

Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

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Abstract

This thesis aims to answer three questions that explore the ways in which preadolescent students participate in a reenactment exercise that is used as an educational technique at the Old South Meeting House, a historic site from the American Revolutionary War in Boston, Massachusetts: How do the students *experience* the performance-based approach to education?; Do the students *enjoy* their reenactment experiences?; and How do students navigate between the body of mythologized material surrounding the American Revolutionary War and the educational material with which they are presented during the reenactment exercise and during other formal (classroom) education? Written, drawn, and verbal responses from 76 participating 9- and 10-year-olds (American fourth and fifth graders) concerning their experiences with the reenactment program were gathered.

Drawing from theoretical foundations in Museum Education, Museum Theater, Theater Education, and the mythologizing of American history, this project explores a convergence of these disciplines. The data generation and analysis of the responses that the students provided were based in Grounded Theory, and analysis was conducted through the use of phenomenographic transcription and categorization, including techniques for analysing drawn data based on models developed for use in studies in Environmental Education.

The findings illuminate the dual understandings that students develop to navigate between exciting, mythologized histories of the American Revolution and more historically provable versions that, while providing accurate facts for education, might not possess the same dramatic appeal as exaggerated and romanticized versions. The data also points to the importance of the social aspect of reenactment to the participants. The primary contributions to the fields of Museum Education and Museum Theater Education herein lie mainly in this thesis's additions to discussions on the use of reenactment as an interpretive tool, particularly in terms of exploring the reenactment exercise's influences on the students by whom it was performed.

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List of Abbreviations

9/11: The September 11th terrorist attacks in the United States in 2001

CLMG: Campaign for Learning in Museums and Galleries

DIE: Drama in Education

ICOM: The International Council of Museums

LIRP: Learning Impact Research Project

MCAS: Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System

OSMH: Old South Meeting House

RCMG: Research Centre for Museums and Galleries

TIB: *Tea is Brewing* educational program conducted by the Old South Meeting House

TIE: Theater in Education

USCIS: United States Citizenship and Immigration Services

USDOE: United States Department of Education

Chapter 1

Introductions

I am proud to say that even though I consider myself an honest man, I proudly smuggle wine and other non-British goods into Boston. I am the richest man in town, but I will not pay this tax because I think Parliament has no right to tax us without our say in the matter. We need to demand our full rights as English citizens. Without representation, gentlemen, Parliament is committing a violent attack on the liberties of all colonists!

John Hancock, Patriot, 1773

You know what I say about all this tax business? Big deal! So we have to pay a small three pence tax on tea. Life could be a lot worse if you ask me. The King and Parliament have already removed all other taxes. Why don't we show them our gratitude by paying this small duty on tea?

Nathaniel Noyes, Loyalist, 1773

I'm only paying tax for Coca Cola.

American 5th grader, 2014¹.

One would not imagine that it is a simple task for a 9-year-old American child from the 21st Century to step into the shoes of a Revolutionary from 1773. In the *Tea is Brewing* reenactment exercise at the Old South Meeting House, however, many 9- and 10-year-olds are asked to, and find great pride and enjoyment in recreating a moment in American Revolutionary History.

For a short time, in the safety of the Meeting House - a place that, by itself, can seem to transport visitors back through the centuries to colonial Boston - the students become the Revolutionaries; they sit in the same pews as the colonists, they speak their words, and they recreate a debate that exemplifies the complicated and divided nature

¹ Quotes from Old South Meeting House curriculum material and verbal group interview from Session 1, (OSMH, 2009: 23, 26; S1, [00:59:50])

of the path to the American Revolution. In doing so, they learn not simply about the immediate aftermath of the debate - the dramatic Boston Tea Party, also known as The Destruction of the Tea, during which 342 chests of privately owned British East India Company tea were chopped open, and the contents unceremoniously dumped into the water of Boston Harbor in protest over the tax on tea - but also about the people of Boston in 1773, who found themselves caught up in conflict, often forced to choose between remaining loyal to the British Empire and pursuing American Independence.

The reenactment gives students the chance to connect with people from American history on fundamentally human and personal levels, finding common grounds and understandings despite the passing of hundreds of years. When students experience the conflict in this recreated and imagined way, they are given insight into the thoughts and feelings of the colonists, the opportunity to react as themselves, and the opportunity to imagine what in their worlds would possibly drive them to revolution.

1.1 Introduction to Research Questions

This thesis focuses on the uses of Emotional Learning in Museum Education, centering mainly on the use of Reenactment as a form of Museum Theater at the Old South Meeting House in Boston, and the ways in which the educational program presented at this site (and mentioned above) – *Tea Is Brewing* – enhances the educational and emotional experiences had by 9-12-year-old school children who visit on field-trips, as measured through the experiences of 76 participating primary school children. During field-trips to the Old South Meeting House, visiting children are given the opportunity to reenact the meeting that immediately preceded the Boston Tea Party, usually having been assigned the roles of historical characters in advance of their visit. Their preparatory and performatory work allows each student to come into contact with information and experiences that have the potential to influence knowledge and feelings about the War for American Independence. Therefore, also of interest to this study will be the ways visiting students incorporate their experiences with reenactment into their wider understandings of American Revolutionary History. This thesis explores the following Research Questions:

- Firstly, the research examines how visiting children *experience* performance-based approaches to education, specifically at the Old South Meeting House. How, if at all, is the museum theater experience educational?
 - How does participation in a reenactment compare to other forms of Museum Education they may have encountered?
- Secondly, how do visiting children *enjoy* the Old South Meeting House's *Tea is Brewing* program? How does enjoyment interact with and enhance or detract from learning?
 - Is this a learning method they find entertaining to experience? Again, how does their performance of a reenactment compare to other museum experiences in terms of enjoyment?
- Lastly, how do students navigate between the body of mythologized material surrounding the American Revolutionary War and the educational material with which they are presented during this reenactment program and related classroom material?
 - What role (if any) does pre-visit knowledge and perception of the American Revolution play in influencing the students' experiences?

