studies as historical and social data, are particularly susceptible to presentation as bodies of conclusions which call for neither creation, interpretation, nor validation. Thus the usual textbook. Thus the training of the teacher, who has largely been treated as a consumer of prevalidated knowledge throughout his educational career.22 Thus his conduct toward his students in his own classroom based on his perception of his discipline, his task, and his materials. The Final Report of the Amherst Project provides

22Weintraub, op. cit., p. 3.
In summary, the most baffling, broadest problem which we faced in writing the Teacher's Manual is that many teachers have preconceived notions as to what history teaching should be and the Teacher's Manuals are not likely to change ingrained attitudes. As noted before, if teachers thought that questions and documents should be viewed rather than considered as tools for research purposes, the use of the unit tended to be fruitless. If they were not comfortable as learners, as inquirers themselves, they spent most of their time giving answers to questions, often culled from the Teacher's Manual that students did not understand or care about. If teachers saw history as a set of conclusions rather than an infinite number of questions, they taught the units as means to one conclusion rather than as considerations of universal questions with no certain answers. If they felt uncomfortable with ambiguity, so did their students. If they saw their students as receptacles of knowledge rather than as active and independent inquirers, the classes were meaningless. In short, teachers who saw people, society, history—indeed, life—in simple terms found in traditional textbooks could not be helped much by any Teacher's Manuals. The irony of it is that those who by nature and inclination were inquirers themselves and thus needed the Teacher's Manual least were the ones who put them to best use.  

The same experience occurred in the Research Learning Laboratory projects at Sturbridge, Massachusetts. Even though the teachers had a three week training session prior to using the program with primary grade children, they "reported difficulty and confusion in application of the strategies." The final redesigned model unit "leaves nothing much to the teacher" but "has complete technique with questions and

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anticipated answers spelled out." Given such attitudes and behavior on the part of the teacher, it is only the student who has the mind-set and mental capacity to memorize and reproduce that finds history and the social studies interesting and rewarding, a personally useful enterprise. For the rest of the students it becomes an immense and boring chore, its relation to their education for citizenship, or anything else, pretty much without meaning.

"We need to be free teachers from the assumption that prevails in so much of our education that knowledge exists independently of the knower, and that disciplines constitute bodies of knowledge that can be 'covered' rather than ways of inquiry into reality," writes the director of The Amherst Project. The teacher is less likely to "present" his discipline to his students as a body of confirmed and uncontestable conclusions if he realizes that the "knowledge" in his field or classroom is not just "facts," but that these very assertions are themselves syntheses and interpretations of someone else's conception of reality based upon a selective and interpretive process subject to human gullibility.


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and bias. Whatever his purpose and proposed procedure in the classroom, he is more likely to treat the data which comes into his classroom as evidence to be scrutinized and criticized for validity in the process of using it. The data may come from such sources as textbook, reference work, current media, documents, artifacts, his own notes or memory, expressions of student belief or opinion. No matter. He has the insight to approach the material critically, as assertions to be confirmed or denied by analysis and interpretation, as evidence in the synthesizing of generalizations by way of testable hypotheses. Such is the potential significance of the social studies teacher's conception of the subject matter of his field.

It is not here maintained that the social studies teacher will approach the subject matter of his classroom critically if he has the conception of knowledge as tentative and subject to criticism; it is here maintained that unless the teacher has such a conception, he is not equipped to incorporate in his classroom objectives and strategies the development of critical thinking skills. There is little evidence to date that much has been done to assure that the social studies teacher has such a conception or the skills to validate it. This despite some evidence that social studies education professors consider development of critical thinking skills
as the prime need in educational methods courses. To the question of how the social studies teacher can gain such knowledge and skills, this study proposes to provide an answer. It is not maintained that it is the only answer, nor necessarily the best answer, but it is an approach attainable within the limits of current patterns and practices in the preparation of social studies teachers.

It is the task of this study to demonstrate that secondary social studies teachers who have had the experience of original historical research with primary materials can thereby attain some concepts and skills essential to certain aspects of critical thinking.

Joseph Grannis' review of research on teacher education demonstrates that there is no correlation between teacher "knowledge" of subject matter and pupil achievement, and that there has been so little attention to "higher order processes" in the social studies classroom that no accounting of variance in results is possible. He asserts that:

The only subject matter courses that one can imagine making any dent in this problem for the generality of social studies teachers would be those that emphasized the epistemology of the student of history and the social sciences, or the student of social issues, and that deliberately worked back and forth between this inquiry and its

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analogies in the social sciences classroom.27

This study attempts, then, to demonstrate that such a course using primary historical materials can indeed provide some conceptual basis and skill experience for the teacher who would use the "higher order" process. It is not here advocated that the teacher must do the same thing in his own classroom. But he must have this foundation to do anything in his own classroom with critical thinking. The point made here agrees with Palmer as follows:

Contrary to much that has been written recently, the primary purpose of the utilization of historical research in teaching American history is not to teach students to do what historians do or to help them understand the nature of written history.

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It is necessary for the teacher, materials writer, and curriculum developer to understand the nature of the disciplines so he might best utilize their contents and processes, but the difference between educator and students should be quite clear at this point. Graduate schools have the task of training scholar specialists but elementary and secondary schools have very different tasks.28

It is not necessary, in other words, to be a historian, junior or otherwise, to have the thinking skills appropriate to citizen decision-making in a democracy. The teacher needs more insight into their nature and use than the citizen, because

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he is a teacher of citizens, only. The proposal of this study should help the teacher attain that goal.

Obviously at this point it is necessary to define some terms. The secondary social studies teacher is conceived as one whose major preparation for teaching is in the academic disciplines of history, political science, economics, anthropology, sociology, social psychology, or geography. Generally his preparation consists of some introduction at the college level to each of these disciplines, with the greater part of a history major at the core. He may have in-depth experience in one or two of the other fields, generally depending on the certification requirements and standards of the particular state in which he has sought certification. His preparation and certification limits him to instructional endeavors in grades seven through twelve. In the secondary school, his teaching assignment might be in any of the fields listed above under the name of American History, World History, Civics, American Government, Problems of Democracy,


Sociology, Psychology, Economics, et cetera. More than likely, however, the bulk of his assignment will be in history, with government second, because of the requirements of established state and local curriculum plans. He is likely to teach five classes per day in at least two subjects, possibly three or more. He will generally find he faces well more than one hundred students, perhaps more than one hundred fifty per day, and that an adopted textbook is expected to be the primary source for each course. The extent to which he can use other materials and has the freedom to approach his task by his own standards will vary with administrative supervision, school board policy, and community expectations and attitudes.

His preparation in college has included at least a year of general education (introduction to the arts and sciences, as well as English composition), and approximately one year of professional teacher training courses (including general, adolescent, and learning psychology, as well as general and social studies methods courses and student teaching). It is probable that nowhere in his pre-service preparation has he been required to conduct original research using primary sources, although he may have done some book reviews and

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31 Weintraub maintains that, generally, professional educational courses are not organized and directed so as to present pre-service teachers with "usable" information. Weintraub, op. cit., p. 6.
position papers using secondary and tertiary references. He is probably not aware of why he was required to do the reviews and reports, but assumes they were also designed to further "familiarize" him with his subject, which he likely looks upon as a closed body of knowledge designed to be transmitted to his students in much the same way it was transmitted to him.

By original historical research using primary sources is meant a research project in which the student 1) identifies a historical topic (a name, event, artifact) about which there appears to be little or no immediately available information, 2) searches out all the data he can find on the topic from sources not previously reported or known to be available to him, 3) analyzes the data using internal and external criticism techniques, 4) formulates his own questions, hypotheses, interpretations, and conclusions as to the meaning of the data, and 5) synthesizes his findings into a coherent and defensible exposition of the topic. Primary sources are "direct material remains, or the direct impression or expression,

32Their program of study (for history majors) almost never include courses in historiography...The research skills thus required by the impending social studies teacher are nearly negligible, comprising only the cut-and-paste techniques of assembling review-of-literature term papers...With what cynicism, then, must school systems be including in their curricula references to research skills? Who is to teach these skills?" Kenneth Carlson, "The Preparation of Social Studies Teachers: Some Thoughts on Functional Irrationality," The Social Studies, LXIII (January, 1972), p. 8.
in some form, of the age to which they relate. They may be roads, bridges, buildings, monuments, coins, tools, clothing, or human remains. They may be personal memories of facts actually observed, reports made by actual observers, actual texts of laws, decrees, orders, charters, constitutions, judicial decisions, treaties, official instructions, business documents." The examples are not limited to Professor Johnson's list, of course. The definitive element in primary sources is their "first-hand," direct observation nature. This morning's newspaper, or news broadcast, is a primary source when the events reported are done so by actual observers. They are a secondary, tertiary, or nth source for events reported through other observers. The distinction may be too fine for the consumer and analyzer of information in the daily decision-making process, and thence be unnecessary for prescribed use in the secondary classroom. But the value of primary sources in providing the prospective teacher problems in validating data or knowledge lies in the degree of necessity and finality which secondary and subsequent sources do not have. Each report removed from the original observation

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33Henry Johnson, Teaching of History (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1940), p. 2. Professor Johnson was an early advocate of the historiographic approach and taught a historiographic methods course at Columbia for teacher trainees according to Hertzberg, op. cit. This thesis differs from that approach insofar as it explicitly ties original research into specific thinking concepts and skills, not the skills of the historian as a scholar, and it does not advocate the exclusive, or even, primary, use of the historiographic approach in the secondary classroom.
is that much more subject to imprecision and misinterpreta-
tion. The student seeking insights into the problems and
limits of historical knowledge of information can only achieve
total awareness by confronting, finally, the original source.
Thus the specification that the original research projects
use some primary sources.

It is the purpose of this study, then, to demonstrate
that an original research project using primary sources can
provide the prospective teacher some skills and understanding
necessary for critical thinking.

Obviously the further delineation of this thesis re-
quires that the critical thinking skills to be achieved be
identified and explicated. Such is the subject of chapter
two. Thence, it would appear necessary to analyze the nature
of historical knowledge as revealed in the historiographic
enterprise, the better to justify the proposition that criti-
cal thinking must occur to succeed in the endeavor, and that
certain understandings of the nature of knowledge can result.
Such is the task of chapter three. To demonstrate the
validity of the thesis, chapter four presents an example of
original research using primary materials, and chapter five
is addressed to the analysis of that example in terms of the
critical thinking skills and epistemological understandings
achieved. Chapter six concludes the thesis with recommenda-
tions as to its implementation in the social studies enter-
prise.
Chapter II
CRITICAL THINKING AS CRITERIA

In an effort to demonstrate that original historical research using primary sources is a provident means of teaching the history or social studies teacher certain skills and concepts of critical thinking useful to him as a teacher of effective citizenship, a key element of the task is to identify, define, and explicate the critical thinking skills to be so acquired. Such is the purpose of this chapter.

First, a definition. What is critical thinking? Perhaps the most famous definition is Dewey's: "Active, persistent, and careful consideration of any belief or supposed form of knowledge in light of the grounds that support it and the further conclusions to which it tends constitutes reflective thought." 1 It will be noted here that Dewey uses the term "reflective" rather than "critical" thought. Other terms have been used: "problem solving," "scientific thinking," "straight thinking," "clear thinking." The label of the concept is not as important as its substance. In Dewey's

... thinking occurs when a problem is not recognized, when any situation is unclear, and when there is uncertainty as to what the problem means or what should be done. Hypothetical answers are set up which guide the gathering and analyzing of facts and other types of data. Evaluations and judgments take place with due recognition for logical relationships. Conclusions are developed and tested in action. The act of judgment, or drawing of inferences, is central. Unstated assumptions, values, and sentiments must be recognized and appraised. Precision, clarity, and discrimination of language are necessary.

The key product of this process is the acceptance or rejection of a belief or assertion. In a sense, the assertion "lives" or "dies" as a result of the process. Thus the designation of "critical" thinking. It is "reflective" in that it draws upon relevant data to establish the assertion. It is obviously a "problem solving" process in that it begins with a problem and moves toward some solution to that problem. Whether or not it is "clear" or "straight" depends on the efficiency and effectiveness with which it is employed.

The conscious, rational implementation of the critical thinking process as an educational objective has developed in the past generation or so. A vast body of literature outlining it as objective, strategy, and technique in curricula has been produced. In the social studies and

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history, Griffin's thesis was a watershed in the field. It called for the preparation of teachers of history in their subject-matter discipline by problem solving methods, and demonstrated the underlying rationale and methodology for the enterprise. Subsequent developments for a generation have seen the exploration and expansion of the concept into various schools of strategy for the classroom endeavor: the discovery approach, the inquiry approach, the problem solving approach. In each of these the attempt has been to establish and implement critical thinking skills as a major goal of social studies education, using various strategies and techniques to arrive at the end purpose. It should be noted that the historiographic school of history education at the turn of the century also justified its approach based on "training in judgment." It may fairly be assumed that their overall purpose differed little from the more current schools, both in terms of citizenship education and the use of history as a vehicle for experience in critical thought. What they lacked were the elements of a taxonomy of thought processes to use for delineation of the specific educational objectives that the historiographic enterprise would satisfy. Griffin, in his lectures on the problem solving method in the early

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4See fn. 33, supra, p. 25.
1950's, noted the same difficulty. Educational objectives in the social studies remained undeveloped in terms of behavioral objectives at any more meaningful level than "to train good citizens" until the last decade, even though the problem solving or critical thinking process was understood considerably better after Dewey. The Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Cognitive Domain), developed by A Committee of College and University Examiners in the mid-1950's has provided a clear outline of the basic thinking functions stated in terms of educational goals since that time. The Committee was aware of its work in terms of the problem solving process, and of the relationship of that enterprise to education in a democracy.

...It is recognized that unless the individual can do his own problem solving he cannot maintain his integrity as an independent personality.

Closely allied to this concept of maturity and integrity is the concept of the individual as a member of a democracy. Citizens are expected to make important and independent decisions about government problems and about their political future. It is clear that many of these decisions require problem solving of a very high order. It is impossible to tell an individual in advance how to vote or even the bases on which he should vote. These are matters he must decide repeatedly throughout his life whenever a major election takes place. But more than specific elections and voting is the concept of individuals in a democracy as independent decision-makers who, in the last analysis, are responsible for the conduct of a democratic

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5A. F. Griffin, lectures on teaching history in secondary schools, Education 677, The Ohio State University, Spring Quarter, 1954.
political system as well as a democratic way of life.

...we need more than ever to help students develop problem solving methods which will yield more complete and adequate solutions in a wide range of problem situations. It is hoped that the taxonomy's analysis of this area will facilitate the exploration of new methods of teaching for high level problem solving and assist in evaluation these methods.  

The teacher of students in a democracy obviously need the problem solving and critical thinking skills he would have his students learn. The problem of this chapter (in a thesis supporting the development of those skills via original historical research) is to delineate precisely those skills as identified by the Taxonomy in terms of the problem solving process as understood since Dewey. The relationship between these skills and the historiographic enterprise will be delineated in the next chapter.

It is necessary here to explore the relationship of the problem solving process to the various thought operations described in the Taxonomy. The "complete act of thought" moves from the detection or perception of a state of cognitive dissonance, a feeling of dissatisfaction or disturbance with what one appears to know or believe, in light of something else one knows or believes, to a conscious resolution of that disturbance by the formation of some conclusion that

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reconciles or eliminates the dissonance. Various functions in the process have been identified. These are generally recognized as follows:

1. Recognition and definition of the problem
2. Formulation of possible solution (hypotheses)
3. Collection of data relevant to the problem
4. Confirmation or denial of hypotheses based on data (conclusion)
5. Testing of conclusion with other data.

The foregoing outline is so general as to be almost misleading. It does not indicate that each of the functions of thought in the process is itself a series, more accurately a variable set, of intellectual operations, seldom isolatable from the set of operations performed in other functions of the process. In other words, thought-in-process is not a tidy, sequentially formulated procedure, as the outline might imply. Rather, it evolves largely through trial-and-error operations—checking, rechecking, formulating, reformulating, defining, redefining, altering and realtering each functional component in the process so as to eliminate error and edge more certainly toward conclusion. Thus, redefinition of the problem based on possible conclusion reached through evidence requiring an altered hypothesis may be the last, not the first, step in the process. Nor is the foregoing outline thorough enough to indicate that various types of mental operations or skills are involved in each function of the process. At
each stage, in each discreet operation, the various operations of thought outlined and defined in the Taxonomy for the cognitive domain may be employed. These are:

1.00 KNOWLEDGE
Knowledge, as defined here, involves the recall of specifics and universals, the recall of methods and processes, or the recall of a pattern, structure, or setting.

1.10 KNOWLEDGE OF SPECIFICS
The recall of specific and isolable bits of information. The emphasis is on symbols with concrete referents.

1.11 KNOWLEDGE OF TERMINOLOGY
Knowledge of the referents for specific symbols (verbal and non-verbal).

1.12 KNOWLEDGE OF SPECIFIC FACTS
Knowledge of dates, events, persons, places, etc.

1.20 KNOWLEDGE OF WAYS AND MEANS OF DEALING WITH SPECIFICS
Knowledge of the ways of organizing, studying, judging, and criticizing.

1.21 KNOWLEDGE OF CONVENTIONS
Knowledge of characteristic ways of treating and presenting ideas and phenomena.

1.22 KNOWLEDGE OF TRENDS AND SEQUENCES
Knowledge of the processes, directions, and movements of phenomena with respect to time.

1.23 KNOWLEDGE OF CLASSIFICATIONS AND CATEGORIES
Knowledge of the classes, sets, divisions, and arrangements which are regarded as fundamental for a given subject field, purpose, argument, or problem.

1.24 KNOWLEDGE OF CRITERIA
Knowledge of the criteria by which facts, principles, opinions, and conduct are tested or judged.

1.25 KNOWLEDGE OF METHODOLOGY
Knowledge of the methods of inquiry, techniques, and procedures employed in a particular subject field...

1.30 KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNIVERSALS AND ABSTRACTIONS IN A FIELD
Knowledge of the major schemes and patterns by which phenomena and ideas are organized.

1.31 KNOWLEDGE OF PRINCIPLES AND GENERALIZATIONS
Knowledge of particular abstractions which summarize observations of phenomena.
1.32 KNOWLEDGE OF THEORIES AND STRUCTURES
Knowledge of the body of principles and generalizations together with their interrelations which present a clear, rounded, and systematic view of a complex phenomenon, problem, or field.

2.00 COMPREHENSION
This represents the lowest level of understanding. It refers to a type of understanding or apprehension such that the individual knows what is being communicated and can make use of the material or idea being communicated without necessarily relating it to other material or seeing its fullest implications.

2.10 TRANSLATION
Comprehension as evidenced by the care and accuracy with which the communication is paraphrased or rendered from one language or form of communication to another.

2.20 INTERPRETATION
The explanation or summarization of a communication.

2.30 EXTRAPOLATION
The extension of trends or tendencies beyond the given data to determine implications, consequences, corollaries, effects...

3.00 APPLICATION
The use of abstractions in particular and concrete situations.

4.00 ANALYSIS
The breakdown of a communication into its constituent elements or parts such that the relative hierarchy of ideas is made clear and/or the relations between the ideas expressed are made explicit.

4.10 ANALYSIS OF ELEMENTS
Identification of the elements included in a communication.

4.20 ANALYSES OF RELATIONSHIPS
The connections and interactions between elements and parts of a communication.

4.30 ANALYSIS OF ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES
The organization, systematic arrangement, and structure which hold the communication together.

5.00 SYNTHESIS
The putting together of elements and parts so as to form a whole.

5.10 PRODUCTION OF A UNIQUE COMMUNICATION
The development of a communication in which the writer or speaker attempts to convey ideas, feelings, and/or experiences to others.
5.20 PRODUCTION OF A PLAN, OR PROPOSED SET OF OPERATIONS
The development of a plan of work or the proposal of a plan of operations.

5.30 DERIVATION OF A SET OF ABSTRACT RELATIONS
The development of a set of abstract relations either to classify or explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations.

6.00 EVALUATION
Judgments about the value of material and methods for given purposes.

6.10 JUDGMENTS IN TERMS OF INTERNAL EVIDENCE
Evaluation of the accuracy of a communication from such evidence as logical accuracy, consistency, and other internal criteria.

6.20 JUDGMENTS IN TERMS OF EXTERNAL CRITERIA
Evaluation of material with reference to selected or remembered criteria.7

Thus, one collecting data may rely on recall of knowledge, as well as seek to discover new specifics. Yet in either recall or discovery, relevance to the problem and the hypothesis are determined only by acts of comprehension, analysis, and application, else the data is irrelevant and useless. In order to determine validity of data, acts of evaluation and synthesis must be performed, however casual and crude. These cannot be performed without adequate definition which in turn requires recall of knowledge (terminology) or intellectual operations involving perhaps translation, and/or interpretation (comprehension) as well as appropriate (application) generalization (synthesis).

Finally, a brief outline of the critical thinking

7Ibid., pp. 201-207.
process fails to indicate the somewhat more extensive abilities required to successfully complete a valid act of thought. Burton, Kimball, and Wing more thoroughly summarize these functions as abilities to think effectively in the following:

One may be said to think effectively to the degree that he behaves in any of the following ways:
1. Recognizes and defines problems, identifies issues.
2. Formulates, extends and verifies feasible hypotheses.
3. Collects, selects, or selectively recalls relevant data, differentiates between reliable and unreliable sources, between factual and nonfactual sources.
4. Recognizes reliable experiments.
5. Draws reasonable inferences regarding cause and effect, logical implication, valid generalization, reliable prediction, and accurate description.
6. Recognizes and evaluates implicit assumptions, uses postulational arguments logically, recognizes relevant value systems and uses them reasonably.
7. Recognizes errors and fallacies.
8. Comes to decisions or conclusions, tests them, applies them to pertinent situations.
9. Applies semantic principles to language employed. ⁸

Such an analysis and description provides a somewhat more explicit set of functions employable as criteria for critical thinking abilities. The question here arises as to whether such a listing, even this particular listing, is sufficient to for purposes of this study. Such a decision must be made based on the purposes of the study. The study seeks to explicate critical thinking skills which, by use in

⁸Burton, op. cit., p. 267.
original historical research, can provide the prospective teacher with experience and familiarity with those skills. It is here maintained that the foregoing list of functions is sufficient to establish criteria for essential critical thinking skills in that it summarizes a fairly exhaustive analysis (twelve chapters, 265 pages) of critical thinking processes in a text written explicitly for use in the educational process, is concerned with critical thinking in all disciplinary or subject areas, not just history and the social studies, includes alternate processes (i.e. "Recognizes reliable experiments" as opposed to "uses postulational arguments logically"), emphasizes not only processes ("defines," "Recognizes," "formulates," "recalls," etc.), but also operational data and resultant data ("sources," "generalization," "description," "conclusions.") and surveys of other lists reveal no processes defined as essential to critical thinking which is not included herein, allowing for translation of terminology.

But what obviously remains necessary to make the foregoing list of critical thinking functions useful, is a definitional exercise in which each of the processes listed is structured according to evaluative criteria. In other words, how do we determine that "implicit assumptions" are "recognized" and "evaluated," or what are "errors" and "fallacies"? Such definitions should be related to, and translated into, operational terms by use of the processes defined in the
Taxonomy of Educational Objectives, in order to provide a common terminology and to simplify the evaluative procedure as much as possible. The result should be a set of criteria for observing critical thinking skills stated in educational terms. The further explication of this study will then require application of that criteria to the historiographic enterprise, which follows in Chapter Three. The delimitation imposed by the specific functions of the historiographic enterprise will further refine the criteria, which will then be used for analysis of the working through of problem in historical research using primary materials. (Chapter 4). Evaluation of the results will follow in Chapter Five, with application to the preparation of teachers in Chapter Six.