To answer these questions, the main theoretical foundations of the thesis are based in Museum Education, Emotional Education, Theater Education, Museum Theater, and the mythology present in popular versions of the history of the American Revolution. In line with authors writing on the role of Emotional Learning and its location in the wider spectrum of Educational Theory [Stewart, 1999; Golding, 2009; Golding, 2010; Watson, 2010; Falk & Dierking, 1992; Falk, 2006; Jensen, 1994; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Csikszentmihalyi & Hermanson, 1994; Hein & Alexander, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007], this thesis examines the ways in which the reenactment, by triggering and utilizing emotional responses in the participants, contributes to understandings of Emotional Learning. Many researchers in the field of Theater Education have found emotional approaches to be valuable in educating [Allen, et al, 1999; Pammenter, 1993; Heathcote, 1984a-d]. When combined, using theater as an educational technique at museums has been found to be entertaining, to be emotionally significant to visitors, to lead to fundamental reflection, and to help visitors

better negotiate material presented, [Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005; Hughes, et al, 2007; Jackson & Kidd, 2008; Hughes, 1998; Bridal, 2004; Alsford & Parry, 1991; Tzibazi, 2006; Jones, 2011].

In terms of exploring relationships between students' understandings of myth and history, and overlapping patterns of knowledge, this research also explores the existence of mythology in American History, appealing to historical accounts that contain mythologized elements and authors who refute them [Drake, 1884; Bancroft, 1876; Channing, 1919; Egan, 2007; Hobsbawm, 1983], manifestations of mythologized version of American History in popular culture presented to children in the age range of the participating students [Allen, 2004; Thompson, 2010; Alsheimer & Friedle, 2002; Forbes, 1943; O'Donnell, 2002; Ahrens, 1975; Ruegger, 1998], and in American primary school history education, more commonly referred to in pre-adolescent American curriculum as 'Social Studies,' [Appleby, et al, 2009; Blum, et al, 1973; Kennedy, et al, 2008; Perry, et al, 2009; Cullen, 2003].

Drawing from these fields of academic research, this thesis explores students' experiences with reenactment, and how the participants understand history as a result of the combination of imagined realities and taught information. This research adds to discourse on museum education, emotional and empathetic learning in museums, and the use of museum theater; it contributes to these bodies of knowledge and explores how the element of imagination involved in performing the reenactment activity impacts the meaning-making process in the participants; imagined aspects are incorporated alongside taught facts. The literature surveyed in order to solidify these theoretical foundations was drawn from various, overlapping fields, and brought together to create a cohesive framework for this research. Rather than keeping related theories distinct, concepts had to be combined and examined in conjunction with each other, rather than as competing dialogues. For example, concepts surrounding the nature of learning had to be interpreted and then applied alongside concepts regarding education; though the two are related in terms of examining how learners' understandings are impacted by new information, one applies to the intention (Education), and the other the outcome (Learning). Here, they are interrelated; clear educational intentions and material existed regarding information about the American Revolution, and the students' learning outcomes were impacted by these materials, as well as by external influences and cultural forces.

Some of these external influences represent another area where distinct but overlapping fields were examined cooperatively: the natures of memory, history, and myths. Things that are recorded to be taught to future generations as History are often assumed to be reliably unbiased sets of facts, but Memory is the basis for what becomes fact, and memories change and fade over time. Likewise, memories passed down in less formal manners acquire power of their own and can become Myths, but the line between what is History and what is Myth is thin, as will be discussed further in Chapters 3 and 4. For this study, these concepts weigh heavily on what a student eventually incorporates in his or her sense of national identity, which carries a strong emotional component that often reinforces attachment to national myths, perpetuating their existence. As will be seen in Chapter 2 and throughout, these various theories are brought together to create an effective lens through which to view this research.

1.2 Introduction to Methodology

This research, which is qualitative in nature, primarily employed methodology based on the use of Grounded Theory, and incorporated a phenomenological analytical structure. The methodology will be fully explored in Chapter 4, but is briefly presented here as an introduction. In accordance with Grounded Theory, theories were generated by the data, rather than formed in advance, [Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967]. This process was similar to other Museum Theater researchers, such as Anthony Jackson and Helen Rees Leahy, whose research ‘was informed by the model of ‘grounded theory’ inasmuch as [they] wanted the experience to generate the theory rather than the other way around,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 308).

In terms of practical methodology, participants were contacted through the use of the Old South Meeting House as a gatekeeper. Teachers who would be bringing their classes were invited to participate, and if they agreed they were sent information concerning ethical requirements and preliminary research material. Once a class’s teacher and school administration had agreed to allow the class to participate, participation was open to the whole class, but was not required. The interview process was adapted slightly for each classroom so that as many students as possible could participate. Ultimately, five classes participated, with a total of 76 participating students between the ages of 9 and 11 (American 4th and 5th graders).

The qualitative data gathering exercises employed included a Pre-Visit Questionnaire administered by the students' teacher prior to their field-trip, a Post-Visit Questionnaire administered by me during a visit to their classroom approximately ten days after their field-trip, and a Verbal Group Interview which was also conducted during my visit to their classroom. The pre-visit questionnaire consisted of five questions with preset fields of responses. The post-visit questionnaire consisted of open-ended questions about their experiences and familiarity with details about the Boston Tea Party, as well as several opportunities for them to draw their responses. They were given crayons, and were asked to draw the protesting colonists, the British soldiers, the ships during the Boston Tea Party, and the spectators who watched the event from the docks nearby. Then, the group interview further explored the students' experiences during the reenactment, allowing them to openly share their reactions with me and their classmates.

Following the collection of this qualitative data, the analysis was phenomenographical, as developed by Ference Marton and Lennart Svensson, (Svensson, 1997). Gathered responses were reviewed, and categories and themes were identified, allowing me to analyse recurring sentiments, as is typical in phenomenographic analyses [Entwistle, 1997; Svensson, 1997; Hasselgren & Beach, 1997; Åkerlind, 2005; Sandbergh, 1997]. Further, the group interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed in a way that allowed for the transcripts to become 'the focus of the analysis,' as recommended by Åkerlind, aiding in the analysis of the text. Jackson and Rees Leahy have made similar use of categorization (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 308), as have Pekarik, Doering, and Karns (Pekarik, et al, 1999: 155). Additional methods used in analysing the students' drawings can be considered phenomenographical in their use of categorical groupings; these were inspired by studies conducted on methods of Environmental Education [Shepardson, 2005; Horstman, et al, 2008; Bowker, 2007; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011; Kalvaitis & Monhardt, 2012; Dockrell, et al, 2000]. Phenomenography is typified by a researcher going 'beyond the description of categories to the detection of underlying meaning;' the analysed data is presented in Chapters 6 and 7 (Entwistle, 1997: 127).

1.3 Introduction to Terminology

Before progressing further, it is necessary to define several key terms used throughout this thesis so that their written meanings are clear, and my perspectives are evident. The definitions cover terms concerned with learning and education, aspects of museum education, concepts associated with nations and patriotism, and terms specific to this study.

Learning

‘Learning’ is difficult to define as it is experienced differently by all people; what is being learned in any given situation and how the learning is taking place, are often challenging to articulate. Howard Gardner’s Theory of Multiple Intelligences (which is explored more fully in Chapter 2) describes that ‘not all people have the same interests and abilities; not all of us learn in the same way,’ (Gardner, 1993: 10).

Looking to other researchers’ work to find workable definitions can be useful. This definition used by Pino Monaco and Theano Moussouri is helpful:

Learning is a process of active engagement with experience. It is what people do when they want to make sense of the world. It may involve the development or deepening of skills, knowledge, understanding, awareness, values, ideas, and feelings, or an increase in the capacity to reflect. Effective learning leads to change, development and the desire to learn more². (Monaco & Moussouri, 2009: 318-9)

Similarly, George E. Hein has described learning as an ‘active process in which the learner uses sensory input and constructs meaning out of it,’ (Hein, 1991: 90). He explains that learning involves language and social activities, is contextual, and requires existing knowledge in order to take place: ‘It is not possible to assimilate new knowledge without having some structure developed from previous knowledge to build on,’ (Hein, 1991: 91).

² This definition of learning was developed by the Learning Impact Research Project (LIRP), and is used by the Campaign for Learning in Museums and Galleries (CLMG) and by Eileen Hooper-Greenhill and the Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), (Hawkey, 2004; Hooper-Greenhill, et al, 2003).

Preexisting knowledge is also seen as necessary for learning by Falk and Dierking, who list ‘prior knowledge and experience,’ as one of seven ‘major factors’ involved in the process of learning. The other factors are ‘subsequent, reinforcing experiences and attitudes; culture and background; social mediation; design and presentation; [and] the physical setting,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1995: 11). Building on prior knowledge through the construction of additional memories is seen a fundamental system of acquiring new knowledge. Falk & Dierking later wrote,

Learning can be thought of as both a verb and a noun, a process and a product. When people talk about documenting evidence of learning, they usually being by saying they are thinking of ‘learning’ as a product and a noun. They want to know *what* was learned, to identity some tangible thing stored in the brain that is retrievable and measurable. The *what* that is stored in the brain is called memory. Thus, if this is what learning is, all we need to do to document learning is to ask children what they remember. (Falk & Dierking, 1997: 211-2)

With these definitions in mind, for the purposes of this thesis, ‘Learning’ will be defined as the process of making meaning from newly presented information (based on what is previously known and understood) and retaining this new information to be utilized in the future.

Learning in Museums

Considering the definition of ‘Learning’ listed above, it is worth considering how the process of learning fits into a museum setting. As a learning environment that can differ significantly from conventional classroom settings, museums allow students to learn in different ways, meaning that learning may take different forms. Ceri Jones writes,

‘Learning is recognized as cognitive, affective, embodied, and multi-sensory... It is connected to experience, which can make it a highly individualized activity. Audiences bring prior knowledge, ideas and assumptions about the past which, in turn, will frame their response to

[the] museum or historic site. Learners will make sense of what they encounter in the museum and historic site in their own way,' (Jones, 2011: 108).

Likewise, Eileen Hooper-Greenhill defines learning in museums as complex:

Learning is influenced by motivation and attitudes, by prior experience, by culture and background, and – especially in museums – by design and presentation and the physical setting. When we talk about learning, and particularly learning in museums, we are not talking about learning facts only. Learning includes facts, but also experiences and the emotions. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999: 21)

The incorporation of physical experiences and emotions into the process of learning at museums is accompanied by differences in the social situations. Rather than quietly listening or reading in a classroom, learning in a museum takes place with others. Falk and Dierking explain,

Learning is almost always socially mediated. Because humans are social organism, they rarely acquire information in a social vacuum. People learn while talking to, listening to, and watching other people. They incorporate other people's ideas in their own; even feelings and physical actions are amalgamations forged during social contacts. (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 100)

Furthermore, learning at a museum can be unintentional; Packer writes that 'learning for fun is an experience that many visitors consciously seek, and others find by accident,' (Packer, 2006: 341). 'Learning in Museums' is learning that is possibly impacted by incorporations of added sensory stimulation (which will be explored further in Chapter 2), interactive and social elements inherently present in museum experiences, and the elective nature of the visit; a person who visits a museum gives him- or herself the opportunity to learn, rather than being given the opportunity by another.

Education

‘Education’ is an equally difficult term to define, because it can refer to different things and, in practice, can be used towards different ends. In some ways, Education resembles Learning. Chandra and Sharma define education as ‘the process of self-development,’ (Chandra & Sharma, 2006: 208). Likewise, Samuel describes how education is ‘not just passing examinations or receiving degrees. In fact, it is a life-long process which prepares a man for his struggle for existence by making him self-reliant and developing his character and intelligence,’ (Samuel, 2011: 245). Education can be the path a person takes in learning, leading to greater degrees of awareness and consciousness of the world around him or her. But this definition refers to theoretical educations, and is not what people encounter when they go to a place or appeal to others to receive an education.

The term ‘Education’ can differ from concepts of learning in that it can refer to practices that have less to do with the absorption of information and more to do with what a dominant group thinks a learner should learn. Jackson defines education as ‘a socially facilitated process of cultural transmission,’ (Jackson, 2012: 7). And Jensen likewise writes that, ‘much education might be thought of as the social creation of certain canonical strategies of interpretation that, further, are often centered in a particular body of texts,’ (Jensen, 1991: 15). In deciding what people will be taught, educational institutions and the political bodies behind them can control how people interpret information; ‘It has often been speculated as to whether education might merely be considered a milder form of manipulation and indoctrination,’ (Schaffar, 2014: 6). People can be taught specific information to the exclusion of other perspectives, and discouraged from being inquisitive.