Before proceeding to an analysis of critical thinking operations as provided by Burton, Kimball, and Wing (p. 36 supra.) in terms supplied by The Taxonomy (pp. 33-35) it must be noted that the order of listing (1.00 Knowledge through 6.00 Evaluation) has significance in a hierarchical order. Evaluation as a thinking process may require operations in knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, and synthesis. On the other hand, synthesis will not require operations defined as evaluation therein. Thus, to label the mental operation of "recognition" as synonomous with

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9 Taxonomy, op. cit., p. 18.
"comprehension" intellectually, is to include the possibility that all categories of "Knowledge" in the Taxonomy may be involved, but that "Application" or "Analysis" is not.

What follows, then, is an explication of the critical thinking process in terms of operations defined by the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Cognitive Domain). The procedure is to list the critical thinking functions on the left, and classify them as behaviors as defined by the Taxonomy on the right.

1. A. Recognizes problems: (2.30) Extrapolation
   B. Defines problems: (5.10) Production of a Unique Communication
   C. Identifies issues: (2.30) Extrapolation

2. A. Formulates feasible hypotheses: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations
   B. Extends and verifies feasible hypotheses: (6.20) Judgments in Terms of External Criteria

3. A. Collects, selects or selectively recalls relevant data: (4.20) Analysis of Relationships
   B. Differentiates between reliable and unreliable sources: (6.10) Judgments in Terms of Internal Evidence

4. A. Recognizes reliable experiments: (4.30) Analysis of Organizational Principles

5. Draws reasonable inferences regarding
   A. cause and effect: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations
   B. logical implication: (in each of the operations A through E opposite).
6. A. Recognizes implicit assumptions:  
   B. Evaluates implicit assumptions:  
   C. Uses postulational arguments logically:  
   D. Recognizes relevant value systems:  
   E. Uses relevant value systems reasonably:  

7. A. Recognizes errors and fallacies:  

8. A. Comes to decisions or conclusions:  
   B. Tests decisions or conclusions:  
   C. Applies them to pertinent situations:  

9. A. Applies semantic principles to language employed:  

It should be noted that items 7 (Recognizes errors and fallacies) and 9 (Applies semantic principles to language employed) require more extensive delineation to be useful as evaluative criteria. Following Burton's analysis, summaries of errors and fallacies in the thinking process, and of semantic fallacies/errors are placed in the Appendix for referral. It is sufficient for purposes of the analyses proposed by this study that the general categories alone

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10 Burton, op. cit., Chapters 10 and 11.
be listed above.

Thus, we are arrived at critical thinking behavior in educational terms. In order for this arrangement to be productive, it will be necessary for the analysis in Chapter 5 of the problems and material presented in Chapter 4 to translate the operations as presented above according to the following model:

1. A. 2.30 Extrapolation. (Recognition of Problems.)

The student had the opportunity through "extension of trends or tendencies beyond the given data to determine implications, consequences, corollaries, effects, etc." to recognize the following problems:

1. A. Data (page number in Chap. 4)

   B. Implication of Data

   C. Problem recognition synthesized.

The next task of the study, however, is to explore the operations of the historiographic enterprise via some of its literature, the better to justify the thesis that critical thinking skills as developed above are intrinsic to that exercise, and to formulate additional concepts which the student doing original historical research using primary materials might obtain by the exercise.
Chapter III

HISTORICAL METHOD AS CRITICAL THINKING

The purpose of Chapter Three is the exposition of an analysis of the exercise of historical method in terms of critical thinking processes and concepts explicated above. It is also proposed here to synthesize some generalizations from the historiographic enterprise which will clarify the nature of historical knowledge. The overriding purpose is to demonstrate that the student of history, subject to original research with primary sources, is required to think critically and can thereby become aware of the nature of historical knowledge in its epistemological frame of reference. Such an understanding should prove beneficial to his own conduct as a teacher of citizens, in so far as he consciously seeks to prepare his students for critical thinking via the social studies enterprise.

The procedure to be followed is 1) an examination of the nature of history in terms of its epistemological problems, 2) the synthesis of generalizations concerning knowledge based thereon, and 3) an analysis of the procedures of historical method in terms of critical thinking concepts as outlined above (Chapter II).
History may be defined as knowledge of the past. Since all events prior to this moment of perception are past, and since this moment of perception is itself so fleeting as to be past with the immediately subsequent impression, or perception, history can be said to be all encompassing in terms of human knowledge. And, indeed, we speak of a history of the universe, of meteorology, of geological development. However, traditionally, history as an academic subject has concerned itself with the doings of man. The word itself comes from the ancient Greek "histor" meaning "Knowing." For it was the Greek historians Herodotus and Thucydides who first attempted to "know" the past, to clarify and explicate events for a narrative to be told.

There are only two ways we can perceive the past. One of these is to have observed it ourselves. In this sense, everyone is his own historian. Every man has been participant in, or observer of, a personal set of past events. These events are subject to his recall and mental reconstruction only (unless electronically recorded via audio-visual media). Yet the memory of his past, and his attempts to reconstruct it, are notoriously faulty procedures. Memory is selective and subject to substantive misimpression, interpretive error, situational needs, and emotional mood. It is not unknown for

men to reconstruct their own pasts with purposeful distortion, or fabrication, and come to believe their own falsehoods, repeated often enough and reinforced by their own self-deceptions. Whether Richard Nixon remembered accurately his discussions with H. R. Haldeman of June 23, 1972, six days after the Watergate arrests, perhaps he alone knows. His repeated denials of knowledge of a cover-up may possibly have been the result of faulty memory and/or continued self-deception. However likely that may be, his own tapes revealed the conversation, forcing an admission of erroneous judgment and implied deception. Most of us do not have the privilege of clarifying the past by such means, for which we may be thankful in certain circumstances. However, short of such means, even personal history must rely on faulty recall and reconstruction. Such is the nature of our failure, both in accurate perception, and reliable recall, that courts and counsellors do a brisk business based on the varying testimonies of eyewitnesses, even participants, in the same events. It is in this sense, then, that even eyewitness and personal participant accounts of the past cannot be totally relied upon, and the past cannot be accurately "known" at all when dependent upon a reliance on the human senses and the human mind.

The second way the past can be perceived is by reasoning based on evidence of some record or remains. Records or remains are called "documents," of which there are two types.
The first type is material—relics, monuments, structures, artifacts of all sorts. Such documents are, more often than not, as much the concern of the archaeologist, anthropologist, geologist, biologist or other natural scientist as they are of the historian. The historian uses material documents as evidence for his reconstruction of the past, but generally he is much more concerned with the second type of document, those called "psychological." Psychological documents bear evidence of man's mental past by means of his writings, the symbolic communication forms which he employs to transact his affairs and keep his records. They may be either personal documents, i.e., those he leaves which were of personal significance to him in his own life without the intent to leave a record, such as private letters, greeting cards, cancelled checks, personal memoranda, a private diary, et cetera, or they may be human documents, meaning those which were meant to be a public record, such as newspapers, official reports, government publications, legal briefs, tape recordings of public conversations, autobiographies, et cetera. Obviously, reliance upon documents rather than personal experience for a reconstruction of the past removes the student of history at least one more step from the

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2The author here follows the classification of Charles V. Langlois and Charles Seignobos, Introduction to the Study of History (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1898), p. 65, the time-tested classic in the field of historical criticism.
reality of the events he seeks to perceive. In actuality, it removes him several times from the observation of the event, even when dealing with primary sources, i.e., those which purport to be a record of an event by an eyewitness or a participant. In the simplest terms, at least eight steps, or mental operations, occur between the actuality of an event and the ability of one who has not observed that event to report it to others (which is what the historian, essentially, does when working with primary sources.) The following analysis of the process step by step serves to reveal the problem of "knowing" in history:

1) An event occurs in its objective, substantive actuality.
2) The event is observed or perceived.
3) The perceiver of the event translates the perception into communicable symbols.
4) The perceiver synthesizes the communicable symbols into a communicable form (order).
5) The perceiver records his translated perception in a synthesized symbolic form for others to perceive.

We now have a primary source, a "psychological" document supposedly describing the reality of a past event (a purported fact). However, this purported fact is useless and serves no purpose until perceived and reported by a second communicator (the historian). The second communicator

1) perceives (reads) the report of the observer,
2) translates it into his own set of communicating symbols,
3) synthesizes the symbols into a communicable form, and
4) records his synthesized symbolic form for others to perceive.

What we now have is the report of an event which has passed through two perceptions, two translations, two syntheses, and two reports. When we consider that each perception, each translation, each synthesis, and each report is subject to error, we begin to understand the difficulty of attaining certainty in our knowledge of past events.

Certitude, if not certainty, in history can be achieved by the independent testimony of two or more witnesses as to the same particulars in an event. Certainty itself can be conceded as to general events widely witnessed and confirmed by many. The historian can be certain that Richard Nixon resigned the Presidency on August 9, 1974. All he needs for certainty here is consensual acknowledgement that a man perceived to be one called Richard Nixon who was perceived to be President of the United States did submit a letter of resignation on what was legally and commonly acknowledged as the day August 9, 1974. The letter of resignation, so dated, is available for his personal perusal, hundreds of eyewitness and millions of electronic media witness can testify as to the events of that day which confirm his judgment of the
fact. However, the exact hour of resignation is subject to particular interpretation. Was it effective at the moment his helicopter lifted from the White House lawn? Was it effective at 12:00 noon EDT, which seemed to be implied by the schedule of events? Was it effective at 12:05 P.M. EDT when Gerald Ford completed the oath of office? The letter doesn't say. Nixon hasn't said. Ford hasn't said. The Congress and the Court haven't said. Witnesses who can confirm the general fact will not necessarily agree on the particular fact. Even a Court called upon to issue an authoritative decision as to the matter might have several different opinions. Thence, we are reduced to a question of certitude rather than certainty as to the particular fact of the exact time, even though we have no difficulty with the general fact of the event. Similarly, there is no reasonable doubt in terms of general facts in history. Future generation will not need to question that there was a man living in the United States in the twentieth century named Richard Nixon, that he was President of the United States, that he resigned that office. The assumption is, of course, that enough records will remain for even distant generations to acknowledge these facts of the past. It may not be. Three thousand years from now no more direct evidence of the existence and activities of one Richard Nixon may remain than now remain of the Pharoah Thutmosis I: an inscription or two left from some public building cornerstone, a few
decomposing pages of strange writing which appear to be court journals or documents, the fragmentary comments of what appears to be a fairly reliable historian who lived a thousand years after Nixon lived. In such case even the general facts to which our own and immediately subsequent generations could testify could not be acknowledged. They could only be inferred from the sketchy evidences at hand, and remain subject to dispute and reinterpretation.

What can be known in history, then, changes with the availability of evidence from generation to generation. Because of the uncovering of documents concerning a particular event we may be able to know more than our ancestors about it, but because of the loss of documents, we may be able to know less. In order to establish as much certainty and acknowledge as much certitude about the past as possible, the historian must "reason" with the evidence he has available. Since the evidence itself is changing, and since it often does not exist in such quantity and quality as to be ipso facto conclusive, the art of "reasoning" becomes his stock in trade, his primary tool for the analysis and synthesis of conceptions of what the past is. The "art of reasoning" is, of course, the problem solving or critical thinking process as explored in Chapter II. The historian's "facts" are judgments based on evidence about events that he cannot directly observe. To achieve his judgments, or come to his conclusions, he must approach the knowledge of the past as
a problem to be solved, formulate hypotheses as to probable events, seek evidence and test its validity in terms of those events, deduce the usefulness of the evidence in its interrelationships to the hypothesis, reach tentative conclusions as to the probability of the validity of the hypotheses, and state his findings as conclusions more or less tenable.

An example is in order. Some question exists as to where the first battle of the American Revolution actually occurred. Traditionally, the skirmishes (note that the word "skirmish" itself, purposely selected here, connotes a minor incident, and is an interpretation by the author intended to influence the reader's image of the past) at Lexington and Concord in April, 1775, are accepted as the first battles. However, claim to the first battle has been made for the Battle of Point Pleasant (now in West Virginia) which occurred in October, 1774, more than six months before Lexington and Concord.3 Once again, traditionally, the Battle of Point Pleasant is generally accepted as the conclusive battle of Lord Dunmore's War, an Indian campaign in which Virginia frontiersmen under Col. Andrew Lewis fought the united Ohio tribes under the Shawnee chief Cornstalk at the conjuncture of the Great Kanawha and Ohio Rivers. Lord

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Dunmore, who as Royal Governor of Virginia, had ordered the campaign, supposedly to subdue the Indians north of the River and prevent further frontier marauding, was himself leading a second large contingent of frontier militia down the Ohio from Pittsburgh. He was encamped some seventy miles above Point Pleasant at the time the first contingent under Col. Lewis was attacked. The Battle itself was fierce, lasting from dawn until dusk, fought at close quarters head-on through the trees and brush, the frontiersmen with their backs to the rivers, the Indians with theirs to a hill and stream. Neither side could advance, neither could readily retreat. Both armies had around one thousand participants, both suffered a twenty to twenty-five per cent casualty loss. The Indians withdrew under cover of darkness, crossed the Ohio, and returned to their headquarters on the Pickaway Plains (near present Circleville). Col. Lewis' army followed within a few days, although ordered through Lord Dunmore's messengers to cease and desist. Dunmore marched his army to the Plains by another route, where a confrontation between him and Col. Lewis occurred near the Indian encampment. Dunmore concluded a truce and temporary peace treaty with the Indians (Treaty of Camp Charlotte) while Col. Lewis' army returned beyond the Ohio and disbanded. Dunmore's own troops (over his objection) camped at Ft. Gower on the Ohio on the return, passed a resolution (Ft. Gower Resolution) indicating that their first loyalty was to American liberties in preference
to British policy, if the need to choose should come. (The First Continental Congress had been in session that autumn in Philadelphia.) Such are the general facts acknowledged by all as authenticated events.

Why, then, the question of whether this battle was a Revolutionary battle, which if so, would date it as the first in precedence of Lexington and Concord? Is it not apparent they were engaged under orders of a British Royal Governor, under a British flag, against enemies of a British colony? Certainly they were not fighting the British—or were they? Certainly historians of that Battle years later reported that veterans of the Battle in interviews testified that they thought the Indians already to have been allies of the British against the colonials.\(^4\) They reported that Col. Lewis was highly suspicious of Dunmore's orders and activities. There was apparently some concern that the Indian wars had been initiated by Dunmore's agent in Pittsburgh, Dr. John Connolly. His purpose was to create a diversion of men, material, and concern to the western frontier so as to alleviate and weaken the worsening rebellious situation on the seaboard. Dunmore, it was said, had repeatedly changed his orders to Lewis, which would have made the progress of Lewis' army through the Appalachian wilderness more difficult. Lewis had ignored the orders. Dunmore had not

\(^4\)Ibid., pp. 4-6.
hastened down river to join Lewis at the Point, as originally planned, but had remained encamped an unreasonable length of time upriver. He had ordered Lewis to cross the Ohio into Indian country without the combining of the armies, thus exposing Lewis' contingent to ambush by a larger force. Lewis had not done so by the 10th of October, and was attacked on the Virginia side of the river. Even later, when Dunmore's and Lewis' contingents could have combined and soundly defeated the tribes, thus bringing security to the frontier, Dunmore instead concluded a treaty with the Indians and forbade Lewis to attack them.

In other words, many of the Virginians became convinced after the Battle of what they were suspicious before—that the Indians were already secretly allied with the British. The reported testimony of certain Indians in later years who confirmed that there had been a secret parley with Dunmore, that an agreement to make an open treaty was already arranged and known to the Indian chiefs before the Battle, lends credence to the thesis that Dunmore had turned them on Lewis' contingent in order to destroy it and weaken Virginia's manpower reserves and resources after he had secured the Indians alliance. But all the historian has at this point is hypotheses. He can state these hypotheses in question form:

Did Lord Dunmore's agent John Connolly cause the hostilities between the frontiersmen and
Indians on the Ohio River frontier to begin?
If so, was he operating under Dunmore's orders and with his approval?
Did Dunmore conclude a secret agreement with the Indians prior to the Battle?
Did the Indians attack Lewis' contingent with Dunmore's foreknowledge and approval?

Obviously, an affirmative answer to any of these questions (hypotheses) would tend to confirm the assertion that the frontiersmen at Pt. Pleasant were indeed fighting Britain, or at least British policy, in their battle with the Indians. The question would still remain whether or not the battle can be classified as Revolutionary, since, even if the Indians were allied with the British, there is no evidence that Lewis and his men knew that to be a fact on October 10, and thus did not consider themselves open revolutionaries against British policies and authority as those at Lexington and Concord did six months later.

How can the historian achieve certitude on this question? Obviously, any direct, primary evidence from the hands of Lord Dunmore, Dr. Connolly, Col. Lewis, or Cornstalk and other Indian leaders would be fairly conclusive. No such evidence is known to exist. Lord Dunmore's records and papers were destroyed by fire during the Revolution. Dr. Connolly does not mention these matters in his later writings in Canada and England. Cornstalk and the other
Indians are not known to have had written records or correspondence. Col. Lewis' records and correspondence have never been discovered, although such a collection was believed to have existed by his immediate descendents. Thus the historian draws a blank. He has only the rumors, recollections, and speculations of a few survivors long after the event as evidence. He cannot conclude that the Battle was Revolutionary in nature, even though he can note that the Congress has implied as much in an appropriation for a monument, and that The Daughters and The Sons of the American Revolution have both recognized it as such. There he must perforce end his speculations and conclusions until further evidence is unearthed.

The example just cited nonetheless contributes to our understanding of the problem solving process as historical method. Based on conflicting evidence the historian discovers and delineates a problem, which he casts into interrogative form: Was the Battle of Point Pleasant the first Battle of the American Revolution? The question is then analyzed logically, synthesizing further questions which need to be answered to arrive at a conclusion. These questions are in essence hypotheses to be researched: Were the colonists fighting Indians who were already allied with the British Royal Governor? Did the colonists know they were fighting British authority at the time of the Battle? More questions must be asked to guide the search for evidence:
Is there evidence that Lord Dunmore and/or Dr. Connolly were playing a double game, inciting Indians and frontiersmen against each other? Why did Lord Dunmore change his plans to join with Col. Lewis' army? Why did he delay reaching Pt. Pleasant? Was there a secret parley with certain Indian leaders? What were the results of that parley, if held? Did Cornstalk and other Indian chiefs at Pt. Pleasant know of the parley and results before the battle?

Thus the evidence gathered for specific questions based on documents available or yet to be discovered leads to confirmation or denial of hypothesis which then leads to conclusion to the problem as affirmative, negative, likely, or possible but unlikely. But the point here is that the historian employs the classic problem-solving process in arriving at his conclusions. He identifies a problem, hypothesizes its solution, seeks for and weighs evidence, concludes based on evidence and inference, and tests his conclusions against all other evidence known to be relevant or later appearing to be relevant. He cannot proceed without the critical thinking processes of comprehension, analysis, application, synthesis and evaluation, since each hypothesis requires an application of evidence evaluated for reliability, analyzed in terms of the problem, synthesized into an assertion bearing on the hypothesis, all dependent, of course, on comprehension of problems, hypothesis, and evidence mentally. Thus the training of the historian proposed in
yesteryear is justified as training in "judgment." "Judgment" here means the ability and skill to discriminate between assertions in terms of their likelihood or probability based on reliability of the evidence known to be relevant. Such, of course, is also the citizen's task in confronting the many decisions in personal, social, economic, and political life in an open or democratic society. Thus the function of the social studies in the educational enterprise.

What, then, are the generalizations the teacher of the social studies or history should be able to synthesize from an original research project, if he analyzes that project in terms of the nature of historical knowledge? From our present exposition he should be able to assert the following:

1) History in the purest sense, a complete, accurate, thorough knowledge of the past, is impossible.

2) History based on direct evidence by eyewitnesses and participants in the events is inaccurate due to faulty perception, inadequate memory, and communications misconceptions.

3) History based on secondary sources is even more subject to error and misinterpretation than that reported by primary sources.

4) Historical facts are certain only when attested to by many sources in agreement, all of which had independent means of witnessing these facts.
5) Historical facts may be said to have a degree of certitude when personally witnessed by two or more sources independently.

6) History consists largely of the art of coming to tentative conclusions by the problem solving process based as much on inference and evaluation as on so-called facts.

7) History is based on evidence the quantity and quality of which is subject to constant change, thus affecting previous conclusions, and necessitating constant reevaluation and research to remain current.

8) Many, perhaps most, of the hypotheses (questions) posed by the historian cannot be concluded for lack of evidence.

9) The historian is obligated to state his conclusions as clearly, guardedly, and tentatively as possible.

10) The reader of history should be aware of the problem of historical knowledge, the better to judge for himself its validity.

It is here postulated that a student of history engaged in an original research project using primary sources will be able to synthesize a significant number of the above generalizations or their equivalents based on his experience. Such generalization becomes meaningful to him in establishing his perspective and frame of reference as a teacher of history. Equipped with the experience of the difficulty of getting
at "truth" in history, he is much less likely to foist upon his own students the "body of closed knowledge" attitude toward historical data, and, hopefully, is more likely to treat assertions in his classroom as hypotheses to be criticized and evaluated rather than just "true" or "false" statements.

It is further necessary to illustrate here that the actual processes of historical criticism by which historians arrive at their knowledge are processes of critical thought as outlined in Chapter II above. Such an illustration serves to provide a framework for the analysis in Chapter V of materials to be presented in Chapter IV. Together with the generalizations dealt with above, the student undertaking such an experience, organized and directed as outlined in Chapter VI, should be master of a considerable set of critical thinking concepts and skills.