The various meanings of the term Education make it impossible to give it a singular, overarching definition. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the range of situations in which the term will be used is not as wide as it might be elsewhere. Here, ‘Education’ is defined as the schooling the participants receive from American public and private schools. In the United States, the responsibility of providing formal education belongs to individual states; ‘It is States and communities, as well as public and private organizations of all kinds, that establish schools and colleges, develop curricula, and determine requirements for enrollment and graduation,’ (USDOE, May, 2012). Chapters 3 and 4 explore aspects of school education found in various states, but

the participating students were receiving their 4th and 5th grade educations in Massachusetts. Similar terms, such as ‘educational material,’ will refer to materials the students are given at school and by teachers to aid in their educations. This will be confined mainly to discussions regarding their educations of the American Colonial and Revolutionary Periods.

Museums and Museum Education

The International Council of Museums (ICOM) provides an effective definition of museums:

A museum is a non-profit, permanent institution in the service of society and its development, open to the public, which acquires, conserves, researches, communicates and exhibits the tangible and intangible heritage of humanity and its environment for the purposes of education, study and enjoyment. (ICOM, 2007)

This definition is broad, as museums come in many different shapes and serve many different disciplines and purposes. As Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has written, ‘almost anything may turn out to be a museum, and museums can be found in farms, boats, coal mines, warehouses, prisons, castles, or cottages,’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 1992: 12). Likewise, George Hein emphasizes the ever-changing and collaborative nature of Museum Education as a result of the flexible nature of museum settings:

Not only is museum education a broad and demanding field, however, it is also constantly changing and expanding. Museum educators are now viewed as a ‘community of practice,’ a phrase applied to work groups, classrooms, and other informal associations whose members carry out similar, often collaborative, tasks and build a shared expertise,’ (Hein, 2011).

For the purposes of this thesis, a ‘Museum’ is an educational institution that showcases subject matter less likely to be found elsewhere. This can refer to artwork, historical information, scientific material, etc. designed to be seen by adults, just for children, for

families, or for any interested people. My simple, corresponding definition of ‘Museum Education’ is educational content presented in a museum setting, utilizing methods specifically designed to teach within museums, often incorporating techniques featuring sensory and emotional and empathetic stimulation. These topics will be explored more fully in Chapter 2.

Theater and Theater Education

Again, these terms will also be more fully explored in Chapter 2. Pammenter defines theater as ‘the communication and exploration of human experience,’ (Pammenter, 1993: 59). It involves the suspension of reality, ‘whereby we think and act in an ‘as if’ fiction while, simultaneously, we are engaged in the living process,’ (Courtney, 1995: 3). Dorothy Heathcote explains further:

Dramatic activity is concerned with the ability of humans to ‘become somebody else’, to ‘see how it feels’, and the process is a very simple and efficient way of crystallizing certain kinds of information. Humans employ it naturally and intuitively all their lives. (Heathcote, 1984a: 54)

Likewise, Tessa Bridal writes, ‘as a technique, theatre has proven effective and appealing, as evidenced by the fact that in one form or another, it has been a part of every culture and society for centuries,’ (Bridal, 2004: 105). ‘Theater’ here is broadly defined as the production and/or performance of a dramatic work for an audience. As a noun, ‘theater’ can obviously also refer to buildings in which audiences watch productions but, in this thesis, it will primarily refer to the practice of performance and its observation.

Like Museum Education, ‘Theater Education’ is the use of dramatic activities to educate students. Tessa Bridal writes, theater ‘is a transformational art, capable of teaching through the emotions, of inspiring hope and positive change, and therefore of being a force to improve our world,’ (Bridal, 2004: 9). It can also refer to education about theater, but is used here to describe when theater is used as an educational tool.

Museum Theater

‘Museum Theater’ is the use of theater in museums. As museums tend to be institutions with educational goals and responsibilities, the theater used in museums is often for educational purposes. Therefore Museum Theater brings together concepts of Museum Education and Theater Education. The term ‘Museum Theater’ came into being with the creation of IMTAL – the International Museum Theatre Alliance. Vasiliki Tzibazi writes,

With the establishment of IMTAL a new term emerged: ‘museum theatre,’ which was used instead of terms such as ‘interpretive theatre,’ ‘living history,’ ‘theatre in museums’ that appeared in the then current bibliography. It is more of an umbrella term used to encompass various forms of theatre in museums rather than a concept defined in fixed terms. (Tzibazi, 2006: 3)

As this implies, Museum Theater can appear in multiple forms. Jerome de Groot explains that Museum Theater ‘provides museums with a new way of introducing and interpreting their collections. They are generally interactive and can be used in a site-specific fashion or for outreach work,’ (de Groot, 2009: 118). This topic is further explored in Chapter 2.

Emotional learning and Empathy

Emotional Learning, or Empathetic Learning, is learning accomplished through appeals to a learner’s sense of empathy. Augusto Boal describes empathy as ‘the emotional relationship which is established between the character and spectator,’ (Boal, 1985: 102). In Pluckrose’s words, ‘empathy is the ability to imagine oneself as another person in another time and place and thus to relive another’s thoughts and feelings,’ (Pluckrose, 1991: 109). Likewise, Hooper-Greenhill writes,

Empathy is an important component of this dimension of learning. Empathy is the ability to share, understand and feel another person’s feelings, or to enter into the spirit of something such as a book or piece of

music or art. Using the imagination to aid learning is an important skill.
(Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 55)

Empathy is used widely in Museum Education, Theater Education, and Museum Theater; by engaging a student and audience member emotionally, stronger connections can be made between the observer and the presented material. As Hooper-Greenhill writes, 'the body and the mind work together, and feelings and emotions assist the intellect in developing understanding,' (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 177).

Memory, Public Memory, and History

In examining concepts of the past and the ways in which people remember historical events, we find emotional ties to certain versions of events, whether or not they are historically accurate. As Kavanagh writes, 'working with memories implicitly means working with emotions,' and this becomes more apparent when the historical events in question have ties to feelings of national identity (Kavanagh, 2002: 111).

The term 'Memory' broadly refers to ways in which feelings, events, and interactions can remain in a person's or a group's body of knowledge. Falk and Dierking describe memories as 'a tangle of interconnected information and emotions – people, places, things, ideas, feelings and sensations – are all intermixed and intermingled into a single memory,' (Falk & Dierking, 1997: 212). However, 'Memory' also refers to the ways a society or a cultural group collectively remembers an event. When this happens, and many people share a memory of something that becomes significant, it enters the realm of 'Public Memory.' Public memories, and the ways in which they evolve over time – just as individuals' memories evolve – can contribute to the development of mythological versions of events. Something happened, but over time the various retellings of the story change how the event is remembered; recollections that people have of the event may not match accounts recorded at the time of its occurrence. Lowenthal writes, 'all awareness of the past is founded on memory. Through recollection we recover consciousness of former events, distinguish yesterday from today, and confirm that we have experienced a past,' (Lowenthal, 1985: 193). However, recollections, however reassuring, are not necessarily accurate depictions of what took place in the past.

‘History’ is supposed to consist of reliably accurate accounts of things from the past. Lowenthal explains,

History differs from memory not only in how knowledge of the past is acquired and validated but also in how it is transmitted, preserved, and altered. We accept memory as a premise of knowledge; we infer history from evidence that includes other people’s memories. (Lowenthal, 1985: 212)

Therefore, since memories can be unreliable, historical accounts inferred from evidence including memories can also be unreliable. Memory, Public Memory, and History naturally overlap, and this will be more fully examined in Chapters 3 and 4.

Nation

Definitions for the term ‘Nation’ have been offered by numerous authors. Benedict Anderson defines a nation as ‘an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign,’ (Anderson, 1983: 5-6). He explains that ‘it is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion,’ (Anderson, 1983: 6). For Anderson, a nation exists in the minds of the people within the nation. Smith echoes Anderson:

The nation is an abstraction, a construct of the imagination; it is community which is imagined as both sovereign and limited. It emerges when the realm of church and dynasty recede, and no longer seem to answer to mankind’s craving for immortality. The nation, with its promise of identification with posterity, can help us to overcome the finality of death and oblivion; but that only becomes possible when a new conception of homogenous, empty chronological time replaces medieval concepts of simultaneous time. Nations are created in the historical and sociological imagination, through identification with generalized communal heroes set in equally generalized but vividly detailed locations and times; though we can never meet them, we can

‘know’ our fellow-citizens, the members of our cultural nations, through these identifications and descriptions in newspapers, journals, novels, plays, and operas. (Smith, 1999: 43-4)

Anderson and Smith point to the importance of the imagination in understanding the complexity of nation. However, perhaps people might posit that they live in a nation that is not imagined – a physical place, with a governing body, a system of politics, and a collection of citizens. Appleby explains that, while ‘nations figure as places on the map,’ they ‘only exist because of the will of their citizens to accept themselves as a unified body,’ (Appleby, et al, 1994: 92). This is of particular interest when discussing the creation of the United States of America, wherein a collection of people in a collection of colonies chose to unite and form a nation. A ‘Nation,’ in this thesis, refers to a geographically distinct country made up of individuals who share an imagined connection with each other, constituting the Nation.

Nationalism

The term ‘Nationalism’ can carry a negative connotation, especially when compared with Patriotism (which is defined below). Nationalism is often seen as being aggressively nation-oriented and driven by pride, with agendas of furthering one’s own nation, often at the expense of others. ‘Nationality,’ which refers to the nation or group with which a person identifies, influences one’s feelings of nationalism, because it identifies the broader movement with which one is aligned. Smith defines the term as follows:

‘Nationalism is a modern ideological movement, but also the expression of aspirations by various social groups to create, defend or maintain *nations* – their autonomy, unity and identity – by drawing on the cultural resources of pre-existing ethnic communities and categories,’ (Smith, 1999: 18).

Nationalism carries feelings of pride and of belonging. Watson explains, ‘nationalism can take many forms, but it is always associated with emotion,’ (Watson, 2010: 208).

Patriotism

Some seek to explain Patriotism as a socially and politically motivated force. Mestrovic says, ‘patriotism may be defined as a sense of partisan solidarity in respect of prestige,’ tying it to loyalties for those in power (Mestrovic, 2003: 94). Others look for psychological motivations, and find that patriotism allows people to feel safe by feeling connected to others who share their patriotic feelings. Bar-Tal writes:

Patriotism is viewed from a social psychological perspective as an attachment of group members towards their group and the country in which they reside. This attachment is reflected in beliefs and emotions that individuals hold. In its fundamental form, patriotism has positive implications, being an essential condition for group existence. It gives meaning to group membership and serves important functions of personal belonging and identification, as well as group functions of unity, cohesiveness and mobilization. Without patriotism, groups disintegrate and therefore every group tries to inculcate it in its members through cultural, social, and political mechanisms. But, although in its fundamental form patriotism is genuine, it may have negative consequences when beliefs of specific contents are added. (Bar-Tal, 1993: 45)

Bar-Tal further explains that ‘patriotism is one of the most important foundations in the life of a group or a nation,’ (Bar-Tal, 1993: 45). And, Bader describes how ‘the psychological needs that drive patriotic fervor are universal. People will always need to be connected and secure,’ (Bar-Tal, 1993: 4; Bader, 2007: 44). These perspectives offer insight, but suggest an obedient naiveté on the part of the patriotic. There are, in fact two types of patriotism, as described by Westheimer: authoritarian patriotism, which relies on this naiveté, requiring ‘unquestioning loyalty to a cause determined by a centralized leader or leading group,’ (Westheimer, 2007: 173-4); and democratic patriotism, which Howard Zinn describes as ‘being true and loyal – not to the government, but to the principles which underlie democracy,’ (Westheimer, 2007: 176). Patriotism does not necessarily mean blindly following one’s flag in the interests of belonging.

When discussed by schoolchildren, however, Patriotism has very little to do with social theory and psychology. As Jensen explains, ‘patriotism is as much about feeling as it is about logic or evidence,’ (Jensen, 2007: 82). The American colonists who were resisting British rule were referred to historically as *Patriots*, and this association, along with cultural encouragement children (and adults) receive to be proud of their country, have led many the participants to have very strong senses of their own patriotism, and a great deal of pride in their American identities. When ‘Patriotism’ is discussed in this thesis, it is often with regard to the *feelings of pride* that the participants experience and described to me.