What is the method of historical criticism? Perhaps R. L. Marshall in his little book subtitled "Helps for Students of History" provides as succinct and concise a statement of the procedure as we have:

The object of criticism is to discover what in a document may be accepted as true. The first question, therefore, which the historian asks is with regard to the genuineness of the source. This being settled, he strives to establish the place and time of its origin and the identity of its author. He will then analyze it, distinguishing carefully between the facts which the witness knew at first hand and those which he derived from others. And, because most sources do not exist in their original form as they left their writers' hands, it will be the duty of the
student to restore as far as possible the original text the work of what is known as "External Criticism" is complete. It remains by means of "Internal Criticism" to decide the value of the evidence contained in the source, to interpret the latter, and by means of this evidence establish the historical facts of which we are in search. These facts are then grouped, gaps are filled in by constructive reasoning, and the whole is presented in such a form as to render intelligible the process and facts of historical development.5

Other writers summarize the historian's task in arriving at an exposition of his knowledge as acts of analysis and synthesis, that is, analysis of documents (data) for authenticity and reliability, and synthesis of the reliable or probable facts into a descriptive narrative. Historians during the nineteenth century in an effort to become "scientific" reduced the entire process to a professionally accepted set of tasks and procedures which stand as the criteria for historical method to this day. It is the purpose of the following analysis to demonstrate that each discreet task of the historian seeking to verify the validity of his data in the problem-solving, hypothesis-testing process employs critical thinking steps as defined in Chapter II above (pp. 39-40) using the Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Cognitive Domain). The procedure is to list and

briefly define the historical data test on the left, categorize it as to a procedure in the problem-solving process in the center, and label it in terms of the Taxonomy on the right.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HISTORICAL TEST</th>
<th>CRITICAL THINKING PROCEDURE</th>
<th>COGNITIVE TASK</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I External Criticism: Tests for Authenticity of the Document</td>
<td>Differentiates between reliable and unreliable sources</td>
<td>Judgments in terms of external criteria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Examine the outward form of the document</td>
<td>Collects, selects, or selectively recalls relevant data</td>
<td>Analysis of relationships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Identify endorsements or seals</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Age of parchment</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Age of ink</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Nature of paper</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Handwriting style</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Grammatical style</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Vocabulary usage</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Examine the actual contents</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Ibid., (Prof. Marshall's outline of the techniques of historical method are a much more manageable set than those of MM. Langlois and Seignobos, which they nonetheless follow in major outline.)
Critical Thinking Procedure

B. (cont.)
Cognitive Task

Derivation of abstract relationships

C. Note custody of document
Draws reasonable inferences

1. Is its origin certain?

D. Localization of the document to determine time, place, identity of author

3. Are there any known motives for forgery?

2. Ignorance of known facts of the time where relevant

3. Anachronism: facts included which were known only later

1. Agreement with known facts of the time

2. Ignorance of known facts of the time

C. Note custody of document

Draws reasonable inferences

1. Is its origin certain?

D. Localization of the document to determine time, place, identity of author

3. Are there any known motives for forgery?

2. Ignorance of known facts of the time where relevant

3. Anachronism: facts included which were known only later

1. Agreement with known facts of the time
I (External Criticism continued)  Critical Thinking Procedure  Cognitive Task

D. (cont.)

1. Examine for dates  Selects reasonable data  Analysis of relationships
   a. by handwriting
   b. by language usage
   c. by content information  Draws reasonable inferences  Derivation of a set of abstract relations

2. Examine for place of origin  Draws reasonable inferences  Derivation of a set of abstract relations
   a. by content information

3. Examine for authorship  Selects relevant data  Analysis of relationships
   a. by handwriting
   b. by style
   c. by reference

   1. direct
   2. indirect  Draws reasonable inferences  Derivation of a set of abstract relations

E. Analysis of document for direct observation  Draws reasonable inferences
I (External Criticism continued)  

Critical Thinking Procedure  

Cognitive Task  

E. (cont.)  

Derives reasonable inferences  

II Internal Criticism: 

Tests for reliability of the contents  

Differentiates between factual and non-factual sources 

Judgments in terms of internal evidence  

A. Identify the character of the document 

Differentiates between factual and non-factual sources 

Judgments in terms of internal evidence  

1. Which assertions appear to be based on first-hand eyewitness knowledge?

1. Is the document one which would have the tendency to distort facts, such as a political pamphlet, partisan journal, etc.?

B. Was the author reliable?

Differentiates between reliable and unreliable sources 

Judgments in terms of external criteria  

1. Was he desirous of reporting the truth?

Draws reasonable inferences  

Derivation of a set of abstract relations
II (Internal Criticism continued) Critical Thinking Procedure Cognitive Task

B. (cont.)

1. (cont.) Draws reasonable inferences Derivation of a set of abstract relations

a. Would he misrepresent because:

1. a personal interest in deceiving motivated him.

2. custom or convention required he be less than candid

3. of sympathy or antipathy of party, doctrine, race.

4. of vanity or the desire to appear favorable.
II (Internal Criticism continued)  Critical Thinking Procedure  Cognitive Task

B. (cont.)

1. (cont.)  Draws reasonable inferences  Derivation of a set of abstract relations

a. (cont.)

5. he was forced by circum-stances, i.e. a prisoner's confession, etc.

6. he allowed aesthetic taste and literary style to dominate his standards of reporting.

2. Was he able to observe the event?

a. could his accuracy be suspect because:

1. of an unconscious tendency to observe badly

2. he was badly situated for observing
II (Internal Criticism continued)

B. (cont.)

2. (cont.)

a. (cont.) Draws reasonable inferences

3. of negligence or idleness in observing, reporting by inference, etc.

4. the facts he reports could not be directly observed.

3. Was he capable of accurate description

a. Concerning his personal characteristics, what was his

1. Educational level

2. Intelligence level

3. Social standards

4. Moral standards

5. Occupation

6. Special talents or training

Critical Thinking Procedure

Cognitive Task

Derivation of a set of abstract relations
II (Internal Criticism continued) Critical Thinking Procedure Cognitive Task

B. (cont.)

3. (cont.)

a. (cont.) Draws reasonable inferences Derivation of a set of abstract relations

7. Opportunities for observation " "
8. Prejudices or passions " "

C. Interpretation of the source.

1. What was the purpose of the document? " "
a. information " "
b. speculation " "
c. amusement " "
d. argumentation " "

2. What were the conditions of time and place? " "
a. physical " "
b. social " "
c. cultural " "

1. Language usage Applies semantic principles Application
2. Social customs Recognizes relevant value systems Analysis of organizational principles
II (Internal Criticism continued) Critical Thinking Procedure Cognitive Task

C. (cont.)

2. (cont.)

c. (cont.) Recognizes relevant value systems Analysis of organizational principles

3. Religious or philosophical assumptions

D. Establishment of facts

1. What ideas and views are established by the source, whether they are objective and valid or not?

2. What elements (singular descriptive concepts) are established by this source as historical entities at the time of the report?
II (Internal Criticism continued) Critical Thinking Procedure Cognitive Task

D. (cont.) Selects relevant data. Analysis of elements

3. What objective facts (singular descriptions of events) are established by the source

a. limited to a degree of certitude by having no other source as a witness

b. considered certain by comparing with other sources from independent witnesses.

As can be seen from the analysis above, historical method in fine is an act of evaluation, an act wherein the researcher makes judgments based on internal and external criteria applied to the analysis of a document and its contents for authenticity and reliability. He can establish his facts, their degree of certainty or certitude, only by drawing inferences from the data at hand as to the motive, capability, and accuracy of the author even as he may have been influenced by physical and cultural limitations and
as his report compares with other known realities and reports of the time. In the process of evaluation, the researcher synthesizes hypotheses and conclusions, analyzes documents and their elements, applies known knowledge and principles to data for comparison, translates, interprets, and interpolates meanings and inferences based on the data, recognizes and identifies facts, assumptions, inferences, etc. In short, he runs the whole mental gamut of critical thinking tasks in a problem-solving situation as categorized in the cognitive domain again and again.

A student required to conduct historical research using primary materials cannot but experience the critical thinking, problem-solving process as delineated here and in Chapter II supra. Chapters IV, V, and VI which follow will present an exercise in the collection, analysis, and application of such an enterprise for the prospective social studies or history teacher.
Chapter IV

AN EXERCISE IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH USING PRIMARY MATERIALS

It is the purpose of Chapter IV to provide an example of an original historical research project using primary materials. In the larger context of the development of the thesis, the problems, procedures, and materials recorded in this chapter serve not only as an illustration of how a future teacher of history or the social studies might proceed when faced with the task in an undergraduate methods course, but also as data for analysis of critical thinking activities as explicated in Chapters II and III above. It is the purpose of Chapter V to demonstrate the proposed analysis, to be followed in Chapter VI with a prescription for the social studies methods course based on the exercise.

The exercise was conducted during a few weeks in the summer of 1973 in Columbus, Ohio. It is significant for the validity of the exercise that it took only a few days and that it was confined to materials available in Columbus in that an undergraduate student conducting the same or similar exercise might well be confined to the parameters of time and location in similar circumstances. The student, in other words, is generally restricted as to time and mobility, wherever his location and whatever his topic in an undergraduate course. This, of course, restricts and
delimits his choice of topic and the very nature of his problem. The emphasis here, and in such an exercise by an undergraduate history teacher preparee, however, is not on producing a finished historical work of the proportions of a graduate thesis or publishable monograph, but on getting involved with enough materials and problems to come up with a valid experience in historical method and learning thereby the critical thinking skills and concepts significant to his later teaching. In that sense, then, this chapter is not intended to set forth a finished historical work. Rather, it is meant to outline a set of problems, data, and tentative conclusions which are illustrative of the task under the specific limitations.

It should further be noted that not all materials discovered and used can be categorized as primary, nor would such a condition be necessary for the demonstration of the thesis. It is sufficient that some primary materials be used to demonstrate the limitations as to conclusiveness that they pose for the historical researcher. Likewise, tests for validity of the primary materials were lacking generally, their validity being assumed from the nature of their custody (official libraries and museums.) This condition also reflects the problem as it would be encountered by the typical student who would rarely, if ever, have the background

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1Supra, p. 26.
and training for tests of the age of paper, ink, handwriting, vocabulary, et cetera.\textsuperscript{2} That does not mean that the student cannot form some provisional conclusion as to their validity by other less exact techniques as will be demonstrated.

The topic for the research came out of the student's own experience. Near the student's home town in the nearby village of Sinking Springs, Ohio, is a cemetery known as the Governor Byrd Cemetery. The plaque on the gate is inscribed with information dedicating the cemetery to the memory of "Governor Charles Willing Byrd, governor of the Northwest Territory." Various "Byrd" markers, along with several others, are in the plot, one marked "C. W. Byrd Aug. 25 1828 58y lm 8 dys."\textsuperscript{3} Nearby stands a solid colonial type white brick mansion of obvious age from its architecture and construction. It is now a funeral home. Inquiries in the village, including the funeral home, as to whether the building was Governor Byrd's residence brought no positive results. Some people guessed "maybe so"; none really knew. The only other item about Governor Byrd known to the student was from a junior high Ohio History text which identified him as acting Governor of the Northwest Territory from December,

\textsuperscript{2}Supra, p. 61.

\textsuperscript{3}As recorded in H. J. Burtner, Jr., "Charles Willing Byrd," Ohio State Archeological and Historical Quarterly, XLI (September, 1932, pp. 237-240.
1802 until March, 1803 when Ohio became a state. He had been appointed acting Governor by President Jefferson after the dismissal of Governor Arthur St. Clair. Byrd had been Secretary of the Territory at the time of appointment.

Several intriguing questions about this obscure man were suggested. First, of course, had to do with the name. Was he related to the well-known Byrd family of Virginia which produced Senator Harry Byrd and Admiral Richard Byrd in this century? There seemed to be a possible connection in that Sinking Springs is in Highland County, all of which is in the Virginia Military Reserve granted to Virginia veterans of the American Revolutionary War. If Byrd was Secretary and acting Governor of the Territory in 1802-1803 and died in 1828 here in Sinking Springs, what was he doing in the meantime? Was he a farmer, lawyer, minister? Did he have any later career in Ohio politics or government? What was his relationship to the other early Virginians in Ohio politics, Thomas Worthington and Edward Tiffin? If he was of their type and politics, why wasn't his home in Chillicothe, the center of Virginia influence, as was theirs? Further, why wouldn't he have been a later governor or senator? Maybe he was a state legislator or a U. S. Representative? What happened to the Byrd family there in Sinking

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Springs? Where had it removed to? Were there no descendants? Such were the initial questions posed by the meager evidence and scanty knowledge the student possessed.

A reasonable place to start, one within the student's past experience, was with the Martha Kinney Cooper Ohioana Library at the State Library in Columbus. The Ohioana Library was a specific collection of materials on Ohio history, culture, and politics. Surely something about Charles Willing Byrd could be found there. Initial references appeared quickly in a general history of the period chosen at random. References read as follows:

Another success of the Chillicothe party was appointment of Harrison Governor of the Indiana Territory. To succeed him as secretary under St. Clair, Charles Willing Byrd had been appointed, who proved to be thoroughly devoted to the anti St. Clair cause.

There was active opposition to the Governor's appointment for a fifth term, which fell in the closing days of John Adams, the plan being to hand up the appointment so that Secretary Byrd would become his successor, but the Governor adjourned the Legislature, so that the Secretary had no authority under the Ordinance to act after the expiration of the Governor's term.

The list of the Hamilton County delegates who went to the state constitutional convention, Nov. 1, 1802, is as follows: John W. Browne, Charles Willing Byrd, Francis Dunlavy, Wm. Goforth, John Kitchel, Jeremiah

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5Rowland H. Rerick, History of Ohio (Madison, Wis.: Northwestern Historical Association, 1905).

6Ibid., p. 148.

7Ibid., p. 150.
On Nov. 22, nine days later, James Madison, Secretary of State, sent the following letter to be delivered to St. Clair by Secretary Byrd, who was directed to assume the duties of Governor:

"Sir:

The President observing, in an address lately delivered by you to the Convention held in Chillicothe, an intemperance and indecorum of language toward the Legislature of the United States, and a disorganizing spirit and tendency of very evil example and grossly violating the rule of conduct enjoined by your public state, determines that your commission of Governor of The Northwest Territory shall cease on the receipt of this notification."

Letter from St. Clair to Madison in response to above:

"Be pleased, sir, to accept my thanks for the peculiar delicacy you observed in committing the delivery of your letter, furnishing him with a copy of it, to Mr. Byrd, against who there are now in your hands to be laid before the President complaints of...neglect and refusal to perform official duty."

Chas. Willing Byrd was not neglected either. President Jefferson made him the first federal district judge of Ohio.

Rerick, in so far as he is accurate, has provided information that:

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8Ibid., p. 155.

9"Nine days later" refers to the period of time Gov. St. Clair's argumentative address to the constitutional convention in Chillicothe had been in the hands of Jefferson and Madison.

10Ibid., p. 156. Madison's letter of dismissal of Nov. 22, 1802 was served on St. Clair by Byrd on Dec. 14. His letter of response here quoted was written Dec. 16.

11Ibid., p. 163. This statement comes in the context of a report on the various state and federal offices to which members of the Virginia faction were elected or appointed.
1. Byrd was appointed to replace William Henry Harrison as secretary.
2. Byrd proved devoted to the anti-St. Clair cause.
3. Byrd was prevented from becoming St. Clair's successor (in 1800) by St. Clair's adjourning the Legislature.
4. Byrd was one of Hamilton County's delegates to the state constitutional convention in 1802.
5. Byrd was directed to become acting Governor on Nov. 22, 1802, by Secretary of State Madison and was given St. Clair's dismissal letter to deliver.
6. Byrd had been the subject of complaints about neglect of duty and refusal to perform duties by St. Clair.
7. (When Ohio became a state in 1803) President Jefferson appointed Byrd first federal district judge of Ohio.

We now, however, have more questions:

1. How could an anti-St. Clair man like Byrd be appointed secretary by President Adams?
2. Was Byrd guilty of St. Clair's complaints?
3. How long did Byrd serve as federal judge?

The student is referred to a biography of Nathaniel Massie by the reference librarian.¹²

¹²David Meade Massie, Nathaniel Massie, a Pioneer of Ohio (Robert Clark Co.: Cincinnati, 1896).
of much of the Virginia Military District, the founder of Manchester (1791) and Chillicothe (1796), a Jeffersonian in politics, a Virginian by birth, and speaker of the Northwest Territory Assembly.

The index reveals many references to Charles Willing Byrd. There follows:

When the first General Assembly of the Northwest Territory was notified on Dec. 2, 1800, by Gov. St. Clair that it would have to adjourn on the 9th of that month "as his term expired that day, and the law in that case did not authorize the Secretary to take his place," no doubt the opponents of the Governor, hoped that the Secretary, Charles Willing Byrd, would become acting Governor, for he was heartily in sympathy with them, being a Virginian and also a brother-in-law of Gen. Massie. 13

William Creighton, Jr., a young man from Virginia, a brother-in-law of Massie and Byrd, was elected the first Secretary of the State of Ohio. Thus beginning a long and useful public life. 14

Byrd "a Virginian of the Virginians," stood steadily for the right of Negro to vote in the first state constitutional convention of 1802, however he was opposed by other Kentucky and Virginia elements, such as Huntington of Trumbull County, and McIntyre of Washington County who were New Englanders, and Massie and Worthington who were of Virginia stock. 15

The student now has a second source to confirm Byrd's sympathy with the anti-St. Clair forces, and we have evidence that:

13 Ibid., p. 75.
14 Ibid., p. 91.
15 Ibid., p. 87.
1. Byrd was a brother-in-law of Nathaniel Massie.
2. Byrd was also brother-in-law of William Creighton, Jr., the first Secretary of the State.
3. Byrd, as opposed to some of his fellow Virginians, favored Negro suffrage at the constitutional convention.

But the student likewise has more questions:
1. Was this marital link the main cause of Byrd's influence and career?
2. If Byrd was a "Virginian of the Virginians," why did he favor Negro suffrage when others opposed it? Perhaps Massie's wife's reference will fill more details.

The student finds:

Massie's wife was the daughter of Col. David Meade of Lexington. She was Susan Everard Meade. She married Massie in 1800. Their home was near the falls of Paint Creek overlooking the hills which follow its course, a large, comfortable, frame structure still standing in 1896, about two miles west of Bainbridge.16

Here the student finds no reference to Byrd or Byrd's wife, but does discover that Massie's home was near Bainbridge, less than ten miles from Sinking Springs. Is there an explanation here for the location of the Byrd residence?

Additional references to Charles Willing Byrd in the Massie source consists of twelve letters quoted in full. While they are secondary sources, in that the student does

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16 Ibid., p. 104.
not see the originals, the fact that they are quoted by Massie's grandson, Byrd's grand-nephew by marriage, who authored the biography and had probable access to the original documents in Massie's papers gives the student some sense of being near the authentic source material on Charles Willing Byrd. In other words, he tends to assume their authenticity.

Letter #1

"Cincinnati
18th August 1800

"Dear Sir:
"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 6th. Accept my thanks for your friendly proposition relative to my claim against Mr. Clay. The horses I gave up to release him were valued at $180. Parson Smith (the representative) requested me to acquaint you with nature of a petition handed about at this time in Cincinnati. It is in substance to petition Congress at the next session to continue the old man in office and to censure the inhabitants of Ross for their misrepresentation of his conduct. Parson Smith has desired me also to inform you of a declaration made by our friend Harrison that if his friends upon the Ohio and at Chillicothe should upon his arrival express a wish for him to resign that he will give up his new dignity of governor in the lower territory. Be pleased to present my regards to Mrs. Massie, etc.

"Your obliged willing servant
"Charles Willing Byrd"

"To Col. Massie at Lexington"

Letter #2

"Cincinnati
20th August 1800

"Dear Sir:
"Mr. Hunt's impatience will not permit him to wait for an answer to my letter of the 18th addressed to you by post and he sets out immediately for Lexington in pursuit of Clay or his property. As I explained myself fully in the letter referred to upon this business, it

17Ibid., pp. 161-162.
18Ibid., pp. 162-163.
will be unnecessary for me to add anything more on the subject excepting only a request that you will favor Mr. Hunt with any information you may possess respecting Mr. Clay's funds. Should the politicians of Cincinnati fail, as I expect they will, in an attempt to get a law enacted early in the next session of the legislature to remove the seat of government to this place, I shall be glad to avail myself of your proposal relative to the conveyance of my furniture to Chillicothe. McCullough has contracted to deliver your order at the time required 200 of Sargent's young fruit trees. He asked of me a quarter of a dollar per tree, but I talked him down to sixpence this currency. A few weeks ago the Governor dined with me. At table your conduct with Armstrong at Avery's tavern was brought upon the carpet. One of his Excellencies Myrmidon's who was present represented your conduct on that occasion much to your discredit. He did it, I suppose, to ingratiate himself with the old gentlemen, and, being convinced that it was a misrepresentation, I undertook without being acquainted with the merits of the question to contradict it. I wish you acquaint me with the circumstances in order that I may contradict it more effectually particularly.

"I am your friend and obedient servant, Charles Willing Byrd"

Letter #319

"Cincinnati
September the 24th 1800

"Dear Sir:

"Can you inform me whether Michilimachinac is in the upper or lower territory? It is of importance that I should ascertain it before I proceed to take the census of the County of Wayne; and I cannot procure at Cincinnati satisfactory information upon this subject. Perhaps you are acquainted with the game which the people of this place and of Marietta are playing for the downfall of Chillicothe. It is this:—The members of Hamilton are to unite with the representatives of Washington in electing one of the delegates from Muskingum to a seat in Congress. In return for this favor,—the members from the latter place are to give their influence to those of Hamilton in their endeavors to remove the seat of government from Chillicothe to Cincinnati. They are then to play into each

19Ibid., pp. 163-164.
others hands:—the delegates in Congress and the Governor are to use their joint influence to continue the old General in office:—to effect a second division of the territory; and to procrastinate the formation of the district into a separate state as long as possible. The Governor has been absent for several weeks. Among other instances when the Seal was called for, the Court of Adams recommended the appointment of a magistrate in that County. When application was made for the Seal, Mrs. Dill, the Governor's private secretary, gave me to understand that his Excellency has carried it with him out of the Territory. Should this conduct be properly represented before the Senate, it would not I think operate much in his favor.

"I am, dear sir, yours, etc.

"Charles Willing Byrd

"To Col. Massie near Lexington"

"P.S. I believe this is the first letter I ever wrote on politics."

Letter #4

"Cincinnati

"26 November 1800

"Dear Sir:

"Will you inform me when in your opinion the Session will be closed? It may be necessary for me to be present before the House rises in order to receive the enrolled bills, etc. It is confidently asserted here that the Governor's term of service expires on the 9th of next month. If I believed this declaration, I would certainly go immediately to Chillicothe, with a view to act in the Governor's place and to enable the Legislature to continue in session still later than the 9th, as I suppose you would not wish to rise so soon. But instead of giving credit to the report, I consider it as a trick practiced by the Governor's friends to prevent petitions from being forwarded against him. Because if this information gains ground, it will be thought by Judge Symmes and the people ineffectual to take an active part against his Excellency as the appointment would be made before letters, remonstrances, etc., could arrive at the City of Washington.

"I am, dear Sir, your friend and obedient servant,

"Charles Willing Byrd

"To Col. Massie at the Seat of Government, Chillicothe."

20Ibid., pp. 164-165.
It is now evident to the student, assuming the authenticity of these letters, that

1. As early as the Summer of 1800 Byrd was informing his brother-in-law Massie of the political information in Cincinnati.

2. Byrd was "playing the game" on the side of the anti-St. Clair faction.

3. Byrd's hostility may have been evident to St. Clair, who did not leave the Seal of the Territory with Byrd when absent.

4. Byrd was uninformed about the date of the expiration of St. Clair's term and misinterpreted as a political finesse the accurate reports of the date.

5. Byrd remained in Cincinnati rather than going to Chillicothe where the Territorial Legislature was in session.

The following three letters written in 1801 have a somewhat different tone, in that they are primarily concerned with personal and family information. The student notes, however, that:

1. Byrd's sympathies seem to lie with the owner rather than the indentured servant in a runaway case.

2. Two terms, "Scion" and "Ruffin," are unknown to him (the student).

3. Byrd seems to have gained in familiarity with Massie in that he now refers to Massie's wife as "Suckey"
instead of Mrs. Massie, and he invites the Massies to visit.

The student has to make two assumptions here, however.

1. That indentured servant's were legal in that era in the Northwest Territory.

2. Or, alternative to above, the "indentured servant" was actually a slave out of Kentucky whom Massie indentured when he crossed the Ohio to live.

3. That "Suckey" indeed refers to Susan Meade Massie. (He remembers from his own experience a great aunt called "Sukey" whose name was Susannah.)