Americans

In this thesis, ‘Americans’ are very broadly defined as people who consider themselves to be American and who live, or have lived, in the United States of America. This includes Citizens of the United States of America, and anyone who lives in the United States or its territories and identifies as ‘American.’

Citizenship in the United States is a contentious issue, and the definition here is particularly liberal. Technically, a citizen of the United State is born a citizen if he or she is born geographically within the United States of America, or (if he or she is born outside the United States) born to a parent who was a citizen at the time of birth. A person can become a US Citizen after birth by applying for citizenship through his or her parents, or applying for naturalization, (USCIS, 2013).

The United States Government, specifically the Department of US Citizenship and Immigration Services, claims ‘a long history of welcoming immigrants from all parts of the world,’ and to ‘value the contributions of immigrants who continue to enrich this country and preserve its legacy as a land of freedom and opportunity,’ (USCIS, 2013). However, feelings about access to citizenship are divided throughout American culture and differ across regions, political affiliations, and personal experiences; American citizenship ‘has its own history of exclusions and inclusions, in which xenophobia, racism, religious bigotry, and fear of alien conspiracies have played their part,’ (Shklar, 1991: 5).

For the purposes of this research, the assignment of who is an American is left open to individual interpretation, but can only be decided by a person in question. If a person thinks of him- or herself as American, he or she is included in this definition of

Americans. Therefore, the term ‘American’ can refer to anyone born in the United States, anyone born abroad to parents who are citizens of the United States, anyone having achieved residential or naturalized status, and anyone who illegally resides in the United States but identifies as American; if a person feels that he or she is an American, this thesis recognizes him or her as one.

Mohawk Indians

In the teaching of American History, and in the memories, descriptions, and accounts of the participants, the colonists who dumped the tea overboard during the Boston Tea Party are described as having been disguised as ‘Mohawk Indians.’ The term is problematic, as it is colonial in nature. As Sarah Shear writes, ‘Identifiers using the word ‘Indian’ are linked inextricably to Columbus and the European invasion of the Americas, but it is not uncommon to still see the name ‘Indian’ used by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Peoples in the United States and Canada,’ (Shear, et al, 2015: 70-1).

The image of the Native American, as appropriated by dominant American culture, has been used throughout American history for a number of purposes; the use of this disguise in the Boston Tea Party was not original. Alfred Young explains that American Indian imagery was used as a symbol of resistance to British rule: ‘in agrarian protests, the Indian disguise predated the tea party and continued after the Revolution,’ (Young, 1999: 183). Likewise, Loewen writes,

For a hundred years after our Revolution, Americans credited Native Americans as a source of their democratic institutions. Revolutionary-era cartoonists used images of American Indians to represent the colonies against Britain. Virginia’s patriot rifle companies wore Indian clothes and moccasins as they fought the redcoats. When colonists took action to oppose unjust authority, as in the Boston Tea Party or the antirent protests against Dutch plantations in the Hudson River valley during the 1840s, they chose to dress as American Indians, not to blame Indians for the demonstrations but to appropriate a symbol identified with liberty. (Loewen, 2007: 111)

With the protesting colonists having been described in this way for hundreds of years, the habit of political incorrectness is evidently not easily broken by educators or learners, or in American memory.

Field-trip

To avoid confusion, a field-trip is simply a trip that a school class takes to a site outside of their school.

‘The school field trip has a long history in American public education. For decades, students have piled into yellow buses to visit a variety of cultural institutions, including art, natural history, and science museums, as well as theaters, zoos, and historical sites,’ (Greene, Kisida, & Bowen, 2014: 79).

In this thesis, the term field-trip is used when discussing the benefits of museum visits and museum education, but will most often be used when referring to the field-trip the participants took to the Old South Meeting House.

Participants

The term ‘participants’ will refer to students who received parental consent, consented personally to involvement in the research, and responded to questions asked during any of the five fieldwork sessions.

Description of Coding

In addition to these definitions, the formats used when citing data also warrant explanation. When responses to questions from the pre- and post-visit questionnaires are noted, they will be followed by the question number (q#) and participant’s number (p#), separated by a period. The numbers identifying the questions on the pre-visit questionnaire are preceded in citations by the letters ‘qp’ and, on the post-questionnaire, by the letter ‘q.’ The participants in the Pilot Session have the letters ‘pp’ preceding their numbers when their answers are cited, and the numbers identifying participants in all other sessions are preceded by the letter ‘p.’ For example, participant

37's answer to the fifth question on the pre-visit questionnaire would be cited as qp05.p037. Likewise, participant four from the pilot session's answer to the seventh question on the post-visit questionnaire would be cited as q07.pp04. When references to responses given during the verbal group interview are made, the session in which the comment was made is identified (pS, S1, S2, S3 or S4), followed by the time stamp found in the transcription.

Some of these terms appear more frequently than others, and in varying combinations. Overall, these definitions should serve to elucidate meanings of these terms, as well as my approach to the literature and data found in the subsequent chapters.

1.4 Introduction to Chapters

This thesis is organized in a narrative structure, and divided into eight chapters. Chapter 1, 'Introductions,' has hopefully prepared the reader for the chapters ahead by presenting the primary research questions, briefly introducing the methodology that will be considered further in Chapter 5, defining some important terminology, and introducing the rest of the thesis.

Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the underlying theoretical and cultural foundations from which this research has drawn, and upon which it is built. Chapter 2, 'Learning through Museums and Museum Theater,' explores existing research in experience-based learning, focusing on uses of sense learning and emotional learning as educational tools. It goes on to discuss how these tools are employed in museum settings, and the necessity of feelings of safety on the part of the visitors if learning is to be achieved. Lastly, Chapter 2 considers how visitors learn through Museum Theater by investigating theater as an educational medium, and discussing various types of museum theater, especially reenactment.