Letter #521

"Cincinnati
May 4th, 1801

"Dear Sir:
"On my return to Kentucky (about ten days ago) your letter was delivered to me with an account of McCulloch's conduct relative to the trees which he had contracted to send to you at sixpence per Scion. I have to lament that my absence from the Territory should have occasioned you any disappointment--I had deposited $20 with Maj. Ziegler, and had given directions to Ned and McCullough to procure you the fruit if application should be made for it previous to my return; and I had flattered myself that eventually there would have been no disappointment. My landlord, who received a severe rebuke from me for his breach of contract, says, that altho the agreement was such as I state it to be that nevertheless, your neglect in not sending at the time appointed (during the Winter) left him at liberty to alter the price. As no future confidence can be reposed in him, it will not, I can see, be expedient to engage with him anymore. From Mr. Taylor I have received on your account 3 and 20 dollars, 2 of which was paid on Warfield's advertisement, and the remainder

21 Ibid., pp. 170-171.
will be retained subject to your order. Maj. Ziegler tells me that Mr. Campbell paid 12 1/2 cents per Scion for 100 trees—I suppose that be appropriated part of the $15, mentioned in your letter, to that purpose and that balance has been returned to you. An Indentured Servant of yours (his name I think is Abraham) is here in pursuit of his freedom. His story is this—that by your threatening to sell him if he did not sign the indenture, and by other menaces, he was compelled to subscribe it and that since it was not a voluntary act, he ought to be emancipated by the judiciary—Before my arrival Montgomery had hired him to Ruffin, and it is of my opinion that he will not attempt his escape, nevertheless I should immediately have committed him to jail, but the prison is so insecure that it cannot be considered as a place of safety: I am therefore obliged to content myself employing Spy's to watch over his conduct, until we can hear from you. I hope my letter will find yourself, your wife, and your Jonathan in good health—be pleased to present my love to Suckey.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant

"Charles Willing Byrd

"To Col. Massie"

Letter #6

"May 11, 1801

"Cincinnati

"Dear Sir:

"I had the pleasure to receive your letter sent by Mr. Collins and I give you my thanks for sending me the census of your county. The enumeration of the inhabitants of the Territory, exclusive of Jefferson, from which I have had no return,

—Hamilton 14,691
Ross 8520
Adams 3432
Washington 5427
Wayne 3206
Trumbull 1303;—amounting in whole, independent of the first mentioned county, to 36,579.

McCullough's conduct as evinced a considerable degree of impertinence as well as a want of integrity; but as it is probable that you have received before this time my letter by the mail, wherein I made some comments upon his and your Servant's behaviour, it will be unnecessary to trouble you with any further observations

22 Ibid., pp. 171-172.
upon this subject.

Among other particulars you were informed of my having twenty or twenty-one dollars of yours subject to your order: I am at a loss whether I ought to transmit it to you by Mr. Collins; but I believe it may be proper for me to retain it in my hands until you deem it expedient to write for it. I would wish Mr. Goodin to postpone an application for his claim upon the Treasury until September as the census will not be completed until that time.

A few weeks ago I went to Kentucky for my family; but the badness of the weather and roads prevented me from bringing them down; in the course of the next month I shall make another essay to get them home.

Your company at our house would afford me much pleasure. How easy would it be for you in the Summer to put yourself, your Suckey, and your Jonathan, on board a boat, to descend the Ohio, and to make us a visit? We have a most abundant garden and a most flattering prospect of currants, peaches and nectarines. I am with respect your obedient servant.

"Charles Willing Byrd

"To Col. Massie"

Letter #7

"Cincinnati
"June the 13th 1801

"Dear Sir:
"Mr. Collins handed me your letter and agreeable to your directions, received from me thirteen dollars. I will take some early opportunity for settling your account with Conner. Your servant arrived at this place before my return; and Montgomery in your name took out a writ from the general Court against him, but permitted it to be returned to the office without having it executed. He then hired him out to Ruffin and afterwards suffered him to hire himself out to Mr. Burnet, who directed the jailer to commit him to prison; and Abraham remained some weeks in jail. I suppose an account will be exhibited for jail fees; however as I understand that the keeper employed the prisoner to work for him in the day, I shall endeavor to frame an account in your behalf against the jailer as a set off; in all events there is money more than sufficient to pay his account due from persons who at different times have had your servant. I consented to his liberation from confinement as soon as I

\[Ibid., pp. 173-174.\]
discovered symptoms of repentance, and have been waiting some time for an opportunity of sending him to you. Unless he has grossly deceived me, he is anxious to return to you and will accompany Mr. Collins. Be pleased to give my love to Suckey.

"I conclude in haste and am respectfully your obedient servant,

"Charles Willing Byrd"

"To Col. Massie"

The following four letters of 1802 (the year in which Congress authorized the Ohio Territory to Convene a constitutional convention to consider Statehood and prepare a State Constitution with a schedule for implementation of Statehood) are once again highly political in tone, as follows:

Letter #824

"Cincinnati
May 20th 1802

"Dear Sir:
"The inhabitants of the County of Hamilton have been sounded on the subject of candidate for the office of Governor under the proposed new state and the general wish is that, as ours is the most populous County in the Territory, we should elect the first magistrate under the state government from this County. The Governor's partizans are in favor of either him or McMillan. The party in opposition feel themselves at a loss upon the subject. Some of the members of the Legislature have solicited me to become a candidate for that office, have promised me the support of the Republican interest in Hamilton County. Perhaps they intended only to flatter me; but whatever their intentions may be, I am conscious I should not have the smallest chance of success, and even if there was the fairest prospect in my favor, I would decline the offer because the appointment would not be acceptable to me. Under this impression I have embraced every opportunity of directing their attention to you. I am happy in being able to inform you that you are the only person (out of the County of Hamilton) who will be able to command their votes. Capt. White, Mr. Smith, and Mr. Dunlavy have

24 Ibid., pp. 205-207.
bound themselves by a promise to give you their interest. Those gentlemen and some other of influence have told me that their first wish was to see you the Governor of the contemplated state and myself upon the bench of the Supreme Court. With regard to me this was probably mere flattery; but as it relates to you I'm convinced that they are serious. Each of them expressed an apprehension that you would be prevailed on contrary to their wishes to decline in favor of some other character in Ross and that by doing so you would divide the party in opposition to St. Clair and McMillan and perhaps open the door, or, rather pave the way for one of them. From all the information which I am able to collect, it seems to me their determination, if you do not offer to risque, everything in favor of some inhabitant of this county and I am frequently solicited to importune you to become a candidate.

Petitions have been received to convene the Assembly, and I have promised to take time for reflection before I make up my mind on the subject. Both parties have united in this application, but I confess that I am jealous of the Council, and believe that they would not accede to any measure with a view to cooperate with the Act of Congress in effecting a change of government in our County. What is your opinion upon this question? I will thank you to write to me immediately upon the subject.

"I am, dear Sir, your obedient humble servant,
Charles Willing Byrd
"P. S. Our love to Suckey
Col. Massie, Paint."

Letter #9

"Secretary's office
"Cincinnati
"June 7, 1802

"Dear Sir:
"Agreeable to the petition from Adams and to the hint communicated in your letter of the 24th ulto I have made out the enclosed commissions, not having any direct private conveyance to that county and knowing that you have much intercourse with its inhabitants, I take the liberty by Mr. Nimino, one of the Cincinnati Merchants, to send them to you in order that they may be forwarded to the gentlemen appointed. Sally and myself will expect the pleasure of seeing you, Mrs. Massie, and your son in the course of the summer. I

suppose from your brother Henry's staying so long that he will bring from Jessamine an increase of population to the Territory. Jacob Burnet is endeavoring to distract the minds of our citizens by telling them that we can hold no election for convention men under the Act of Congress, as it cites a law of the Territory for the regulation of elections which has been repealed. I have made some attempts to counteract his exertions. It is my opinion that no person will be chosen who is not in favor of a state government. We are glad to hear the valuable discovery on your estate, and I am, dear Sir, with esteem, your obedient servant

"Charles Willing Byrd

"To Col. Massie at the Falls of the Paint"

Letter #10

"Cincinnati
"June 20th 1802

"Dear Sir:
"I had the pleasure by your nephew to receive your favor of the 15th.

Mr. John Smith and the rest of the advocates for a new state who petitioned the convening of the Legislature are now satisfied (at least they express themselves in that manner) with the objections which were urged against the measure as an apology for not complying with their application. But the Governor's party are highly exasperated, and Burnet has frequently declared in large companies, that the most violent tumults in the Territory, such as were never before witnessed in any country would be the consequence. The Democratic Societies of Hamilton are as jealous of Mr. John Smith as they are of McMillan and Burnet, are attempting to prejudice me against him. I may be deceived in him, but I entertain so favorable an opinion of his character, that I must credit his assertion when he declares that he is extremely anxious to go immediately into a state government. Be pleased to present my respects to Mrs. Massie and tell her that Meade is very like her. We shall at some time or other attempt to visit you, but the swamp between Williamsburg and New Market presents many difficulties to female travellers. With esteem I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant.

"Charles Willing Byrd

"P. S. A ship has just descended the Ohio"

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26 Ibid., pp. 210-211.
Letter #1127

"Cincinnati
"August the 11th 1802

"My dear Sir:
"I sincerely participate in your sorrow for the loss of your poor sweet boy. You have, however, one consolation. His sufferings were not of long duration. Commissions have been made out by me and transmitted to Adams agreeable to request so that in the quarter sessions there will be a majority of the Court opposed to the Governor's party. The appointments were enclosed to Mr. Donaldson. Previous to the receipt of your letter relative to Mr. Scott, many applications had been made for the office of collector in the Military District, but as McGlaughlin refused to resign until the arrival of old St. Clair I of course made no appointment to that office. The Governor has given it to Carlyle, who I understand isn't a favorite with the inhabitants. With much esteem, I am, dear Sir, your obedient servant,

"Charles Willing Byrd

"To Col. Massie, Paint"

The student here learns among other things that:

1. Byrd hinted at more interest in a Court position than the Governorship.

2. He wanted Massie to be the first State Governor, and is organizing Hamilton County for him.

3. He solicits Massie's advice on convening the Assembly (Territorial). Is St. Clair out of the Territory?

4. He commissions officers for Adams County at Massie's request. (He must have the Territorial Seal.)

5. Byrd is still in Cincinnati but Massie is at the "Falls of the Paint" in 1802.

6. A "ship" (as opposed to a boat, raft, canoe?) de-

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27Ibid., p. 216.
scending the Ohio was notable enough to get comment.

7. Byrd had "packed" the Adams court with opponents of the Governor.

8. Byrd has considerable confidence in one John Smith (This is the same Mr. Smith of Letter #8 and Parson Smith of Letter #1.) whom some of the members of the Democratic Societies suspect.

The last letter (#12 in this source) is written from Lexington (at the Meades?) in 1803 after Ohio had become a state. It is strictly personal in tone and intent.

Letter #12

"Lexington
"10th August 1803

"Dear Sir:
"At the desire of Mrs. Byrd I write to request that you will have some clausets put up in our cabins. I believe I expressed to you my wish to have the fireplaces of the same width with yours in your dining room.
Be pleased to advance to your brother H— as much money as he thinks will be necessary for the purchase of a few articles for me in Chillicothe of which he has a memorandum.

"Yours respectfully,
"Charles Willing Byrd

"Col. Massie
"Our love and compliments to Suckey and your sisters."

The context in which the letter is printed reveals the cabins were on the Massie estate for Byrd's occasional and personal use in visit and transit. U. S. Route 50 between Cincinnati and Chillicothe passes the spot near Bainbridge today.

28 Ibid., p. 229.
Further checking reveals there are no books by or about Byrd in the Ohioana collection. A quick check of other relevant biographies of his contemporaries and general historical works on the period fails to reveal any more on Byrd than the student already has. The Index of Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly reveals one article on the subject: "Charles Willing Byrd," by H. J. Burtner, Jr., Volume XLI (1932), pp. 237-240. The Burtner article reveals that Byrd:

1. Is buried in Sinking Springs.

2. Was born at Westover, Charles County, Virginia, July 26, 1770.

3. Came to the new state of Kentucky in 1794.

4. Achieved a reputation as a lawyer.

5. Was appointed Secretary of the Northwest Territory, October 3, 1779.

6. Took the oath as Secretary from Governor St. Clair on February 26, 1800.

7. Became acting Governor November 22, 1802, serving until March 3, 1803, when Ohio became a state.

8. Was a member of the state constitutional convention when only thirty-two years old.


\[29\] Burtner, op. cit.
10. "Evidently" lived in Cincinnati three years, probably seven.

11. Bought "Buckeye Station" four miles east of Manchester on the Ohio River from his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Massie, in June, 1807.


14. Had four children by his first wife.

15. Buried his wife at Gift Ridge after her death there February 15, 1815.

16. Moved to West Union in 1817.

17. Married Hannah Miles March 8, 1818 in West Union (the county seat of Adams County).

18. Built a brick house known at the time the article was written as "Ot Byrd's house" in Sinking Springs.

Burtner's article further indicates that:

19. Charles Willing Byrd's wife Hannah is buried beside him at Sinking Springs, her marker reading "Hannah d. Aug. 14 1839 49y 8m 2dys."

20. Their son Samuel O. Byrd who died in 1869 at the age of forty-five, and his wife Francis E. who died in 1851 when twenty-six years old are also buried there.

21. An Otway Byrd's widow, who had been postmistress, was remembered in Sinking Springs in 1932.
22. She and all her children were then dead with the possible exception of one "Willie" who might have been still living near Dodge City, Kansas.

23. In a letter from J. W. Watts, judge of the Probate Court of Highland County, Burtner was informed that--

   a. the will of Charles Willing Byrd is filed in the Mercer County, Kentucky, court records, and

   b. the Highland County Probate Court File #68, has C. W. Byrd's estate inventory dated May 11, 1829, which included four volumes of a "Secret Journal of Congress," and

   c. the Highland Court File #7851 attests to the estate of one William O. Byrd, probated September 17, 1888, which leaves to one "Charles Willing Byrd" 1) the old family "Bible,

               2) the "Old History of Virginia,"

               3) "Old papers and letters, historical and otherwise, of the Byrd family."

   d. Charles Willing Byrd was born July 22, 1770, the son of William Byrd III and Mary Willing Byrd.

Several problems arise from an analysis of the Burtner article.

1. The date of birth: Burtner says July 26, yet reports Watts' letter saying July 22.

2. The date of death: The C. W. Byrd marker reports his death August 25, 1828, aged 58 years, 1 month, 8 days. Correlating the age with the birth dates above, neither would be accurate.

3. The date of appointment as Secretary of the Territory. If C. W. Byrd was born in 1770, he would hardly have been a public official in 1779, in a jurisdiction not yet existent, as well.

4. Who was "Ot Byrd?" Does this refer to Samuel O. Byrd, or William O. Byrd?

5. What was the relationship between Samuel O. and William O.? Father-son?

6. Is the Charles Willing Byrd to whom the estate was left in 1888 a son of Samuel O. or of William O., and is he the "Willie" who might have been living in Kansas in 1932?

7. What happened to the "family papers" and the "Secret Journal of Congress?"

\[\text{\textsuperscript{30} Supra, p. 74.}\]
8. Could this "Secret Journal" actually have been of the state constitutional convention, since Judge Byrd apparently never served in Congress, but was a delegate to the convention?

9. Why was C. W. Byrd's will filed in the Mercer County, Kentucky, Court?

10. Was Sarah Meade of Virginia or Kentucky, where Nathaniel Massie apparently married her sister?

Some inferences are possible.

1. The birth date was July 22, which would make the death date as reported on the marker correlate with 58 years, 1 month, and 3 days. One could assume that on old markers the distinction between an "8" and a "3" might be difficult.

2. The date of appointment was 1799 instead of 1779, the error simply being a misprint.\(^{31}\)

3. That Samuel O. Byrd was Charles Willing's son who died in 1869 and the father of William O. Byrd who died around 1888, who was in turn the father of Charles Willing the younger.

4. That Charles Willing the younger was the "Willie" of Kansas, that his mother, the wife of William O., "Otway" or "Ot," had been the post mistress of

\(^{31}\)Such an assumption is, of course, necessitated by previous evidence from such sources as Rerick.
memory to local residents in 1932.

5. That whenever Charles Willing the younger, or his heirs could be found, there would be found the family papers.

The student on the advice of an Ohioana reference librarian proceeds to the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Museum and Library. There, under a catalogue listing of "Byrd, C. W." he finds reference to the manuscript collection of Charles E. Rice. This collection contains:

1. A manuscript biography of Byrd by Rice.
2. An 1826 letter from C. W. Byrd to Mr. Buchanan ordering sugar.
3. An 1812 letter from C. W. Byrd to Judge Todd of the U. S. Supreme Court.
4. An 1811 letter from C. W. Byrd to General Massie on Sargent's case.
5. An 1806 letter from Charles Willing Byrd to Colonel Worthington on Rhoades' claim.

Further, from the miscellaneous collection are two items:

1. An 1818 memorandum by C. W. Byrd on the sale of a forti-piano.
The manuscripts and analysis of each follows. Due to the difficulty of retaining legibility in reproduction, the manuscripts have been re-inked with as much faithfulness to form as possible.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{32}Ohio State Historical Society Library, Charles E. Rice MSS, Collection 1, Box 20, Folder 7, Item 29.
Charles Milling Byrd.

Judge Byrd was of proud lineage. His grandfather Col. Mr. Byrd was born in Charles City County, Va., March 17, 1674. (See his portrait in Harpers Magazine for April 1870, page 717.) He was the founder of the city of Richmond. William Byrd, the father of Chas. Milling Byrd was a son of Col. Mr. Byrd by his second marriage and was born, lived and died at Westover on the north bank of the James River 40 miles below Richmond.

Chas. Milling Byrd was born at Westover, on Monday, the 26th of July, 1770, at one o’clock in the morning, reads the record in the old Westover Bible. He was the seventh child of the third Colonel Mr. Byrd and his wife Mary Milling Byrd. His mother Mary Milling was born in Philad. on Sept. 10, 1740, and was a daughter of Charles Milling and his wife Ann Shippem of that city. Chas. Milling Byrd’s father died in 1777 and his mother sent him to her father’s family in Philad. to be educated. He was placed in the
care of a wealthy and prominent gentleman, Mr. Powell, who was a member of the Society of Friends and from whom El Byrd imbibed many of his strong views in regard to slavery, temperance, physical, moral, and religious culture for which he was afterwards noted. One of the Mothers' reasons for placing him amongst the Friends was on account of the skepticism and infidelity that had crept into the College of Mary at Old Williamsburg, where all the preceding Byrds who had not been educated in England, had attended college. Judge Byrd received his entire academic and legal education in the City of Philadelphia and was a finished scholar and a gentleman of rare polish and elegance. He studied law in Philadelphia with Government Morris. His first visit to Kentucky was in the interests of Robert Morris, in regard to the purchase of lands. While in Ky. he was often the guest of Col. David Hende of Chambers, who had removed from the estate of Magor, Prince George County Va., opposite Manassas, whose family were intimate friends of the Byrds.
He married at Chamuera on April 6, 1797, Sarah Weston Meade, second daughter of Col. Daniel Meade. Her eldest sister married Gen. Nathaniel Massie, the founder of Chillicothe. After Judge Byrd's marriage he returned to Philadelphia, and remained there until he was appointed by Pres. John Adams, Secretary of the North West Territory, which office he held until appointed by Pres. Jefferson, Judge of the United States District Court for the District of Ohio, which office he held until his death in August, 1828. From the time of this appointment as Judge he resided in Cincinnati until June, 1807. His residence was on a farm known as Byrd Street — now 5th Street. On June 7, 1807, he bought of Dr. Thomas Daniel, Nathaniel Massie a tract of 600 acres in Monroe Township, Adams Co., being known as Bearsey Talbot's farm. He took up his residence here and held it until Aug. 15, 1814, when he conveyed it to John Ellerson, Jr. Mrs. Sarah Meade Byrd died in 1814 and was buried there.

In 1814 Judge Byrd removed to Chillicothe, where he lived about a year. He removed to West Union in 1816 and...
removed there until March 5, 1823 when he removed to Sinking Springs, Highland Co. Where he had bought a large tract of land and built them a brick house. Here he resided until his death in August 1828.

At West Union on Oct. 8, 1815, he married Hannah Miles, a widow with 2 children. His Grandson W. Olway Byrd where Postmaster of Sinking Springs, Highland Co. lived in the first brick school building built by Col. John W. Byrd.

He was very strict in his observance of the Sabbath. He would not on that day ride in horse back, even to church. He had a strong dislike for the Shaker. He was a total abstainer from all spirits. He was very temperate in eating and kept a small silver scale by this plate and weighed out everything of food for the children allowing only a certain quantity of salt, sugar, phosphate to etc. He had peculiar ideas as to generosity yet died suddenly at 58 when he had never been sick in his life. The children of his first marriage were all born between 1798 and 1810 and were Mary Willia, Powell, Kidd, Deade, R. Silsmeir, and Evelyn Hamilton.

The children of his second marriage were Jane & Samuel Olway.
The student at last has some answers, wheter valid or not, to the life of Charles Willing Byrd.

1. He was apparently of the Virginia Byrd's from which the notables of this century are descended.\footnote{"Richard Evelyn Byrd," World Book Encyclopedia, 1972, Vol. 2, p. 633. Adm. Byrd is identified as a brother of Sen. Harry Byrd and as a descendent of the "family pre-eminent in Virginia history."}

2. He was reared and education by his mother's family in Philadelphia where he came under Quaker educational influence.

3. He studied law with Gouverneur Morris and was employed by Robert Morris as land agent in Kentucky.

4. He married Sarah Waters Meade, a daughter of a Virginia neighbor who had removed to Kentucky.

5. He lived in Cincinnati after his appointment as Secretary of the Northwest Territory, and remained there after his appointment as federal district judge until 1807.

6. He lived at Buckeye Station until at least 1814, then in Chillicothe and West Union, and finally in Sinking Springs after 1823.

7. He built the large brick house in Sinking Springs, and died there in 1828.

8. He and his second wife, Hannah Miles, were married in West Union in 1818.
9. His grandson was William Otway Byrd, who lived in the Byrd house and was postmaster of Sinking Springs when Rice wrote the biography.

10. He was noted for unusually zealous, religious, moral, and dietary standards.

11. His death was sudden, apparently natural rather than accidental.

12. He had five children by his first marriage, two by his second.

The student notes that the manuscript is done on the personal stationery of "Dr. Chas. E. Rice." He wonders how Dr. Rice got his information. Who was Dr. Charles E. Rice? The reference librarian informs the student that the Rice Collection was obtained, and catalogued for the Ohio Historical Society Library during the 1930's under auspices of the historians working for the Works Project Administration. Dr. Rice was an Alliance physician whose hobby was collecting autographs and documents of early Ohio and Northwest Territory notables. His collection was gathered from the 1850's until 1894, when he died. It contains at least one autographed manuscript of every member of the first Ohio Constitutional Convention, as well as all the early governor's and senator's of the State.

The student notes that there is no date on the Rice manuscript. However, it must have been done prior to 1888,
since William Otway Byrd's will was probated in that year.\textsuperscript{34} The student further notes that Rice might have had access to the "old Westover Bible." He wonders if this is the same Bible referred to in the Watts letter quoted in Burtner's article.\textsuperscript{35} The student wonders how Rice knew of Byrd's personal characteristics and habits, of his "strong views on slavery, temperance, physical, moral and religious culture," of his education, of his children's names, and of the nature of his death. Did Rice have access to other family documents than the old Bible? Did he personally interview William Otway Byrd? Would W. O. Byrd have known these kinds of details without access to records, since he evidently was born long after his grandfather's death? This assumes that William Otway was the son of Samuel O., who died at age forty-five in 1869, thus having been born in 1823 or 1824. If William Otway was his son, he could hardly have been born prior to the early 1840's, and Charles Willing Byrd, the grandfather, died in 1828, when his son Samuel O. was no more than four or five years old.

The student also notes some discrepancies in the Rice manuscript when compared with the Burtner article:

1. Burtner is unsure whether Byrd lived in Cincinnati

\textsuperscript{34}Burtner, op. cit., p. 240.
\textsuperscript{35}Ibid.
three years or seven. Rice gives the date of Byrd's moving from Cincinnati as June, 1807, and says he lived there from the time of his appointment as Judge, (March, 1803.) That's at least four years.

2. Burtner says Byrd lived near Manchester at Gift Ridge until 1817. Rice says until 1814.


4. Rice says Byrd moved to West Union in 1816 after a year or so residence in Chillicothe. Burtner doesn't mention Chillicothe, and says Byrd moved to West Union in 1817.

5. Burtner says Byrd married Hannah Miles March 8, 1818 in West Union. Rice says the marriage was October 8, 1818.

6. Burtner reports Otway Byrd's widow had been postmistress. Rice says Otway Byrd was postmaster. (Both are possible, of course.)

The student notes other differences in the two reports on Byrd. Burtner's article reports items that would be of more general knowledge, such as the official dates and appointments to office in Byrd's life, as well as the then

36 Supra, p. 94 for the data from the Burtner article.
current evidence from grave markers, county records, memories of former neighbors in 1932. Rice's manuscript (sometime prior to 1888) reports lineage, family history with specifics such as names, birthdates, personal habits and characteristics, and outdated obscure information (that Cincinnati's Fifth Street had once been Byrd Street). Based on the comparative dates of the two accounts, and on their differing emphasis from separate sources, the student decides that generally Rice's account is the more reliable when the two accounts differ.

The student notes that the next manuscript is sent from Sinking Springs, Highland County, Aug. 20, 1825. He also notes the date of receipt marked on the outside of the order for sugar is Aug. 28, 1826. He wonders if it really took a year to get that loaf of sugar, or if one date or the other (1825 or 1826) is mistaken.  

37OSHS Library, Charles E. Rice MSS, Collection 1, Box 4, Page 8.
Sublime Spring, Highland county, Ohio, Jan.

I wish to get the favor of Mr. Buchanan
to procure for me, on good terms and
of good quality, the amount twenty
dollars worth of loof hay, and to
prefer Mr. J. C. Young in having it
put on board a vessel, with his
things intended to be brought by
the way of Mayesville to this place.

Very respectfully
C. W. Byrd.
Further analysis of this manuscript tends to confirm for the student the authenticity of the document by location.

1. Sinking Springs lies on State Route 41 nearly forty miles north of the Ohio River at Maysville. Thus Maysville would have been a natural spot for incoming goods by river for Sinking Springs.

2. According to tradition, S. R. 41 along that portion is part of Zane's Trace, which ran from opposite Maysville to Chillicothe and was the major route for immigration and shipment of goods to south central Ohio until the Ohio Erie Canal opened in the 1830's.

3. According to all other evidence, Byrd was living at Sinking Springs from 1823 to 1828, thus confirming the 1825 or 1826 date.

The student notes handwriting and signature for later comparison.

Turning to the next manuscript the student checks for similarities in handwriting and signature. He notes that the 1825 handwriting is larger and less neat. However, similarities in formation of certain letters convince him it is probably the same hand that wrote both. These similarities include:

1. The form of the capital I.
2. The form of the capital W.
3. The form of the abbreviation Mr.
4. The form of the capital J.
5. The form of the lower case p.
6. The form of the lower case s when ending a word.
7. The form of the double s (as in assist) when in the middle or at the end of a word.

He notes one discrepancy: the form of the lower case y when ending a word. In the earlier document the y is not looped at the bottom. In the later document, it is. The student is aware from his own experience, however, that over some period of time his own formation of certain letters, such as the lower case r and the initial capital S have changed. He also notes that he lower case r is more fluid in the latter of these two documents. A comparison of the two signatures, however, seems to him fairly conclusive of the identity of author in both cases. He assumes that minor discrepancies in style could have occurred from the time span involved and the age of the author (thirteen or fourteen years from age forty-one to age fifty-five at least) and the nature of the two missives, one being a hastily written note ordering sugar, the other a formal letter of request to a professional colleague.

Further analysis of the document lends authenticity. The letter is addressed to Judge Todd of the U. S. Supreme Court. A quick check reveals a Justice Thomas Todd of Kentucky was appointed by President Jefferson in 1807 and
served until 1826. The letter requests the services of Mr. Clay, and refers to him as the Speaker—obviously Henry Clay of Kentucky. The letter indicates the author has been acquainted with Clay, a very likely possibility in view of the regional relationship of Kentucky and southern Ohio in those days. The letter requests of Clay via Todd something that Clay could affect as Speaker, a raise in the author's Congressionally determined pay. The author demonstrates familiarity with the structure, law, and development of the federal court system, such as a district judge would of necessity know. The author demonstrates familiarity with the persons representing Ohio in Congress and with their opinions and political influence, as a judge long resident of the state might surely know.

In other words, the letter seems authentic from its source, subject, and addressee. It's reliability could be further checked by researching the facts as to organization and remuneration of federal courts and judges in 1812. The letter was written in Cincinnati on January 29th, 1812, and the outside was addressed on February 3rd. Why Judge Byrd might have been in Cincinnati at that time is unresolved, assuming he did live at Gift Ridge east of Manchester. It is possible, of course, that the Federal District Court sat

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in Cincinnati. Some evidence that it was sitting there at
the time the letter was written would further authenticate
the document. The letter to Judge Todd follows: 39

39 OSHS Library, Charles E. Rice MSS, Collection 1,
Box 4, p. 8.
City of Philadelphia

Joseph Bagg, Jr.

Summer 1851
Cincinnati 29th January 1812

Dear Sir,

I am encouraged by your kindness to request, that you will avail yourself of a convenient opportunity, if any such should occur while you are at Washington, to have some conversation with our acquaintance, Mr. Clay, on the subject of my salary. This gentleman informed me that when he introduced in Congress, the bill, which afterwards, was incorporated into a law, establishing circuit courts in the Western Districts, he was under the impression that my compensation was the same with that received by the Judges of the Kentucky & Tennessee Districts, or otherwise he would have proposed into it a clause placing my pay on the same footing with theirs. Perhaps I do not merit this; perhaps I do not deserve even as much as is received by U.S. Circuit Judges, not one of whom receives less than twelve hundred dollars, annually, being two hundred dollars more than the amount of my salary. But it appears it is natural for me to wish for an augmentation; and if the result of my application should be a failure, it will be only where I was before, & I shall only have to regret the trouble that I am attempting to shelve out for the Speaker on this occasion, it will be unnecessary.
to adduce any arguments in support of the opinion that my salary ought at least to be equal to that of the Territorial Judges in the Western country. With our Members from Ohio I am on the best terms, but they are deficient in liberality; deficient in influence, I therefore will not write to them on this topic. If Sir the foregoing proposal should not accord with your ideas of justice, or if the circumstances of the times should not favour the undertaking, I ask no apology from you for declining it. For on such occasions I adopt the French rule to put the least construction on the conduct of my friends, & I shall suffer if the attempt is not made, but it was because there was not any prospect of

I am & ever yours,

Respectful humble servt.

C. W. Byrd.

Judge Todd
The next document, a letter from Byrd to his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Massie in 1811, similar to the previous two, appears appropriately aged in coloration, paper texture, and ink fade. The same handwriting characteristics occur, in addition the student noting the similarity in capital H in all three Byrd manuscripts so far. This manuscript is also more hastily written than the 1812 copy, it appears. A quick crowded postscript has been added apparently after the signature, which is essentially identical with the other two observed previously. Once again, however, it is written from Cincinnati rather than the supposed Byrd residence near Manchester. Is there some indication that Byrd was a relatively frequent visitor to Cincinnati in the period 1811-1812, for business, court duties, or otherwise: The student also notes that Chillicothe is spelled with only one l. The student recalls that Byrd's letter to Massie noted earlier about the adjournment of the Territorial Legislature and St. Clair's term as governor ending also spelled Chilli-cothe in a similar manner.

The contents of the letter to Massie indicate that perhaps this brother-in-law and former political cohort and conspirator of Byrd's has deceived Byrd for his own profit.

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Since Massie's biography indicated his extensive speculation in land, particularly in the Virginia Military District, much of which he surveyed for shares of the military land warrants, the subject of this letter seems timely and appropriate. The student gathers that Byrd is on the spot. Massie has purchased land from a third party to which one Sargeants had a claim for the price of back taxes, after assuring Byrd that Sargeants' claim would be protected by Massie himself who would collect the necessary money from Sargeants. Massie had, further, already resold the land according to one Hendren who has confronted Byrd with the deal and to whom Byrd entrusts this letter of advice (warning? demand?) to Massie to set the Sargeants' claim right. The student wonders why this letter was not reported by Massie's grandson in the biography, and how Rice obtained the letter. It is obviously none too flattering to Massie. Or, the alternative, Byrd had not previously communicated Sargeants' desire to Massie, and Byrd now has to lie his own way out of the mess. In which case, Byrd is not flattered.

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41 Massie, op. cit.

42 OSHS Library, Charles E. Rice MSS, Collection 1, Box 1, Folder 19, Item 20.
Cincinnati, 15th Oct. 1811

Dear Sir,

My friend Mr. Henderson enquiries of me whether there had been any communication between you & myself respecting Capt. Sergeant Head in this. I informed him that I wanted upon you on the subject, telling you that if any money was required by you as Sergeant's agent, to pay the tax or to execute it from any other encumbrance, that I was authorized to draw on the Captain for it & to pay it over to you for that purpose. Mr. Henderson implied that you had received an assignment of this land from a third person, and afterwards bought it under the sale for the non-payment of the tax & had sold it to some other person. If this is the present situation of the claim, it would be greatly desirable if you could under existing circumstances repurchase the claim & reinstate Captain Sergeant in his right. Since & if you do not return me the bal. of what is due, I shall take it as a proof that you are not going to attempt to sell it & myself, & if you would yourself C F J Byard

Yours, McPherson
The 1806 manuscript from "near Manchester" which follows bears all the marks of authenticity considering age and handwriting noted earlier. It further attests to the position of Byrd as "Judge of the District." It bears evidence of a professional concern for a veteran's claim which is a matter for the War Department to settle with evidence provided under the Judge's supervision. General Dearborne, according to public record, was Secretary of War. Colonel Worthington was U. S. Senator from Ohio, and thus a co-ordinator of matters concerning both the War Department, the Federal District Court, and residents of Ohio such as "poor Rhoades" who had a claim and needed assistance in getting the evidence necessary as provided by federal law. The author of the letter indicates familiarity with the appropriate law and expresses doubt as to the sufficiency of the requested evidence under it. He needs clarification or confirmation from the War Office by way of the Senator. As an original document, it confirms Byrd's position at the very least.

However, a problem stems from the sending address. According to other sources, Byrd did not purchase the home near Manchester until June, 1807. Of course the student does not know that Gift Ridge at Buckeye Station is the


44 *Supra*, p. 93 and 102.
site near Manchester from which this was written. Yet, in view of later known residence there, it is possible to infer that Byrd was living there, perhaps prior to purchase, as early as March, 1806, from this letter. Secondly, a problem exists with the signature. First it is the full name rather than the initials observed in the other manuscripts. Secondly, the capital C and the capital W are formed differently, although the capital B is similar. Thirdly, the small case y is looped, and the small case r is erect and rigid rather than flowing and flexible. A search back through the previously recorded manuscripts reveals that the same capital C as that in this letter has been used alternately in a few cases in the other documents, but not in the signature. Is it possible that Byrd changed his signature between 1806 and 1811 from the full three names, written rather elaborately, to the abbreviated initials of the first two names used with the last name, all written somewhat more simply, without the looped C, the rounded W, the bottom looped cursive y? It is possible, of course. Such a change can come about for efficiency and convenience sake for one whose full signature is long and must be written often. The student also recalls that all of Byrd's quoted letters in the Massie source

45 Infra, p. 128.
46 Supra, pp. 109, 110, 115.
47 Supra, pp. 81, 82, 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91.
bore the full name "Charles Willing Byrd" as the signature, even though the actual signature was not seen. Those letters ended in 1803. This letter is dated 1806.

Rechecking the handwriting, the student reconfirms the similarity of all the other cursive characteristics and notes that all capital C's are looped in this letter and all capital W's are rounded. He further notes that while most of the lower case y's are looped, there are two instances where they are not. He concludes that Byrd's handwriting was gradually changing during this period, becoming less elaborate, that the capitals C and W were not yet much affected, but that the cursive y was affected somewhat, and that the signature still remained the elongated formal one which was due to the change for the simpler one within the next few years.\(^\text{49}\)

\(^{48}\)Infra, p.128 ("your" in third line; "you" in fourth line).

\(^{49}\)OSHS Library, Charles E. Rice MSS, Collection, Box 1, Folder 19, Item 21.
Dear Sir,

Will you favor me for one more troubling you on the subject of John Andrews? In a letter from the Hon. John on the handwriting and under the signature of the Deput the soldier is recommended to the attention of the Judge of the District.

It is now in my keeping and in a statement of the claim. I will show it to you at our next meeting.

As I premise the instructions issued in it were approved and jointly adopted by General Dearborn and I will submit you an extract from the rules the same of General Forney and an examining my name or Liey on, if ample and accurate.
on the subject, will be sufficient to establish his claim. May I
request the favor of you at some convenient time to obtain
from the Secretary at War, whether he will confirm the
Pension given by Mr. Rogers in that case, and whether
in compliance with that favor he will, in the circuit of my
forwarding such evidence, sent to Judge Broader on the pension
list. From my wish and I am confident that these wishes will be
accomplished at the War Office, to
save the wounded soldier and
to act upon in his application
for a pension, and it is in
my power. I believe, to ground
from General Finley and from
the examining Physician this
testimony designated by Mr. Hough.
At the same time constantly
me to say that in my opinion
this evidence alone will be
insufficient. As General Finley
was not the commanding officer or
Surgeon of the regiment, corps or
company in which Rhoderick was
then stationed in addition to the
evidence of the examining Physician
and of General Finley will be great
in compliance with the provisions of
I was bound with your letter of the 12th inst. in which you gave me to understand the laws of the Constitution and the 2nd clause of the 34th are on this subject you formed an opinion in which I certainly unite with you. You thought I had in my last letter to you explained my conduct on the ground of necessity in transacting to the war office the measures which you returned.

I have the honor to be with much respect,

Charles W. Byrd

Honorable Governor Washington.
The final manuscript from the Rice collection is also a letter to Worthington from Byrd. Dated 7 Dec. 1805, it indicates that Byrd is near Manchester, as the 1806 letter did. Its handwriting and signature are nearly identical with the 1806 manuscript, which is dated only four months later. It even bears evidence of the looped and unlooped cursive y. The signature differs only in that the last name is partially underlined, a not uncommon final stroke of the pen for many authors, but an elaboration which is often occasional rather than regular and tends to be discontinued among other elaborations. The contents of the letter are appropriate. A U. S. Senator in control of patronage (recommendation for appointments to the President) is being submitted the name of an applicant by a federal judge under whom the applicant would work. Further, the applicant's name indicates the probability that he is father of the judge's brother-in-law, William Creighton, Jr. Another unnamed applicant is being ignored. Is there a little nepotism here? Wonder if Creighton got the job? What records would reveal this? Perhaps the Congressional Record for 1805-1806. Unfortunately, the outside address is missing, but the inference is that Worthington is in Washington for a session of Congress. Byrd (living near Manchester, presumably without benefit of daily or perhaps even weekly newspapers)

Infra, p. 134.
would like some news from the Capital when Worthington has time. Although the letter is semi-official in purpose, it bears the presumption of close friendship in tone, as might exist between Byrd and Worthington, both of the Virginia faction which brought statehood to Ohio only three years earlier. Once again, the letter confirms the position of Charles Willing Byrd as federal judge for Ohio. It also tends to confirm that Byrd was living near Manchester, presumably at Buckeye Station, his brother-in-law's place on the Ohio, earlier than the purchase date of June, 1807, reported by both Burtner and Rice, as noted above, page 122.  

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51 OSHS Library, Charles E. Rice MSS, Collection 1, Box 11, p. 67.
Dear Sir,

You will probably recollect that Mr. Dalhousie, at the last session of the District Court of this, communicated his resolution to resign the office of Resident of this District. As I have not seen him lately nor heard from him for some weeks past, I do not know whether he does at this time adhere to that determination. But it being highly probable that he will shortly send in his resignation, I consider it a duty which I owe to the Court, as well as to the Executive, to inform you that two persons have applied to me to recommend them to the General Government for that appointment.
One of these is the present Deputy Sheriff, Mr. William Creighton senior. It is
not just to him to say that he may have discharged the duties of that office with
the official duties of the Court, for I have heard from remarks on his conduct
during the short time that he has sat under Mr. Belknap, that he is as well
qualified for the appointment as any person among us, existing only legal
capacity. As to his conduct, you are in all probability better acquainted with it than I am.

With regard to the other officer, I believe him to be totally unequal
to discharging the duties of the office, and
therefore you will, I am sure, excuse me for not mentioning his name.
Perhaps you mayisOpen applications
to some other candidates, some who
are may be as eligible candidates as the
one I have mentioned, and I am well
acquainted from that dissurament which
you have often expressed, that I shall
be satisfied with the applicant whom
you may recommend.

Will you be so good as to avail
yourself now and then at leisure
moments during the ensuing Congress
to communicate to me the news of the
I have the honor to be
respectfully your obedient and
obedient servant,

Charles William Byrd

Hon[ble]
Colonel Washington
From the miscellaneous manuscripts the student has two items for analysis, one an 1818 memorandum on the price of a "fortipiano" signed by C. W. Byrd, addressee unknown, the other a letter to his brother Richard in 1815. The 1818 memorandum presents a problem not met in other manuscripts so far: Its legibility is somewhat impaired by having been taped where there is a tear in the fold. Thus, in the first line, an adjective or pronoun is obscured. The last letter appears to be an "n." But no reasonable construction places such a word there. "An" Fortipiano? Unlikely. The last letter could be a final cursive "r." It compares with the r in "Fortipiano" which follows the word, and with the r in "for," fourth word in the third line, and somewhat with the r in the abbreviated "Mr.," second word in the third line, as well as the r's in "or for," second and third words in the ninth line, and the r in "April" in the last line. The point of the concern is with the possibility of the possessive pronoun "our" being the obscured word. If so, to whom does "our" refer. Byrd and his children by the deceased Sarah Meade Byrd? Byrd and his new wife, Hannah Miles Byrd? The April 15, 1818, date places Byrd's residence in West Union according to Burtner and Rice. Burtner gives the wedding date of Byrd and Hannah Miles as March 8, 1818. Rice

\[52\]Infra, p. 139.
says October 8, 1818. If Burtner is correct, and if the word is actually "our," it might refer to Byrd and his new wife. Perhaps they had one piano too many after marriage? Perhaps they had no room in their combined residence? There is no way of knowing, but the student does wonder what became of the Byrd children by the first marriage. He recalls the fact that Sarah Meade was from Kentucky and that Byrd's will was filed in the Mercer County, Kentucky, Court, according to Watts in the Burtner article. Is it possible that the Byrd children by Sarah Meade were placed with their Kentucky relatives after their mother's death, and that the will filed there provided for them? If the student could only get to the Mercer County, Kentucky, Court records! Perhaps even the Kentucky Historical Society would have evidence of the Meade family and of the children of Sarah Meade Byrd.

A second problem in the 1818 memorandum is the name of Mr. ___ , in whose shop the piano is lodged and who will charge $20 for his services. The remainder of the document seems reconstructable. In line 2 the obscured word appears to be "amount," in line 4 "with me," line 5 "will be," line 6 "trouble in," line 7 "expect when," line 8 "shop," line 9 "any lady," line 10 "for the," and line 11 "1818." The

53 Supra, pp. 94 and 103.
54 Supra, p. 94.
55 Infra, p. 139.
student notes ample evidence in handwriting and signature of the Byrd style, particularly in comparison with the 1825 manuscript and the 1811 manuscript. Once again, this appears to be the loose, rapid cursive of Byrd in an informal note. The handwriting is similar in the Worthington letters of 1805 and 1806 but the signature is as noted earlier the abbreviated signature of the later period. Authenticity of the document tends to be enhanced by the fact that it is not part of the Rice collection, presumably coming through some other source, and yet its attributes are unquestionably those of Charles Willing Byrd as observed in the Rice Collection. The authenticity of the Rice documents is enhanced by the same comparison.

56 Supra, pp. 110 and 121.
57 Supra, pp. 125 and 134.
58 OSHS Library, Miscellaneous MSS Collection, Letters from Charles Willing Byrd.
The price of the Fortifian is $20 dollars. Of this amount, $10 dollars is to be paid to Mr. Turner for the materials, and the stand will be in addition. He says, will be completed in 8 weeks, and in keeping it 8, which sum... Should it be purchased by me for an additional 12 months, I will wait the remaining $100 dollars.

April 15th, 1878

C. W. Byrd.
The final manuscript bearing the signature of C. W. Byrd comes from the miscellaneous collection and is a veritable treasure of information for the student. The handwriting and letter formation are nearly identical with those in the letter to Judge Todd of 1812,\textsuperscript{59} thus bearing witness to the time and deliberate effort the author has placed in it, in comparison with the more informal tone of the other manuscripts. It is a religious tract, a sermon in effect, and thereby tends to confirm the report by Rice that Byrd had "strong views" on "religious culture" and that he was a "total abstainer."\textsuperscript{60} Yet this document does not come from the Rice collection either, thus lending some reliability to the Rice biography. Among other items it is here confirmed that Byrd had brothers Richard and William (reported in other sources),\textsuperscript{61} that he had left the James River area twenty years earlier (1794 when he came to Kentucky), and that he is at least forty-four years old (having attained that age in July, 1814, approximately six months earlier, if the Westover Bible record is accurate). Further, the date and location of the letter's composition is significant

\textsuperscript{59}Supra, pp. 115-117.

\textsuperscript{60}Supra, p. 103.

\textsuperscript{61}Alan Hatch, The Byrds of Virginia (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1969), p. 72. Note that the student has here discovered a source which confirms his inference reported Supra, p.
in that it may attest to Byrd's having already left Gift Ridge, near Manchester, and to his having resided near West Union as early as February, 1815. If that be the case, his wife Sarah must have died in 1814 as Rice reports, and not 1815 as Burtner indicates, and the estate at Buckeye Station could indeed have been conveyed to Ellison in August, 1814.62

Is it possible that the death of Byrd's wife, the possible departure of his children to the Meade's in Kentucky, his selling of their home near Manchester, all in 1814, when Byrd turned forty-four, brought about the religious conversion to which he testifies in this letter. Certainly his expressed concern here with righteousness doesn't compare too well with what seems to have been his willingness to deceive and frustrate Arthur St. Clair from 1800 through 1802, his implied favoritism in the district marshall's appointment in 1805, or his opinion of the Ohio congressmen and their ability to serve his interests in the letter to Judge Todd in 1812. Is this concern for the Holy Spirit the beginnings of what was to be an affinity for the Shakers,

62Due to discovery of evidence later which tends to confirm Burtner's report of the date of Sarah Byrd's death (February, 1815) as opposed to Rice's (1814) the student later abandons this thesis, as reported infra, p. 165. Instead, he later accepts a thesis based on the "argument from silence," which would maintain that Byrd would have mentioned his own wife's recent death in a letter of consolation to his brother such as he has here written. Since he does not mention it, it has not occurred. If Burtner and the later source are correct, it was due to happen within the next month, either February 15 or 21, 1815.
according to Rice's manuscript. Although these speculations open up for the student more questions yet to be answered, the evidence stated and inferable in this document alone tends to confirm much that the student has now read about and from Charles Willing Byrd. There still remains a question of the return address. Rice reports that Byrd lived in Chillicothe a year or so until 1816 when he removed to West Union. Is it possible that Byrd lived part of 1814-1815 near West Union, then a year in 1815-1816 in Chillicothe, returning to West Union some time in 1816? Such might be the inference if Rice's report is at least partially correct. The final manuscript follows.