Chapter 3, 'Memory, Myth, & History,' begins by exploring the natures and interconnectedness of memory and public memory; myth; and history. These fields are at times independent, but in the study of American Revolutionary History, educational material can fall into more than one of these categories. Chapter 3 concludes with an overview of the history of the Boston Tea Party, noting details that will be relevant when looking at the participating students' understandings of the historical event, but

that might not be common knowledge for non-American readers. Chapter 4, 'Mythologized Histories,' continues this avenue of inquiry, considering various mythologized versions of American Revolutionary history that can be accessed by pre-adolescent American students in school textbooks, in children's storybooks, and in children's cultural media. Additionally, the nature of the mythology surrounding the American Revolution is more fully explored.

Having discussed the theoretical and historical underpinnings of this research Chapter 5, considers 'Methodology.' Firstly, the aims and objectives of the research are reviewed. The theoretical underpinnings of the research methods – including discussions on qualitative research, grounded theory, interpretivism, individual constructivism, social constructivism, and relativism – are presented. Next, issues such as the potential for bias on the part of the researcher, and the ethical and practical difficulties encountered when working with children are addressed. Thirdly, this chapter describes the practical methodology designed for this thesis, going into greater detail regarding the reenactment exercise that the participants encountered, as well as the methods for participant selection and the ensuring of responsible ethical practices. An introduction to the school-groups that participated in the research is also offered. Chapter 5 closes with an overview of the methods used to generate data from the participants, and the methods used in data analysis.

Chapter 6, 'Exploration of Language-Oriented Data,' presents phenomenographically analysed verbal and written responses from the participants, organized thematically. The first category of analysis deals with participants' experiences as students, as visitors, and with reenactment, with special attention paid to the social aspects of their reenactment experiences. The second category explores the stories about which the participants remember learning, highlighting instances of historical recall mixed with mythological applications, and examining the tendency of the participants to mix all opponents of American Independence together, referring to them as 'the British.' Responses indicating strong feelings of patriotic attachment to American Revolutionary History, as well as empathetic engagement are also discussed.

Chapter 7 is the 'Exploration of Visual Data.' The analysis of the participants' drawings – in which they depicted British Regulars, protesting colonists, nervous spectators, and images of the tea being destroyed – is presented. Throughout verbal, written, and drawn responses, many participants displayed a dual system of

understanding American Revolutionary history, consisting of aspects of both history and mythology; this phenomenon is also explored.

Finally, Chapter 8 offers ‘Conclusions.’ This chapter revisits the Research Questions, explores the usefulness of the employed literature, and discusses the effectiveness of the research methods. Lastly, it explains the role of this thesis in its contribution to wider discussions on Museum Education and Museum Theater, as well as suggesting avenues for future research.

Chapter 2

Learning Through Museums and Museum Theater

This chapter introduces approaches to Museum Education, specifically in terms of how Museum Theater can be used in the transfer of information through emotional and empathetic connections between museums and their visitors. The chapter argues that by exploring different teaching styles, in general and in museums, as well as the ways that museums can try to reach people on emotional levels, we can understand how theatrical applications in museums can be effective and powerful teaching tools.

Firstly, this chapter will explore experience-based learning – learning that takes place as a result of museum experiences³. In museums, visitors can interact with things, people, and subjects that may be unavailable in traditional educational environments. Most often, they have the opportunity to see unusual and rare items, but in some instances they can also touch, feel, smell, listen to, and (less usually) taste things that are unfamiliar. The engagement of physical senses makes experiences more significant. Likewise, when museums can engage the senses, including emotions, the potential of having a memorable learning experience is heightened [Falk & Dierking, 2000: 113; Jensen, 1994: 110; Hein, 1998: 147; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 175; Pekarik, et al, 1999: 158; Boal, 1985; Courtney, 1995; Watson, 2007]. Also of importance are the factors that contribute to whether or not a visitor feels safe enough in a museum space to allow him- or herself to experience physical and emotional reactions; if not, a visitor may prevent a connection from taking place, which makes learning far less likely. Many museums facilitate discovery and understanding, and create appropriate means of doing so; as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill has pointed out, ‘learning does not only involve the intellect, it involves the emotions and the body as well; it is both tacit (felt) and verbal,’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 9). For learning to be most effective, it should appeal to both the emotions and the intellect, and should do so in creative ways that appeal to a variety of senses and learning styles. Emotional learning in museums can be achieved through emotional connections that are either created through the use of external sensory stimuli (making emotion as much a reaction to sensory stimuli as physical sensation) or through the use of empathy.

³ Experience-based learning, as used here, is distinct from Experiential Learning, as researched and explored by David Kolb (Kolb, 2015).

Secondly, this chapter considers the ways in which learning in museums differs from other types of education. Howard Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences will be considered, in order to see how museums can appeal to different types of learners, and how a visitor's background can influence what is absorbed.

Lastly, Museum Theater will be examined and defined. The use of theatre in museums, the various forms it can take, and examples of its presentations will be surveyed. In order to fully understand the medium, aspects of Theater Education will be introduced, and a comparison drawn between Theater Education and Museum Education. Ultimately, these two fields are quite similar, making Museum Theater a natural step in the evolution of both disciplines. The chapter concludes with an exploration of Reenactment, as it is the specific form of Museum Theater that this research project investigates.

2.1 Experience-based Learning

The immersive nature of museum education necessitates considering biological and environmental influences on learning. Visitors are placed in a space that has been designed to affect them, and the ways in which the body responds – physically and emotionally – will determine how they incorporate their experience at the museum into their bodies of knowledge. Any learning that occurs grows out of the experiences visitors have, which are triggered and influenced by the environments and materials they encounter.

In museums, learning involves an attention to *feeling* – tactile and/or emotional – to which other educational institutions might not appeal. Feeling objects physically can impact the ways in which a visitor remembers objects. Likewise, being made to feel an emotional reaction in a museum can have an impact on the meaning-making process; by creating a personal, emotional bond between a visitor and a subject, the chances of the visitor becoming personally engaged or invested in the material, and thereby incorporating it into his or her body of knowledge, increases. It can be beneficial to consider emotional reactions as sensory reactions, as they are triggered by relevant stimuli in the same way that smells, sights, tastes, and sounds are used to recall memories. It is useful to examine the different ways in which the senses and emotional reactions have been, and are, interpreted by educators and intellectuals. By

understanding the ways physical senses are interpreted, we can better understand how emotional reactions can be useful in museum education.