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63 Supra, p. 103.

64 Another, and perhaps more tenable inference, is that Byrd was giving the return address for his residence at Buckeye Station as "near West Union" by this time. While the Station's location has earlier been identified as "near Manchester," or "Four miles east" thereof, a quick glance at a map will indicate that it was approximately equidistant from West Union, almost due south thereof.

65 OSHS Library, Miscellaneous MSS Collection, Letters from Charles Willing Byrd.
My dear brother,

Your letter has greatly interested me; I should long have been able to offer you more, if it had been in my power to communicate any. There is however one source of consolation that will not disappoint you, if you properly apply to it. I mean the scriptures; more particularly the Gospel, which is a book written of glad tidings of great joy, is not only of considerable importance to your establishment in this world, but also to your everlasting happiness, at least I think so. I am aware that such language must appear to be unintelligible to some; but even when their capacities are rational, powers may lie, until their minds are enlightened by a heavenly teacher. Until this is the case, both the old and the new Testament may be read, but cannot be comprehended by the heart. Is such a teacher in the holy Spirit? The question then occurs, how can we obtain this advantage? Where shall we find the Holy Ghost? This enquiry may be answered by a reference to Luke xvi. 13. We are spoken to by some of the wisest of our species, that a compliance with our various directions in that chapter is sure, with the use of the appointed means, frequent prayer, an attitude expected general of the new Testament, together with particular passages in the Old, will give us this blessing. Then the truths contained in the scriptures will
be revealed to the heart of the favored person, it will be so plain to the understanding, that he who
wants may read.
1 wish my brother that you would endeavor to impress this point on the mind of our poor dear
William. The most pious and generous are given
that those who indulge themselves in strong drinks,
cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven. Be careful then,
we must all of us, our brother William may take
up the cross, deny ourselves the most favorite
enjoyments, that in any way interfere with religion.
Repeated to uniform drinking of large draughts over
where they do not intercede, the brows must lead
to inevitable destruction.
I lived 29 years in the world without knowing the
most essential point in religion: it is that we
are to depend on next our hopes of salvation, not
on our own sufficed merits, but on the righteousness
of Jesus Christ our only Saviour. To believe
on our part is the necessary conseqential part of
a Christian life, yet this it is itself from no fact or
claim to life everlasting. We must ask grace in
name of Redeemer to be account of his sufferings
of his merit.
There is both external and internal evidence in favor
of the true doctrine of Christianity. The former may be
found in the Acts, in Peter's words, is in a little,
argumentative books, called the Scripture manual; the latter by every real believer in his own bosom. To speak not by formal professions of Christianity, such as are common in fashionable life. Those philosophers rely for future bliss in life on their own just inment, as they must ere disappointment.

Merciful God! what lives have we sustained since we have been men. The short space of twenty years has wrought such changes among our dearest relations on James Power, that was to return to my native country, I should feel like a stranger in my own land. Sic transit gloria mundi.

Sam Dear Richard,
your most affectionate brother

W. W. Byrd Esquire
Having no other Byrd manuscripts to refer to for evidence and finding no other references in the catalogue to Byrd, the student decides to discover what he can from local histories. He finds one in the general reference section on Adams county. In a chapter titled "Pioneer Character Sketches," pages 526-532 he discovers the most extensive biographical data yet on his subject. Evans' and Stivers' account follows:

the Friends' railroad grants on the old eschaton, for, though it was built in
Virginia stock. One of the reasons his parents gave for putting her
son under this influence was to educate him on account of the Skipwith
and infancy that had crept into the old college of William and Mary, at
Williamsburg, Virginia; where all the preaching lads, who had not been
educated in England, had attended college.

Judge Bard received his early academic and legal education in the
city of Philadelphia, and was a much-sought scholar and a collector of rare
golding and elegance. He preserved his love towards his mother's
Governor Morris. He knew immediate through his mother's family,
the Hon. Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. From the day
his admission to the bar in 1791, he went to Wallingford and the
summer. There his brother-in-law, Ben Harrison, wrote him that
Robert Morris wanted an agent to go to Kentucky and the college of his
lands there and bring them to the market and to anyone one would do
so, he would give him a salary of one thousand dollars a year, and he
urged young Bard to take the commission and go to Kentucky at once.

He did so, and Robert Morris gave him a power of attorney, the original
of which is in the hands of the Judge's descendants. He went to Lexington,
Kentucky, and there met the family of Col. David Meade of Clonmore,
who had removed from the estate of Mayo, Prince George County,
Virginia, opposite Westover and whose lands were known to the
that Col. Meade had four young daughters, and it was very
natural that young Bard should fall in love with one of them, which he
proceeded to try with all the energy of a young man on the
side of April, 1792, which was Easter Sunday, and which Judge Bard, in his account, called the
"Day of his Restoration" he was married to Sarah Mayo Meade, the
second daughter of Col. David Meade. Her eldest sister married General
Nathaniel Massie, the founder of Manchester. After his marriage, he
returned to Philadelphia and remained there until he was appointed by
President Adams, Secretary of the Northwest Territory, which appoint-
ment was made in January, 1798. He held this important office, at a
salary of seven a year, until he succeeded General Arthur St. Clair as
Territorial Governor, and retained that position until 1802, when the
State was organized and Governor John Tayler took office. As March 4, 1803.

His commission as Secretary of the Territory in which he was sworn in
as Secretary by Arthur St. Clair is in the possession of his family. In the
third of March, 1803, he was appointed by President Jefferson, United
States Judge for Ohio and held that position until his death on the
eleventh day of August, 1828. During the time he was Secretary of the
Northwest Territory, and Federal Judge, up to June, 1802, his residence
was on Fifth Street, Cincinnati, Ohio, which was then known as Earl
Street. The Presbyterian Church now stands on what was part of his
home. Judge Bard, Nicholas Lowery, and George Hunt were among
his many friends. The father of the late Vice President Hendricks
kept a school in his young. On June 8, 1807, he bought from his
brother-in-law, Gen. Nathaniel Massie, a tract of six hundred acres in
Monroe Township, Adams County, Ohio, being known as Buckeye
Station and Hurricane Hill. He took up his residence there —
which the river almost directly flows. He held this property until August 15, 1817, when he moved to Louden. Here he, James, Sarah and Mary. The property was then valued at $600. The elder son, William, had a small farm near the village. In 1821 the younger son, Thomas, married Lucy H. Johnson, and lived there one year. He then moved to Washington, and remained until March 10, 1827, when he removed to the Sand Creek Spur, in the old County, where he lived 14 years. He then moved to Rush County, where he lived six more years. He resided there until his death.

While residing in West Union, on March 9, 1828, he married to Hannah Miles, a widow with four children. He believed the value of the Sand Creek Spur in Rush County to produce in the future more property than the village of Rushville. He was a man of character and influence, and possessed the best of taste. He was the founder of the village of Rushville, and the village of Rush County. He was known as the best of taste, and was known for his love of the Sabbath and the Bible. He was a man of great influence, and was respected by all.

Unlike the typical Vincennes, he was a strict observer of all laws of liquor, and drank only when he was in the company of friends. He was a man of great influence, and was respected by all. He was a man of great influence, and was respected by all.
COON MILLS SCHOOL

PIONEER CHARACTER SKETCHES

A. L. C. DEPPHURST

1829

In the year 1839, Henry Miller and his family moved to this county and settled upon the property heretofore occupied by Mr. J. M. Bowers. They were one of the earliest settlements in the county and have been one of the most prosperous. The original town was known as "Coon Mills," and is situated on the north side of the Yellow River, about five miles from the center of the county. It is a small village, consisting of a few houses, and is the seat of a rural school district. The first school was established in 1850, and has continued to the present time. The present school building is a substantial frame structure, and is in good repair. The district is well supplied with well-drains and water supply, and has a good system of transportation. The population is about 500, and is increasing rapidly. The village is noted for its fine schools, good roads, and pleasant scenery. It is a place of considerable importance, and is a center of trade and commerce for the surrounding country.

DEADMANSutto

Died March 23, 1845.

Margaret Dea. was born in Pennsylvania, November 15, 1825, and died March 23, 1845. She was the wife of Charles Dea., a farmer, who resided in this county. She was a faithful and devoted wife, and a devoted and faithful mother. She was a member of the Presbyterian Church, and was very active in its work. She was a woman of strong character, and was always ready to do good to all men. She was a woman of fine tastes, and was always ready to do good to all men. She was a woman of fine tastes, and was always ready to do good to all men. She was a woman of fine tastes, and was always ready to do good to all men.

DEATH OF SAMUEL MILLER

Samuel Miller, aged 30 years, died March 23, 1845. He was the son of John and Margaret Miller, and was born in the county of New York, in 1815. He came to this county in 1839, and settled on the property where he now resides. He was a man of strong character, and was always ready to do good to all men. He was a faithful and devoted husband, and was always ready to do good to all men. He was a man of fine tastes, and was always ready to do good to all men.

DEATH OF ELIZABETH MILLER

Elizabeth Miller, aged 35 years, died March 23, 1845. She was the wife of Samuel Miller, and was born in the county of New York, in 1810. She came to this county in 1839, and settled on the property where she now resides. She was a woman of strong character, and was always ready to do good to all men. She was a faithful and devoted wife, and was always ready to do good to all men. She was a woman of fine tastes, and was always ready to do good to all men.

DEATH OF JOHN MILLER

John Miller, aged 50 years, died March 23, 1845. He was the father of Samuel and Elizabeth Miller, and was born in the county of New York, in 1795. He came to this county in 1839, and settled on the property where he now resides. He was a man of strong character, and was always ready to do good to all men. He was a faithful and devoted husband, and was always ready to do good to all men. He was a man of fine tastes, and was always ready to do good to all men.
The text is not legible due to the quality of the image. It appears to be a page from a book or a document, but the content cannot be accurately transcribed or read.
When he went to Kentucky, a young man of twenty-seven years, it
was natural that he should visit the seat of his father, the
James River, Virginia, Col. David Meade, then living at Chimbor
in France, nine miles from Lexington. It was quite natural that
he should be well received there and that he should fall in love with and
marry the daughter of Col. Meade, whose social standing and her own
were equal.

It was natural that he should receive the appointment of Secretary
of the Southwest, a post he held at the close of the War of the
best families of Virginia and place of Robert Morris, the financier
of the Revolution, that followed.

It was natural that he should receive the appointment of United
State Judge for Kentucky, for the Whig party was a section of the
most prominent families of Virginia, and in many cases with the
Republican section of Kentucky, which he had supported in France
and which were much in evidence in those days.

There, however, was another of the same sort, not quite understood.
He had been a justice in Cincinnati on the bank from 1819 till 1827.
His oldest child was but now years of age, and he had two younger. He
bought a tract of 500 acres of land in the heart of the Adams
County and moved there, where he lived till 1834, or about that time.
Why he should want to take his wife and young children into this wilder-
ness, where he had a new position, which required him to discharge his
duty to the large city, seems strange.

Judge Campbell, one of his successors, when appointed, resided in
Adams County and moved to Cincinnati where he was required to hold
court. On the other hand, Judge Bath, after having occupied his office
for four years, removed to the country and continued to reside there for
the remaining twenty-one years for which he held the seat of Judge.
At Buckeye station, he could see all the steamboats of craft which passed
up and down the river and could take boats to Cincinnati or count on
the river. Being a Virginian he loved the country, as the Virginian
always does, and have always done. At that day, few if any, Virginian
gentlemen would live in cities or towns, who could live in the country.

Who he was, West Virginia in 1819, we cannot determine unless
on account of the death of his wife, he moved to the mountain
country. He resided in Chillicothe for one year, but did not seem to like
the place and returned to West Virginia. In traveling from his home to hold
his court, he went from West Virginia through Brownsville, Lewis Grove and
Pointbridge to Chillicothe. Sinking Springs was on his route, and here-
ing tasted the water there, he became satisfied there were some wonderful qualities in it, though he did not believe the water to be a mere source of life. 

One day, as Judge Robinson was passing along the church road, 

however, he observed the water was suspicious, and found it was not fit for use. He then purchased the property containing the spring, and built a 

house there, which was an extraordinaire an for the day, and stood there 

until his death.

The house is still standing and still the church is occupied by his grand- 

son, William Henry Butler. It was the last seat of Edward Butler, 

in 1823, much more room than found in most of these houses. He continued 

and the Judge Butler, which is a monument to his memory. He 

and in his youth and young manhood, lived on the farm of Virginia and in the city of Chillicothe, then the metropolis of the United 

States, who had married as he, became in the motto would want to 

include power and fortune in the words of the Island Gazette, was not 

accountable.

The religious and spiritual ideas of religion were derived from two 

sources, that of his father and mother, who belonged to the Episcopal 

Church, and from his uncle, Mr. Powell, of St. Louis, who was a 

Quaker.

It seemed the Chaker ideas predominated with him, and at the time 

he wrote he will be approved to think the Chakers had the true idea of religion.

None of his decisions have been reported. Mr. Butler's Reports do not 

begin until 1824, the year after his death, and no records on his own 

were published during his time.

He sat in the celebrated case of Justice Charles F. Peters 

was, when it was tried in Chillicothe, Ohio, on July 12th, 1824, and the decision 

of the Court was recorded in the August ^th.

The generation which knew Judge Butler personally, and that which 

followed him has passed away, and the system in which a mind of this 

character are closed. Had his books been left in the hands of his 

any of his writings, or were there any other materials, we should 

be able to judge of his character, and by it, we should be able to 

judge of the man himself. He was a master of the law, and had 

the training of a complete and thorough education. He was equally 

a good judge, if not superior to the average. He must have 

had a large capacity for business, or Robert Butler would have 

entertained him with an extraordinary compliment to his private business 

in Kentucky. President John Adams had a great opinion of him, and his 

abilities, or he would not have appointed him Secretary of the Northern 

Territory. President Thomas Jefferson must have had a good opinion 

of him, or he would not have made him United States Judge.

Stephen Wilson Compton 

was born September 26, 1811, in Harrison County, Kentucky. He was 

the son of Samuel and Elizabeth Harper Compton. His parents emigrated from Virginia in 1792. His mother, Elizabeth Harper Compton 

was the original proprietor of Harper's Ferry, in Jefferson County, Vir- 

ginia. Samuel Compton settled in Adams County, where he now stands in about 1800. When old enough to be apprenticed, he was
Obviously the Evans and Stivers account must have an item by item analysis. If it is thoroughly accurate, then many of the questions about Charles Willing Byrd are settled. However, obvious discrepancies, even in general information, such as the date of his death (p. 527 of the document) or how long he was Territorial governor (ibid.) tend to cast doubt on the reliability of much of Evans' and Stivers' information. They state that they have seen his will and some of his journals, but they give no other source for their information. Further, much of their wording exactly parallels the Rice manuscript,\textsuperscript{67} raising the possibility that they copied Rice, that Rice copied them, or that both had access to some earlier source in common.

The third possibility above, that both Rice and Evans and Stivers copied from the same source appears most likely. First, such an inference is possible because the Rice manuscript had to be written prior to William Otway Byrd's death in 1888, since Rice refers to him as current postmaster of Sinking Springs. Secondly, it is likely that Rice's manuscript remained with him in Alliance, and was probably not available to Evans and Stivers who published in 1900 in West Union and who refer to William Otway Byrd as

\textsuperscript{67} \textit{Supra}, pp. 100-103.
having "died a few years hence at age of forty-one." That Rice could not have copied from the later Evans and Stivers work appears evident. Further, that Evans and Stivers copied from Rice appears unlikely since, while they often use the same wording for given items as Rice, they almost invariably include other relevant information, which for Rice's abbreviated purposes he did not or could not note. An example: Rice and Evans both use the exact phrase "Judge Byrd received his entire academic and legal education in the City of Philadelphia, and was a finished scholar and gentleman of rare polish and elegance." Rice then says, "He studied law in Philad. with Gouverneur Morris." Evans and Stivers say, "He pursued his law studies in Philadelphia with Gouverneur Morris." Rice reports, "His first visit to Kentucky was in the interests of Robert Morris, in regard to his purchase of lands." But Evans and Stivers go into the considerable detail of the following report:

He knew intimately, through his mother's family, the Hon. Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution. Directly after his admission to the bar in 1794, he went to Westover to spend the summer. There his brother-in-law, Benj. Harrison, wrote him that Robert Morris wanted an agent to go to Kentucky and take charge of his lands there and bring them into the market; and to anyone who would do so, he would

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68 Supra, p. 149. It should also be noted that Rice died in 1894, six years before the Evans and Stivers account was published. This makes it even more unlikely that they had access to his collections.

69 Supra, pp. 101 and 148.
give him a salary of one thousand dollars a year, and he urged young Byrd to take the appointment and go to Kentucky at once. He did so, and Robert Morris gave him a power of attorney, the original of which is in the hands of the Judge's descendants.

It appears unlikely that Evans and Stivers, local historians with limited resources, could but have had access to such details as the Benjamin Harrison letter, the size of the salary provided by Morris, or the power of attorney given to Byrd in any other way than through the Byrd family papers, then available locally perhaps from William Otway Byrd's widow, or from young Charles Willing Byrd who was recipient of them by the 1888 will, according to the Burtner article. Yet Rice and Evans differ significantly on specific points. An example: Rice reports conveyance of Buckeye Station to Ellison on Aug. 15, 1814. Evans reports August 15, 1817. Burtner agrees with Evans rather than Rice on this point. Obviously a comparison of all three sources on common items reported would be helpful, not only in trying to determine accuracy, but to detect similarities which might indicate which was the original source, and if Burtner relied upon either of the others.

Items on Charles Willing Byrd's life found in three different sources:

70 Supra, p. 95.

Rather than footnote each item below, the author for convenience sake has placed the appropriate page number supra in parentheses at the end of each reference. For brevity's sake, Evans' and Stivers' account is denoted simply by "Evans."
1. Date of birth

Burtner: July 26, 1770 but quotes Watts as July 22, 1770 (93, 95)
Evans: July 26, 1770 quoting the Westover Bible (147)
Rice: July 26, 1770 (100)

2. Place of birth

Burtner: Westover, Charles City County, Virginia (93)
Evans: " " " " (147)
Rice: " " " " (100)

3. Parentage

Burtner: Quotes Watts as William Byrd III and Mary Willing (95)
Evans: Colonel Wm. Byrd III and Mary Willing (147)
Rice: " " " " " " " " (100)

4. Tutelage

Burtner: No report
Evans: Thomas Powell, a Quaker, and uncle by marriage (147)
Rice: Mr. Powell, a Quaker (101)

5. Education

Burtner: No report
Evans: Studied law with Gouverneur Morris (148)
Rice: " " " " " " (101)

6. Early career

Burtner: Came to Kentucky in 1794, achieved reputation as a lawyer (93)
Evans: Came to Kentucky in 1794 as land agent for Robert Morris at salary of $1000 (148)

Rice: Came to Kentucky for Robert Morris' land interests (101)

7. Marriage

Burtner: Quotes Watts as Sarah Meade of Maycox Landing, Va. (95)

Evans: Sarah Waters Meade, second daughter of Col. David Meade, formerly of Maycox, Va., then of Chaumiere, near Lexington, Kentucky (148)

Rice: Sarah Waters Meade, second daughter of Col. David Meade, (as above in Evans.) (102)

8. Date of marriage

Burtner: No report

Evans: April 6, 1797 (148)

Rice: April 6, 1797 (102)

9. Residence after marriage

Burtner: a. Lived in Cincinnati at least three years, probably seven (93)
   b. At Gift Ridge on Buckeye Station near Manchester from June, 1807, until August 15, 1817. (93–94)
   c. Moved to West Union 1817 (94)
   d. Built "Ot Byrd's house" in Sinking Springs (94)

Evans: a. Returned to Philadelphia after marriage (148)
b. From 1799 when appointed Secretary until June, 1807, on Fifth Street, Cincinnati (148)
c. From June 8, 1807, until 1816 at Buckeye Station (148-149)
d. From 1816 to March 16, 1823 at West Union. At another point it is reported he moved to West Union in 1815, on to Chillicothe for a year, and back to West Union in 1816 (149)
e. From March 16, 1823, until his death at Sinking Springs (149)

Rice: a. From his appointment as Judge (1803) to June, 1807, in Cincinnati (102)
b. From June 7, 1807 to Aug. 15, 1814 at Buckeye Station (102)
c. From 1814 to 1816 at Chillicothe (102)
d. From 1816 to March 5, 1823, at West Union (102-103)
e. From March 5, 1823, to August, 1828, at Sinking Springs (103)

10. First wife's death

Burtner: At Gift Ridge February 15, 1815 (94)  
Evans: At the Station, February 21, 1815 (149)  
Rice: 1814 at Buckeye Station (102)

11. Children by first wife
Burtner: Had four children (94)

Evans: Born between 1798 and 1810, were Mary Powell, Kidder Meade, William Silonwee, and Evalyn Harrison (149)

Rice: Born between 1798 and 1810 were Mary Willing; Powell; Kidder Meade; Wm Silonwe; and Evalyn Harrison (103)

12. Remarriage

Burtner: Married Hannah Miles March 8, 1818, in West Union (94)

Evans: In West Union, March 8, 1818 married Hannah Miles, a widow with four children (149)

Rice: At West Union on Oct. 8, 1818, he married Hannah Miles, a widow with two children (103)

13. Children by second wife

Burtner: A son, Samuel O. Byrd, who died in 1869 aged forty-five (94)

Evans: Jane and Samuel Otway, both deceased (in 1900) (149)

Rice: Jane and Samuel Otway (103)

14. His appointment as Secretary of the North West Territory

Burtner: October 3, 1779; took oath of office February 26, 1800 (93)

Evans: By President Adams, January, 1799 (148)

Rice: By President Adams (102)
15. Term as acting Governor of the Territory

Burtner: Became acting Governor November 22, 1802, serving until March 3, 1803, when Ohio became a state (93)

Evans: He succeeded General Arthur St. Clair as Territorial Governor, and retained that position until 1802, when the state was organized and Governor Tiffin took charge on Mar. 4, 1803 (148)

Rice: Not reported

16. His term as Federal District Judge

Burtner: He was appointed first United States District Judge for the State of Ohio (93)

Evans: On third of March, 1803 he was appointed by President Jefferson, United States Judge for Ohio and held that position until his death on the eleventh day of August, 1828 (148)

Rice: ...appointed by Pres. Jefferson Judge of the United States District Court for the Dist. of Ohio...held until his death in August, 1828 (102)

17. His death

Burtner: His marker reports d. Aug 25 1828 58y 1m 8 dys (74)

Evans: The eleventh day of August, 1828 (148)

Rice: In August 1828—and-died suddenly at 58 (103)
Analysis of the results of the exercise above leads to the conclusion that none of the three sources relied upon either of the others. Rice's manuscript is the earliest (prior to 1888 by its report of William Otway Byrd's still being alive); Evans biography was second (publishing date: 1900); Burtner's article was last (1932). Rice could not have copied from Evans or Burtner. Did Evans copy from Rice? Certainly not, since his account is much richer in detail even when reporting the same items, such as the date of death, the date of appointment to the federal bench, the salary from Robert Morris, the relationship to Mr. Powell. Identical wording in a few lines indicates that Rice and Evans had a common source in some instances, but their differences on other items, such as the date of the second marriage, the date of the first wife's death, the several differences in dates and places of residence, indicate that they did not have a common source throughout. Did Burtner, then, copy from either. Evidently not. He lists information that neither Rice nor Evans reports, such as the gravemarker dates, the exact dates of acting governor, the date of taking the oath as Territorial Secretary, a different date of the first wife's death than either Rice or Evans, different dates of residence in several places, and relies on the county probate judge for information on birth and parentage which Rice and Evans have from some other source, obviously in common. The conclusion, then, has to be that all three accounts relied
on separate sources, with the single exception of some of Rice and some of Evans coming from a single source. The probability is that while Burtner writing in 1932 relied on public records from probate courts, recorder's offices, grave-markers, and newspaper accounts, Rice and Evans in the 1880's and 1890's had access to the private family papers, Evans obviously much more so than Rice. Rice may have seen a summary in form of an obituary in the family's possession which Evans also later saw. In addition to that however, Evans, a local historian, had access to the private journals and papers of the family after the grandson had died. Rice may very well have relied on the grandson, or some other family member's memory, for details not in the summary or obituary. These tended to be less accurate (such as death dates and times of residence) than either Evans' account based on actually seeing the family papers, or on Burtner's from the public record.

The student evaluates the reliability of his sources, based on the above analysis as follows:

1. Where all three agree on an event it can be accepted as a fact.
2. Where any two agree on an event as opposed to the third, the probable fact lies with the two, with the exception that events of public record (marriages, deeds, wills, commissions, etc.) favor Burtner over both Evans and Rice.
3. Where all three are in disagreement,
   a. Burtner is preferred because of reliance on public records
   b. Evans is preferred to Rice because of more extensive access to the private papers.

Using the analysis delineated above, as well as the information supplied by Massie's biography and Evans and Stivers from the diaries of Byrd which they had access to, the student is able to compose the following:

A Report on Charles Willing Byrd

Charles Willing Byrd was born July 26, 1770, at Westover, Charles City County, Virginia, to William Byrd III and Mary Willing Byrd. He was educated in Philadelphia under the influence of Thomas Powell, a Quaker, who was apparently a brother-in-law of Mary Willing Byrd. He studied law with Gouverneur Morris in Philadelphia, was admitted to the bar, and went in 1794 to Kentucky as land agent for Robert Morris. On April 6, 1797, he married Sarah Waters Meade of Chaumiere, near Lexington, Kentucky, whose father, Col. David Meade, was a former neighbor of the Byrd's in Virginia. Between 1798 and 1810 Charles Willing Byrd and his wife

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72 Massie, op. cit.

73 The synthesized student composition which follows has been set off by indentation although not single spaced, for ready identification. Since all materials have been previously cited and analysed, footnote citations are omitted.
Sarah Meade Byrd had four children named Mary Powell, Kidder Meade, William Silonwee, and Evalyn Harrison.

In 1799 Charles Willing Byrd was appointed Secretary of the Northwest Territory by President John Adams. He apparently took the oath of that office February 26, 1800. In November, 1802, he served as a member of the convention which wrote the first constitution of the State of Ohio. From November 22, 1802, until March, 1803, when Ohio became a state, Byrd was acting Governor of the Territory. In March, 1803, he was appointed Judge of the Federal District Court for the State of Ohio by President Jefferson, a post he held until his death.

The Byrds' residence was in Cincinnati from at least 1800 to June, 1807, when they moved to Buckeye Station on the Ohio near Manchester, property which Judge Byrd purchased from his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Massie. There is some evidence that Byrd may have lived there for some time prior to the purchase, however. Sarah Meade Byrd died and was buried there, probably in February, 1815. In the next two years Judge Byrd may have lived in West Union temporarily, and in Chillicothe for a year or so, but by 1817 he had established residence in West Union where he married Hannah Miles, a widow with at least two children on March 8, 1818. To this second marriage were born two children: Jane
and Samuel Otway. In March, 1823, the Byrds removed to Sinking Springs to a brick home Judge Byrd built on property he purchased there. He died and was buried there in August, 1828, aged fifty-eight years. His widow Hannah was buried there beside him in 1839, and his son Samuel Otway on the same plot in 1869. His grandson, William Otway, who was postmaster of Sinking Springs and lived in the family mansion, apparently died there in 1888. William Otway's will left the family Bible and papers to a second Charles Willing Byrd. William Otway's widow evidently served as postmistress of Sinking Springs, but she and all her children were dead by 1932, with the possible exception of one "Willie," who might have been living near Dodge City, Kansas, at that time.

According to Evans and Stivers, Judge Charles Willing Byrd's diaries, kept from 1812 to 1827, reveal that his major concerns were his health and his religion. He constantly experimented with his diet, and closely supervised the diets of his children. His religion tended to run to the extreme, and he apparently felt a strong affinity for the Shakers. But he maintained a variety of interests, including the development of the early canals, the culture of grapes, the cost of living as reflected in annual expenses for room, board, and clothing, and in the
relative price of foods and other items.

However eccentric his private concerns in later life, his letters to his brother-in-law, Nathaniel Massie, in the years just prior to Ohio's statehood reveal that he was a practical and forceful politician. That he served the Chillicothe faction of Virginians in opposition to Gov. St. Clair's territorial policies from 1800 to 1802 as Secretary of the Territory is amply demonstrated. He used his authority as chief administrative officer of the Territory in St. Clair's absence to make appointments hostile to him; he was a constant source of information on political events and rumors in Hamilton County and Cincinnati; he attempted to organize the Hamilton County party in favor of statehood and for the political advancement of his brother-in-law and himself when Ohio achieved statehood.

While he is reputed to have been in favor of Negro enfranchisement at the constitutional convention, in opposition to other Virginians, it is obvious that he accepted the customs of the day in his treatment of a fugitive indentured servant of Massie's. His other private letters which remain reveal his willingness to promote his private interest and that of his friends, such as a letter to Sen. Thomas Worthington nominating an in-law for a post, a letter to Judge
Todd of the United States Supreme Court requesting his influence for a raise in pay, his careful attention to detail in the sale of a piano and the purchase of sugar. The strong religious and moral convictions which seem to personify his later life are expressed vividly in a letter to his brother Richard in 1815. He testifies at that time, however, to a change of insight and direction in his religious understanding the previous year.

Byrd apparently had the reputation of a gentleman of exceptional learning and sophistication. He obviously, however, preferred rural life in early Ohio to that of the growing young cities of the day. His residences over the last twenty years of his life and more were at Buckeye Station on the Ohio, in the village of West Union, and at Sinking Springs, in preference to Cincinnati, Chillicothe, and Columbus, where his official duties may have taken him. No portraits or writings of his are known to remain, except the few manuscripts mentioned earlier. The present location of the family papers left to Charles Willing Byrd the younger in 1888 are unknown to the author. His judicial opinions were not published, as was the custom of the day for District and Circuit Courts, according to Evans and Stivers. Until the family papers are located and a more extensive
examination of the private papers of his contemporaries, as well as the available public records of the day, can be made, the full details in the life of this founder of Ohio statehood will have to remain obscure.

Thus the student has completed his task. Beginning with only a general inquiry about an obscure figure about whom he had the meagerest of information, he has framed a number of interrogative hypotheses and gathered data which had led to others. He has analyzed and evaluated his sources logically and comparatively, has formed tentative conclusions as to some of his hypotheses and has had to ignore others for lack of adequate data. He has discriminated between what appears to be facts based on general information, probable facts depending on the reliability of a single source. He has synthesized a composition of the whole into a exposition or narrative on the subject. In short, he has engaged in the problem-solving process and in thos critical thinking pro­cедures which constitute its essence.

It is the purpose of the succeeding chapter to illus­trate the employment of the critical thinking tasks in the exercise here concluded.
Chapter V

ANALYSIS OF THE RESEARCH EXERCISE IN TERMS OF IDENTIFIED CRITICAL THINKING SKILLS

It is the purpose of this chapter to set forth an analysis of the exercise in historical method just employed in Chapter IV in terms of the critical thinking functions implicit in the problem-solving process delineated in Chapter II. ¹ Twenty-four explicit thinking functions were identified there as constituting effecting thinking in the problem-solving process. Each was categorized in terms of cognitive tasks as defined in Bloom's Taxonomy. It was maintained that an exercise in historical research particularly using primary materials (due to their quality of finality as source material) would employ most of those functions, in that historical method itself was a problem-solving process. In Chapter III historical method was delineated and categorized in terms of the same thought functions.² Employing historical method, a sample exercise in research with primary materials was presented in Chapter IV. To demonstrate that most of the cognitive tasks identified as critical thinking functions in the problem-solving process were

¹Supra, pp. 39-40.
²Supra, pp. 61-70.
encountered, it is here necessary to analyze that exercise in the terms specified.

Procedure is to 1) identify the critical thinking function defined as cognitive task from pages thirty-nine and forty above, 2) identify data or references in Chapter IV by narrative and page number which meet the criteria of the cognitive task so defined. A brief analysis of the reference in terms of its relevance to the defined task is then provided.

1. A. Recognizes problems: (2.30) Extrapolation. "The extension of trends or tendencies beyond the given data to determine implications, consequences, corollaries, effects..."

Reference from Chap. IV: Page 122, last paragraph. The student recognizes a problem with the sending address, and a problem with the signature when compared with other information.

1. B. Defines problems: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. "The development of a set of abstract relations either to classify or explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 122-123. The student defines the problem of residence as indicated by the date, and the problem of a change in
certain characteristics of handwriting style and signature.

1. C. **Identifies issues:** (2.30) Extrapolation. "The extension of trends or tendencies beyond the given data to determine implications, consequences, corollaries, effects..."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 118-119. The student perceives the implications of Byrd's letter to his brother-in-law Massie, at issue being the question of Byrd's word versus Massie's reported behavior, and by implication, integrity in the handling of a land claim.

2. A. **Formulates feasible hypotheses:** (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. "The development of a set of abstract relations either to classify or explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations."

Reference from Chap. IV: Page 141. The student hypothesizes in interrogative form that Byrd's wife had died, his children had been sent away, and he had sold his estate based on three pieces of information: First, Rice's account that the death occurred in 1814 and the estate was sold in 1814; secondly, Byrd's letter to his brother from "near West Union" in February, 1815, testifying to his
profound religious experience within the past year; thirdly, the previous information that Byrd's will had been filed in the Mercer County, Kentucky, Court, the likely residence of his in-laws, the Meades. The hypothesis proved incorrect based on later more reliable evidence as to the death and sale dates.

2. B. Extends and verifies feasible hypotheses: (6.20) Judgments in Terms of External Criteria. "Evaluation of material with reference to selected or remembered criteria."

Reference from Chapter IV: Page 141 (footnote); page 159, comparison of reported dates of first wife's death; pages 163-164, analysis of reliability of separate sources; page 165, report of Sarah Byrd's death in agreement with more reliable sources. While the hypothesis was feasible based on the information at hand at the time of its formulation, later evidence caused its discarding, a form of verification. The extension of the hypothesis included the motivation for the religious experience, also nullified by the later death date, a position defensible from the "argument from silence" cited in footnote sixty-two on page 141.

3. A. Collects, selects, or selectively recalls relevant data: (4.20) Analysis of Relationships. "The connections and interaction between elements and parts
of a communication."
Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 112-113, analysis of the Byrd letter to Justice Todd. The student recalls the position of Henry Clay as Speaker of the House of Representatives, "collects" information to confirm the position of Justice Todd, "selects" passages from the manuscript which confirm Byrd's knowledge of federal court organization, history, and renumeration of judges.

3. B. Differentiates between reliable and unreliable sources:
(6.20) Judgments in Terms of External Criteria.
"Evaluation of material with reference to selected or remembered criteria."
Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 163-164, student evaluation of the comparative reliability of the three sources after analysis of each by content and date of authorship.

3. C. Differentiates between factual and non-factual sources:
(6.10) Judgments in Terms of Internal Evidence.
"Evaluation of the accuracy of a communication from such evidence as logical accuracy, consistency, and other internal criteria."
Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 96-97, identification of inconsistencies within the Burtner account. The student notes that Burtner gives one birth date, but cites another source on a contradictory birth date
without comment or explanation. Secondly, the student notes the impossibility of the date of appointment as Secretary of the Northwest Territory as reported by Burtner. He cannot consider Burtner's report as factual at this point until these inconsistencies and other data have been checked out and clarified by reference to other sources.

4. A. Recognizes reliable experiments: (4.30) Analysis of Organizational Principles. "The organization, systematic arrangements, and structure which holds the communication together."

Reference from Chap. IV: None.

5. A. Draws reasonable inferences regarding cause and effect: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. "The development of a set of abstract relations either to classify or explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 123-124, an inference regarding the change in certain handwriting characteristics and the signature of Charles Willing Byrd. The student observes the effects, i.e., from an elaborate to an abbreviated signature, from looped C's and rounded W's and looped y's to simpler more angular forms. He infers the cause: That Byrd's
handwriting as he grew older and had much more to write (as a judge and correspondent) for convenience and efficiency's sake became less elaborate, as did his signature.

5. B. Draws reasonable inferences regarding logical implication: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. "The development of a set of abstract relations either to classify or explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 154-155, an inference that Rice could not have copied from Evans and Stivers due to comparative dates of the documents and an inference that Evans and Stivers did not copy from Rice since their account contradicts his in many places, even though using the same wording elsewhere, and an inference that Rice and Evans and Stivers must have had one source in common which produced the same wording in certain instances, but otherwise had separate sources.

5. C. Draws reasonable inferences regarding valid generalization: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. The definition may be found above in 5. A. and 5. B.
Reference from Chap. IV: Page 166, second paragraph, wherein the student accepts (infers the validity of) the generalizations of Evans and Stivers as to Judge Byrd's major interests as reflected in his diaries, which they report excerpts from on pages 149-151 above.

5. D. Draws reasonable inferences regarding reliable prediction: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. The definition may be found in 5. A. and 5. B. above.

References from Chap. IV: None.

5. E. Draws reasonable inferences regarding accurate description: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. The definition may be found in 5. A. and 5. B. above.

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 95, 96, 97, 98, in which the student infers that a "Secret Journal of Congress," reported by the Highland County probate judge to Burtner as part of Judge Byrd's estate inventory in 1829, was perhaps a secret journal of the first Ohio constitutional convention, of which Byrd was a member, and that it among other family papers could be located by tracing Charles Willing Byrd the younger to whom those items were left in 1888 by the will of William Otway Byrd, Judge Byrd's grandson.

6. A. Recognizes implicit assumptions: (4.20) Analysis
of Relationships. "The connections and interactions between elements and parts of a communication."

Reference in Chap. IV: Pages 80-81, in which the student, having discovered twelve letters from Byrd to Nathaniel Massie reported in Massie's biography, assumes their authenticity due to the family relationship (brother-in-law) and the authorship of the biography by Massie's grandson. The assumption is his own, and is implicit until made explicit by his own conscious quest for authenticity of data.

6. B. Evaluates implicit assumptions: (6.20) Judgments in terms of External Criteria. "Evaluation of material with reference to selected or remembered criteria."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 83-92, wherein the student is able to confirm the likelihood of the assumed authenticity of the reported letters by their content in context of the relationships and issues of the time and place: The letters bear appropriate sending and receiving addresses and dates, and they reveal political and personal concerns relevant to the correspondents in terms of their known public positions and personal relationships.

6. C. Uses postulational arguments logically: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. "The development of a set of abstract relations either to
classify or explain particular data or phenomena, or the deduction of propositions and relations from a set of basic propositions or symbolic representations."

Reference from Chap. IV: Page 84, wherein the student postulates Byrd's sympathies with the owner rather than an indentured servant; pages 85, 87, and 88, wherein Byrd's letters report the incident; page 167, where this postulational argument is used by the student to justify Byrd's behavior in terms of acceptance of the "customs of the day."

6. D. Recognizes relevant value systems: (4.30) Analysis of Organizational Principles. "The organization, systematic arrangement, and structure which hold the communication together."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 166-168, wherein the student identifies (reveals recognition of) the following value orientations relevant to Charles Willing Byrd:

1) religion running to the extreme, with an affinity for the Shakers,
2) almost compulsive concern about health and diet,
3) close attention to costs and prices,
4) practical and forceful political interests, with an obvious willingness to play the
partisan role roughly,

5) a reputation for racial liberality and alcoholic abstinence, and

6) a preference for rural life.


Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 166-168, wherein the student indicates the paradox, or irony, of the value orientations all attributable to Byrd:

1) religious extremism in contrast to practical politics, roughly played and somewhat aggressive self-interest behavior,

2) a reputation for racial egalitarianism in contrast to his willing concession to the customs of the day in treatment of indentured (probably black) servants.

The student "reasonably" at this point refuses to commit himself to further assertions about the value system of Byrd in relation to the times until further evidence is at hand.

7. A. Recognizes errors and fallacies (in thinking):

(5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. Definition in 6. C. above.

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 84-85, and Appendix, p. 202. The student recognizes Byrd's error in at-
tribution of motive of what Byrd interprets to be a false rumor about the date of the expiration of St. Clair's term in the letter to Massie dated 26 November 1800. At least four errors or fallacies are evident in Byrd's thinking:

1) An attitudinal error in that he is allowing his bias or prejudice against St. Clair and St. Clair's partisans to influence his thinking. (Appendix, p. 202)

2) A gross methodological error in that he has failed to seek evidence to confirm his hypothesis. (Appendix, p. 203)

3) An inductive error in logic, in that he has attributed causation of the rumor to the wrong subject. (Appendix, p. 205)

4) A deductive error in logic that he assumes his conclusion to be proved. (Appendix, p. 206)

8. A. Comes to decisions or conclusions: (5.30) Derivation of a Set of Abstract Relations. Definition in 6. C. above.

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 166-168, wherein the student synthesizes an exposition on the topic of Charles Willing Byrd, having identified his problems, verified his hypotheses, collected and evaluated his data insofar as the limitations of time and locale
have allowed.

8. B. Tests decisions or conclusions: (6.20) Judgments in terms of External Criteria. "Evaluation of material with reference to selected or remembered criteria."

Reference from Chap. IV: Pages 107-108 and pages 157-164. The student originally makes a decision in favor of Rice's reliability as compared with Burtner's. He checks out this decision in a comparative analysis with data from another source, and based thereon reverses the decision.

8. C. Applies them (decisions and conclusions) to pertinent situations: (3.00) Application. "The use of abstractions in particular and concrete situations."

Reference in Chap. IV: Pages 166-168. Having determined the relative reliability of his sources, the student applies his decision to specific data to select material for his composition on Byrd.

Some examples:

1) Accepts all three sources' report of the birth date as July 26, 1770.

2) Accepts the report of two sources as to the date of the second marriage, March 8, 1818, as opposed to the report of the third, Oct. 8, 1818.

3) Accepts the report of one source using pub-
lic records (Burtner) as to the date of Byrd's taking the oath as Secretary of the Territory.

4) Accepts the report of all three sources as to the month and year of Byrd's death, but ignores the day of death because of conflicting or possible erroneous data in all three.

9. A. Applies semantic principles to language employed:

(3.00) Application. Definition in 8. C. above.

Reference from Chap. IV: While the student detected no violations of semantic integrity throughout his research, he did detect five examples of a dated or cultural use of terms or spelling no longer current:

1) Pages 81-82, Byrd's letter to Massie dated 20th August 1800, uses the term "Myrmidon" to describe one of Gov. St. Clair's partisans. (The term means "an underling of rough or questionable character.").¹

2) Byrd's letter to Massie dated May 4th, 1801 (pages 85-86) the price of trees at "six-pence per Scion." Aside from the fact that the student does not know for certain the

value of "sixpence" in 1801, he has to seek the meaning of "Scion." (Now used as "cion," the term means a "twig or shoot of a plant used for grafting.")

3) In the same letter of May 4, 1801, Byrd explains that the indentured servant had been hired "to Ruffin." Nowhere in any dictionary consulted by the student was the term defined. It may have been a vulgarism of the time. He estimates that it may have meant "to do unskilled odd jobs of coarse or manual labor."

4) Byrd's letter to Massie of June 13, 1801 (pp. 87-88), contains the spelling "sett off" instead of "set off." Whether it was a common spelling of the time, or Byrd's own mistake or idiosyncracy, the student doesn't know.

5) Byrd's memorandum on the sale of a "forti-piano" (p. 139) uses the term in a way unknown now. It obviously referred to a "piano-forte."

Thus, out of twenty-four critical thinking functions as

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related to the problem-solving process using an example from historical research, twenty-two functions have been identified. There was no evidence that this particular example provided the student an opportunity to "recognize reliable experiments" or "draw reasonable inferences regarding reliable prediction." Presumably, both functions not experienced are more likely to occur in research dealing with laboratory or quantitative materials. The significance for the future teacher of history seeking conceptual and skill development by means of historical research is not great. As has been here demonstrated, the student not only has had the opportunity to analyze his research in terms of all steps of the problem-solving process, but has had to come to grips with the terminology and skills of critical thinking, i.e., hypotheses, data, inference, assumption, generalization, description, postulational argument, value system, errors and fallacies, decisions, conclusions. Such an exercise meets the criteria of sufficiency, if not of totality of experience.

There still remains the necessity of evaluating the exercise in terms of its capacity of rendering the student able to generalize about the nature of historical knowledge as delineated in Chapter III. The procedure is to cite examples from the exercise which will support the generalization.

3Supra, pp. 57-58.
Generalization I

"History in the purest sense, a complete, accurate, thorough knowledge of the past, is impossible."

Examples from Chap. IV: Pages 166-168. The student essay at the completion of his research does not pretend to completeness, or thoroughness in the life of Charles Willing Byrd. He has been able to outline only the major events and characteristics of that life. Accuracy in such matters as the date of death still eludes him.

Generalization II

"History based on direct evidence by eyewitnesses and participants in the events is inaccurate due to faulty perception, inadequate memory, and communications misconceptions."

Examples from Chap. IV: Pages 83 and 121. On page 83 the student has an example of Byrd's faulty perception—actual misconception—of a historical reality, i.e., the approaching expiration of Gov. St. Clair's term of office. On page 121 the student finds Byrd trying to straighten out a land claim with his brother-in-law Massie with whom there has been an episode illustrating faulty perception, inadequate memory, or communication misconception, if not outright dishonesty.

Generalization III

"History based on secondary sources is even more subject to error and misinterpretation than that reported by primary sources."

Examples from Chap. IV: Pages 93-97, 100-103, 147-153. The secondary sources of Burtner, Rice, and Evans and Stivers
have so many discrepancies that the student finds it necessary to do a comparative analysis to determine reliability (pp. 157-161).

Generalization IV

"Historical facts are certain only when attested to by many sources in agreement, all of which had independent means of witnessing these facts."

Examples from Chap. IV: Pages 74-78, 92. Many sources will attest to only three facts for certain which the student can obtain from general histories of the period and times: Charles Willing Byrd was Secretary of the Northwest Territory, acting Governor of the Territory after St. Clair's dismissal, and the first federal district judge for Ohio.

Generalization V

"Historical facts may be said to have a degree of certitude when personally witnessed by two or more sources independently."

Examples from Chap. IV: While the student's research has not led him into the depth necessary to verify all the sources appropriate, certitude as to the life of Charles Willing Byrd from his sources exist only as to those items agreed upon by Burtner, Rice, and Evans and Stivers on pages 157-161. These include:

1) His birth month and year, its location, his parentage.
2) His migration to Kentucky in 1794 and marriage to Sarah Waters Meade later.
3) His residence in Cincinnati; near Manchester, at West Union, and at Sinking Springs, in that order.
between 1800 and 1828, with precise dates of each uncertain.

4) Sarah Byrd's death at Buckeye Station near Manchester.

5) His marriage to Hannah Miles at West Union in 1818, and the names of their two children.

6) His death and burial at Sinking Springs in August, 1828.

Generalization VI

"History consists largely of the art of coming to tentative conclusions by the problem-solving process based as much on inference and evaluation as on so-called facts."

Examples from Chap. IV: Pages 157-161. In the student's final narrative he is aware that he has had to depend upon evaluation of the reliability of material from Evans and Stivers and Burtner to infer characteristics and "facts" about Byrd which go beyond the certainty and degree of certitude reported under the two preceding generalizations.

Generalization VII

"History is based on evidence the quantity and quality of which is subject to constant change, thus affecting previous conclusions and necessitating constant re-evaluation and research to remain current."

Examples from Chap. IV: Pages 141, 168. On page 141 the student notes the necessity of nullifying an hypothesis based on later more reliable data; on page 168 he notes that lack of access to the family records, papers, and public documents on Byrd makes his conclusion less than final, and the work subject to expansion and revision.
Generalization VIII

"Many, perhaps most, of the hypotheses (questions) posed by the historian cannot be concluded for lack of evidence."

Examples from Chap. IV, passim, pp. 78-142: Among others, these would include-

1) What happened to Byrd's children by his first wife?
2) What happened to Charles Willing Byrd the younger and the family papers?
3) Was Byrd guilty of malfeasance in office as charged by St. Clair?
4) Was Byrd as sympathetic to Negro rights as he was reputed to be?
5) Did Creighton get the job of district marshall?
6) Did Byrd get his raise in pay?
7) Did Massie settle the Sargent's claim?
8) Did Byrd sell that fortipiano?
9) Did it take Byrd a year to get a loaf of sugar c. 1825?

Generalizations number nine and ten, dealing with ethical obligations of the historian and the readers awareness of the limitations of historical knowledge, do not lend themselves readily to citation by example from the student research exercise. That a student having the research experience and being able to formulate or assent to the other eight generalizations would also probably subscribe to nine and ten is likely. There does remain in each, though, the
element of value choice not addressed in this exercise.

Thence, by way of analysis of each of the critical thinking functions applied to an example from the historical research experience presented, it is concluded that a student having such an experience so structured and analyzed would have the opportunity to obtain some critical thinking concepts and skills for his use as a teacher. That the opportunity should also develop for him to generalize about the tentative nature of historical knowledge has also been presented. It is the purpose of the subsequent chapter to place such an experience in the social studies enterprise.
Chapter VI
THE USE OF PRIMARY SOURCES IN HISTORICAL RESEARCH FOR THE PREPARATION OF TEACHERS OF HISTORY OR THE SOCIAL STUDIES

It has been the position of this thesis that the preparation of social studies and/or history teachers for the secondary schools of this country has been generally inadequate in terms of the social studies enterprise's purpose of preparing citizens for democratic society. The contention has been that the typical social studies teacher's inadequacies have centered on his assumptions about the nature of knowledge and his lack of skills in critical thinking. It has been asserted that a remedy for both inadequacies lies in an undergraduate experience in historical research using primary materials. So has Chapter I above developed the thesis.

Chapter II has demonstrated that critical thinking procedures as defined in Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives (Cognitive Domain) are inherent in the problem solving process identified by Dewey. Chapter III has provided evidence that historical research method is an application of the problem solving process employing the critical thinking procedures as delineated. Chapter IV has provided an
example of original student research using some primary materials, and Chapter V has demonstrated that the example set forth in Chapter IV meets the criteria of providing problem-solving, critical-thinking exercises as set forth in Chapters II and III. It has also demonstrated that a student experiencing the problem can gain generalizable insights into the tentative nature of historical knowledge.

It is the purpose of Chapter VI to set forth a recommendation for the implementation of a course in the curricula of social studies or history teacher preparees at the undergraduate level which will provide the critical thinking skills and insights essential to handling the subject matter of their disciplines in their own classes in a manner conducive to the preparation of their students for effective thinking as citizens. To meet the purposes here set forth, such a course 1) must engage the student in an original research problem in history in which some primary materials are used, 2) must provide for the student an opportunity to analyze his research experience in problem solving process format, 3) must require of the student identification and explication of his conclusions and their justification in critical thinking terminology, 4) must encourage the student to synthesize generalizations about the nature of knowledge based on his experience, and 5) must provide the student opportunity to apply a similar analysis to various types of materials typically used in the social studies classroom.
Returning to Chapter I, it is appropriate here again to cite Grannis, who reported that the social studies classroom was so devoid of attention to higher order thinking processes (those beyond reporting and recalling so-called facts) that no accounting of the variance in pupil achievement correlated with teacher knowledge was possible.

The only subject matter courses that one can imagine making any dent in this problem for the generality of social studies teachers would be those that emphasized the epistemology of the student of history and the social sciences, or the student of social issues, and that deliberately worked back and forth between this inquiry and its analogies in the social studies classroom.¹

What is proposed here is, then, an effort to take Grannis at his word, and to do so using the concepts and procedures already developed herein.

Procedurally, rather than produce here a course syllabus implementing the proposed purpose, it is necessary and sufficient but to suggest the methods and procedures essential for inclusion in such a syllabus. The guidelines thus provided should be helpful in providing the individual instructor with an itinerary in construction of his own course. To do such, the categories of 1) course objectives 2) course materials and 3) course procedures must be developed.

1. **Course objectives.** - Objectives should be related to the attainment of student proficiencies in

¹Grannis, *op. cit.*, *supra*, p. 20.
a) explaining the problem solving process,
b) identifying critical thinking concepts,
c) relating the critical thinking concepts to the problem solving process,
d) illustrating the problem solving process using critical thinking concepts,
e) analyzing any given information in terms of critical thinking concepts,
f) identifying problems and hypothesizing solutions with informational sources,
g) explaining the problem of attaining "certainty" in history or any other data dependent on un-reconstructable events subject to human observation.

It should be noted here that the objectives do not include a statement of facility in the use of, or understanding of, historical research method. The exercise in historical research is viewed as a means, not an end or objective, of the experience here outlined. In other words, the effort outlined here does not presume to make of the student a historian, or historiographer, as such. To the extent his experience with historical materials and historical method can serve as a vehicle for his gaining skills and understandings of critical thinking for his general use as a teacher of citizens, it will have served the prime purpose.

2. Course materials. - The student must have available
for his effort to achieve the course objectives
a) a text, article, monograph, or otherwise, which defines and explores the problem solving process,
b) a text, article, monograph, or otherwise which defines and delineates the various thought processes or mental operations which constitute critical thinking,
c) a text, article, monograph, or otherwise which delineates historical methodology,
d) a guide, published or otherwise, listing local and regional libraries, museums, galleries, and other locations of documents and collections,
e) a bibliography of local or regional historical sources, if existent.

Of particular value to the student in identifying location of possible primary materials under "d" above should be a list of locations of public records, such as deeds, wills, vital statistics, newspapers, government documents, et cetera.

3. Course procedure. - Developing course procedure raises the question of choices of strategy. The student has as his objective attaining conceptual and operational familiarity with problem solving process and critical thinking procedures. As a vehicle, he is to employ historical research, requiring some conceptual and operational familiarity
with historical methodology. Should the student be exposed first to the concepts in problem solving, critical thinking, and historical methodology, this followed by the actual research project, with his exposure to the relevant thinking and procedural concepts coming as an analytical postlude to his actual work. A third possibility rests in a concurrent procedure, one in which the student becomes involved with the conceptual necessities as he works his way through the research project. The latter option would seem to be the more efficient for several reasons. First, the concurrent approach allows the student more actual research time than either a pre- or post-research concentration on conceptual attainment. Second, the concurrent approach makes it possible for the student to identify by way of analysis his own problems and procedures as the concepts themselves emerge, thus meeting the prime learning criterion of meeting felt needs in solution to problems. Third, there are disadvantages to both a pre- and post-research involvement with the conceptual requirements: A pre-research concentration on the requirements might actually tend to hamper the student's research progress in that he might seek to meet the conceptual criteria in a mechanistic or artificial manner, thus prejudicing his historical research endeavors; a post-research concentration on analysis of the research by the conceptual framework disadvantages the student who is without a clear set of notes or memory of the many problems,
processes, and procedures he encountered or employed. There would appear to be one exception to this: while conceptual attainment of problem solving and critical thinking processes might well be accomplished concurrent with operational research, the student's need for guidance in historical research method by way of an understanding of historical document criticism techniques precedes his actual research. The course would have to begin with involvement in such concepts.

Finally, the student's learnings should be applied to types of materials his social studies classroom experience will require. This activity would appear to be productive of a demonstration of the essential skills and understandings only after the research is completed and analysis of it done in critical thinking terms. Such an activity should conclude the course, in other words.

What emerges, then, as a likely possibility for the organization of the course procedurally is a four step sequence: First, some involvement with materials on historical criticism and methodology; second, a historical research project applying the techniques of historical method, accompanied by a developing exploration of the problem solving process and critical thinking terms and procedures; third, a summarization of the project by way of an analysis of the research process and results in terms of problem solving and critical thinking concepts; and, finally, a demonstration of the application of the concepts and skills attained to
various types of data of likely use in the secondary social studies classroom. Assuming a ten week quarter course offering, the format might appear as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Span</th>
<th>Class Activity</th>
<th>Extra-Class Activity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First two weeks:</td>
<td>Identification of course objectives, distribution and discussion of historical source material locations, lecture, readings, discussion on historical method.</td>
<td>Student identifies historical topic and problem area, seeks and identifies sources and procedures.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third through sixth weeks:</td>
<td>Lectures, readings, discussions on problem-solving process and critical thinking concepts; weekly reports by students on research problems and progress, using problem-solving, critical thinking concepts as they proceed.</td>
<td>Student conducts research on topic, conferring with instructor on problems and procedures when needed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh week:</td>
<td>Students submit Preparation and</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time Span</th>
<th>Class Activity (cont.)</th>
<th>Extra-Class Activity (cont.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Seventh week:</td>
<td>report on research</td>
<td>completion of final</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(cont.)</td>
<td>analyzed in terms of</td>
<td>report of project.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>problem-solving critical thinking concepts.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth through</td>
<td>Students demonstrate</td>
<td>Student identification of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tenth weeks:</td>
<td>and discuss critical</td>
<td>materials and prepar-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thinking analyses</td>
<td>aration of analyses in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>of social studies</td>
<td>critical thinking terms.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>materials such as</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>textbooks, newspapers and magazines, broadcast media reports, written and oral assertions of colleagues and others.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth week:</td>
<td>Students analyze,</td>
<td>Students prepare generalizations about knowledge based on this experience.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>discuss, and evaluate generalizations about the nature of historical knowledge.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There remains the question of when in the curriculum of the undergraduate social studies program the student should
experience this course. Three possible answers occur. First, the student should experience the course early in the sequence of his history or social studies major. The rationale for such placement would be that the student's progress through all the subsequent courses in his major will be enlightened and enhanced by this early analytic experience. Second, the student should experience the course toward or at the end of his major studies, just before student teaching and certification. Rationale for such placement would be based on the assumption that this experience would obtain maximum benefit in terms of student learning when he already is comfortable and somewhat knowledgeable with the study of history and will be fresh and forceful in his thinking just before his greatest need for application of its skills and understandings. Third, the student might experience the course somewhere between the beginning and ending of his major subject studies, perhaps in the junior year. Any advantage to such an option would be predicated on the influence of an external factor, such as entry into professional teacher preparation studies, appropriate sequence of courses therein, et cetera. Probably, however, the first option above is preferable in that the student has the benefit of the skills and understandings attained herein in each of his subsequent courses in history and related disciplines. In other words, being equipped with critical thinking skills and epistemological understandings early in his major studies
experience should not only enable the student to be more in-sightful and thorough in subsequent courses, but should pro-
vide him with continual re-enforcement of the need for such
an analytical and skeptical approach. He simply has more
opportunity throughout his undergraduate career to develop
the analytical and skeptical frame of reference, he has more
materials and experiences to apply it to, and he has the con-
ceptual tools to accomplish the task. To postpone his ex-
perience in critical thinking by way of historical method is
to deprive him of those advantages, and perhaps to reach his
perceptual patterns too late in his studies to make much of
a difference as a future operational assumption in his
thinking and teaching. However, an adequate test of this
hypothesis would be to provide the experience here outlined
at the earliest, middle, and latest point in the under-
graduate's curricula under controlled conditions to measure
what might be the difference in performance in their under-
graduate studies and in their subsequent teaching behavior.
APPENDIX

Summary of Semantic Fallacies and Errors

1. Failure to define. Vague or ambiguous use of words.
2. False reference. Deliberate; or (unconscious) in writing application of words to inappropriate reference, for example, a lie.
3. Context errors.
   a. Words quoted out of context.
   b. Words interpreted without regard to context.
   c. Words assumed to derive their meanings from dictionaries by fiat rather than from immediate context.
      (The dictionary fallacy.)
4. Etymological fallacy. Assumption that the best current meaning of a term can be found by analyzing its roots; that original meaning is the true one.
5. Emotive errors.
   a. Objective meaning distorted, blurred by emotive use.
   b. Emotive connotation accepted uncritically.
6. Figurative fallacies.
   a. Figures of speech taken literally.
   b. Figures mixed.
7. Oversimplification of complex terms.
8. Classification errors.
   a. Attribution of imagined class qualities to a member of that class.
   b. Connotation of regularity given or accepted in the use of class concepts.
9. Reification. Abstract terms treated as if concrete. Attributing objective or "real" existence to things represented by abstract words.
10. Utraquistic fallacy. Confusion of process and product, for example, "perception," "conception," "government."
11. Mistranslation.
   a. Inaccurate substitution.
   b. Overanalysis of translation for subtleties of connotation.
13. Spurious morphological ambiguity or false derivation. Similarity of meaning between two words is assumed because of similarity of forms. "Are you a poster or an imposter?" "He is uncouth, but she is couth."
A Listing of Errors and Fallacies in the Thinking Process

I. Attitudinal errors
   A. Lack of intellectual curiosity; torpidity.
   B. Disposition to flippancy and/or pseudosophistication.
   C. Intellectual dishonesty.
   D. Bias or prejudice for or against (anything).
   E. Primitive credulity.
   F. Undue reverence for the "latest thing," the new or the novel.
   G. Harmful incredulity; closed-mindedness; undue reverence for what is, for custom and tradition.
   H. Disregard for cause-and-effect relationships.
   I. Disposition to be tolerant of confusion and inconsistency.
   J. Dognatism and rigidity; inflexibility.
   K. Lack of persistence.
   L. Indecisiveness.

II. Gross methodological errors (Errors in details of method are listed a few pages further on).
   A. Failure to define problem at all.
   B. Failure to advance hypotheses.
   C. Failure to look for evidence, to employ suitable methods of experimentation or of proof. Failure to examine data even when given. Failure to seek expert advice.
   D. Failure to give rational consideration to relations between data and propositions.
      1. Failure to reason from facts to generalizations at all.
      2. Failure to reason from generalizations to facts.
   E. Failure to reach a conclusion, or to test conclusions reached.
   F. Failure to use conclusions in appropriate applications.

III. Errors in interpretation
   A. Definition.
      1. Words whose meanings are vague, complex, or ambiguous, used without definition.
   B. Context.
      1. Words are quoted out of context.
      2. Words are interpreted without regard to context.
      3. The "dictionary fallacy." Words are believed to get meanings by fiat from dictionaries. (And not from contexts in part.)
   C. Emotive connotation
      1. Objective meaning distorted, blurred by emotive.
      2. Emotive connotation accepted uncritically.
      3. Emotive verbalisms or glittering generalities. Words that are nearly empty of objective reference but loaded with connotations of approval or dis-
approval offered and accepted as though they were objective. For example, "democratic," "traditional."

D. Complexity
1. Complicated terms used or accepted for one component meaning only. (Oversimplification)

E. Classification
1. Connotation of regularity given or accepted in use of classifiers (existential, evidential, characterizing, adjectival terms). For example, "drunkard," "thieving."
2. Attribution to a member of a class qualities of the class in general. For example, "All Aryans are blond."

F. Abstraction.
1. Abstract terms vague, failure to exemplify or make concrete.
2. Reification. Abstract terms treated as if concrete.
   a. Personification.
3. Utraquistic fallacy. Confusion of process and product. For example, "perception," "conception," "government."

G. Quantification.
1. Terms used which are vague in quantity. For example, "some," "many," "most."

H. Figurative fallacies.
1. Figures of speech taken literally.
   a. Euphemism.
   b. Hyperbole.
   c. Metaphor, metonymy.
2. All references of figurative terms taken to apply to the referent under discussion.

I. Ambiguity.
1. Words with several distinct meanings used without indication as to which meaning is implied.
2. Equivocation. Deliberate ambiguity. Especially in case of words shifting meaning within discourse.

J. Quibble.
1. Unnecessarily fine distinctions made.

K. Gross verbalism.
1. Use of words individually or collectively whose meanings are not significant, in such a way as to imply that they are significant. A grievous offense against the law of the Lord is often rendered. A green fence around the lawn of the Lord.

L. False reference.
1. Deliberate application of terms to inappropriate references, as calling an honest man a thief.
M. Jargon.
1. Use of technical terms not understood by audience or in circumstances where nontechnical terms are adequate.

N. Translation.
1. Mistranslation of a foreign language.
2. Analysis of translated term as though it were original form of expression. For example, analysis of King James Bible terms (written in Hebrew and Greek originally).

O. Etymological fallacy.
1. Assumption that the best current meaning of a term can be found by analyzing its roots. Ignores changing meanings.

P. Accent.
1. Misunderstanding arises when certain words in a sentence are stressed.

Q. Amphiboly (Syntactic ambiguity).
1. Words in sentence put in such an order that confusion arises. Dislocated relative clauses, for example.

IV. Errors in identification or definition of the problem.
A. Failure to analyze problem properly.
1. Failure to discover what principles are involved.
2. Failure to determine what persons are involved.
3. Failure to locate specific points of conflict.
B. Failure to recognize pattern of problem, that is, whether it is normative, descriptive, discovery, critical, creative, legal, or the like.

V. Errors in hypothesis
A. Infertility: failure to produce any, or sufficient, or imaginative hypothesis; failure to advance alternative hypotheses.
B. Irrelevancy: ridiculous hypotheses.
C. Impracticability: hypotheses that cannot be tested.
D. Proliferation: too many hypotheses.

VI. Logical errors (Subdivided into inductive, deductive, and other)
A. Inductive.
1. Insufficient instances. Judgments about people of other nationalities after observing one or two.
2. Instances not representative.
3. Contradictory instances ignored; throwing out cases which seem to contradict the rule.
4. Instances of accidental or temporary concomitance only.
5. Post hoc ergo propter hoc. Events which follow others are assumed to be caused by them.
6. False cause. General attribution of causation to wrong subject.
7. Statistical fallacies.
   a. Drawing inferences about individuals from measures of a group.
   b. Interpreting statistical averages as representing strictly invariable relations within a group.
   c. Imputing causal significance to correlations.
   d. Inferring significant connection between two types of events on the basis of the observation that they are frequently associated.
   e. Assuming that correlations between samples invariably reflect correlations of populations.
   f. Nonrepresentative sampling.
   g. Use of absolute numbers instead of percentages to show trends.
   h. Making comparisons on the basis of units or classifications which do not retain the same value or meaning for the different groups compared.
   i. Neglecting to consider differences in method of collecting statistical data.
   j. Employment of different units of measurement to make comparisons.
   k. Neglect of methods of testing consistency of data.
   l. Forgetting that statistics are abstract, and that they, therefore, omit many qualities which are not selected for attention.
   m. Comparing data out of their contexts, when the latter, if included, would vitiate the comparisons.
   n. Assuming falsely that all other variable except those measured and compared remain constant.
   o. Extrapolating on the assumption that no new factor has entered or no old one has changed in importance.
   p. Compare c above.
   q. Claiming greater precision in the conclusions that is warranted, by the nature of the materials and units used.
   r. Compare a above.
   s. Supposing that figures about masses of individuals convey information concerning the interrelations of the individuals in groups.

B. Deductive. The Classical Fallacies which are broadly deductive.

Deductive may be defined: the process of drawing assumptions or from established generalizations which are implicit in them but which are not obvious; reasoning from general to particular.
Deductive errors are then drawing inferences which are not justified by the assumptions or generalizations.

Some of the following are not strictly "logical" fallacies but errors caused by introducing false assumptions.

1. Presumptive (false assumptions made)
   a. Exceptions ignored ("Accident").
      (1) Description: the assumption is made that what is true in general is true under all conditions; real exceptions are disregarded.
   b. Exceptions overvalued ("Converse accident").
      (1) Description: the assumption is made that what is true under some circumstances is true in general; exceptions are regarded as typical instances.
   c. Begging the question (Petitio principii).
      (1) Description: assuming the conclusion to be proved:
         (a) Stating the conclusion in changed form in the premise.
         (b) Assuming a debatable proposition.
         (c) Reasoning in a circle (Circulus in probando), that is, using two propositions to prove each other.
   d. Complex question (Plurium interrogationum).
      (1) Description: questions are asked in which certain facts are implied to be true or false, the question being framed so that a direct answer involved admission of the assumption.

2. Irrelevant (off the point at issue—Ignoratio elenchii).
   The speaker or writer really proves a proposition other than the one he claims he is proving. He succeeds in substituting and getting debate on a conclusion which is not the original point at issue. This may be done deliberately to mislead, or without awareness in the course of a long and complicated discussion.
   a. You're another (Tu quoque).
      (1) Description: an action is excused by charging that another person or group under the same conditions would do the same thing. (Both might be wrong.)
   b. Argument against the man (Ad hominem).
      (1) Description: arguments are directed for or against the personal qualities of someone instead of to the issue; attributing bad motives or prejudices.
c. Argument to popular prejudice (Ad populum).
   (1) Description: appeal is made to prejudices.

d. Argument employing threats (Ad baculum).
   (1) Description: intimidation is used to force agreement.

e. Appeal to reverence or authority or prestige (Ad verecundiam).
   (1) Description: apparent weight is given to argument by quoting some ancient and revered authority, by appealing to some long established precedent. Or a contemporary authority may be invoked. Repeated affirmation eventually begets authority, as does also a confident manner. False credentials may be brought in. The fallacy exists when the authority cited in inappropriate.

f. Appeal to pity (Argumentum and misericordiam).
   (1) Description: appeal to sympathies, feelings, pity, instead of to more cogent arguments.

g. Appeal to the purse (Argumentum ad crumenam).
   (1) Description: a mercenary appeal is made instead of a constructive argument.

h. Argumentum and captandum vulgus.
   (1) Description: any argument, cliche, slogan, to "catch the crowd."

3. Other.
   a. Objections.
      (1) Description: it is reasoned that if there are any objections at all against a proposal that it should be rejected. It ignores strong favorable arguments.

   b. Appeal to ignorance (Ad ignorantiam).
      (1) Description: attempt to support an argument by claiming that the opposite cannot be proved; negative proof.

   c. Non sequitur. (It does not follow.)
      (1) Description:
         (a) Generally, an illogical conclusion.
         (b) Specifically, a conclusion drawn from true premises, but which does not logically follow; or complete lack of connection between premises and conclusion.

   d. Misuse of analogy.
      (1) Failure to state explicitly the characteristics of the resemblance and consequent failure to make the analogy clear.
      (2) An insufficient resemblance even when stated.
(3) Failure to state explicitly the characteristics in which the two factors differ. Unlikeness or "disanalogy" if often important.
(4) Resemblance is imaginary or forced or on trivial points.
(5) Used as a striking or attention-getting statement and not honestly as part of the argument.

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