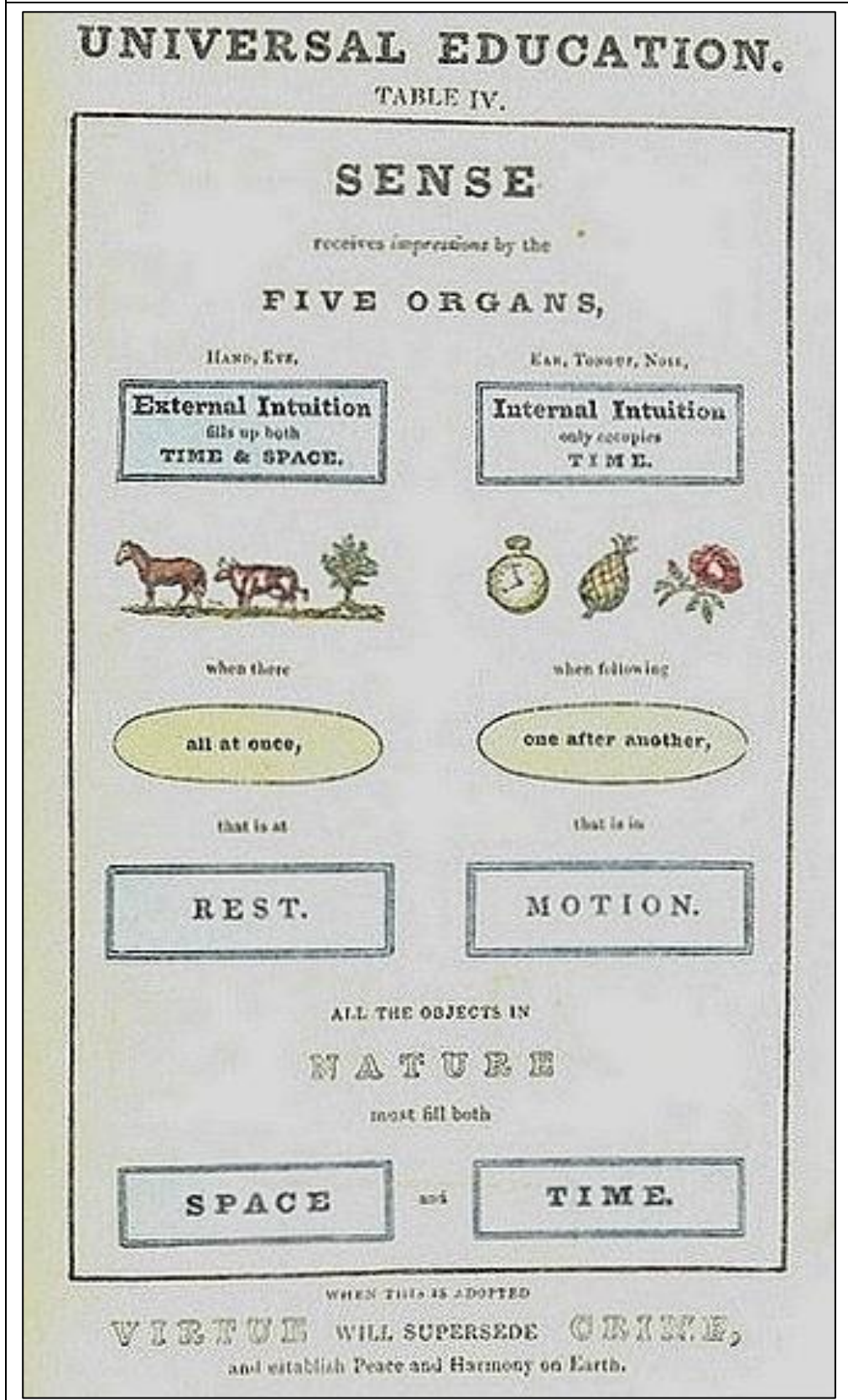
2.1.1. Sense Learning

Creating simple definitions and categorizations of human senses is complicated. In Western Society, children are taught that there are five senses: sight, hearing, smell, taste, and touch; socializing and educational tools like children's television spend extensive time focusing on the *Five Senses*. However, other cultures and societies interpret and define the senses differently. Constance Classen explains that 'in the West we are accustomed to thinking of perception as a physical rather than cultural act. The five senses simply gather data about the world. Yet even our time-honoured notion of there being five senses is itself a cultural construction,' (Classen, 1993: 1-2). This ordering of the senses has a longstanding tradition, dating back to antiquity. Classen points to Aristotle as one of the first philosophers to number the senses at five, although his reason for this was to have the number of senses match the number of elements, which include earth, air, fire, water, and the intangible 'ether' (Classen, 1993: 2). Other authors have also explained the West's ordering of the senses. Notably, Susan Stewart has also observed the importance of Aristotle, writing that, in Western Society:

The senses have been ranked in relation to their degree of immediacy – taste and touch, in direct contact with the world, are lowest, followed by smell, which forms a kind of mean distance to sight and hearing, which operate across distance and yet can be remembered at will. Hearing and sight, because of their link with philosophical contemplation and abstraction, hold the leading place... For Aristotle touch (and thereby taste) was found in all animals and so became the lowliest sense. (Stewart, 1999: 21)

Additionally, in Aristotle's words, 'no sense is found apart from that of touch, while touch *is* found by itself; many animals have neither sight, hearing, nor smell,' making them less sophisticated creatures, as they have less access to sophisticated senses. (Aristotle, 2004: 34, 38).

Figure 1: Thomas Wirgman, 1838 (from *Grammar of the Five Senses; Being the First Step to Infant Education*)



This ordering was misplaced during the Middle Ages, as philosophy took a back seat to the teachings of the Catholic Church. But, after the Renaissance unearthed the ideas of Classical Antiquity, philosophers once again began to consider the roles of the senses. As Enlightenment intellectuals tackled the subject, they tended to build on previous orderings, and to try to define how people lived with senses. For these Enlightenment philosophers, the idea of the *Five Senses* was solidly established as fact. Classen writes that ‘Descartes, who regarded sensory experience as deceptive, sought to establish a division between the world of the mind and the world of the senses... John Locke, on the other hand, held that all ideas enter the mind through sensory experience,’ (Classen, 1993: 4).

These philosophers and scientists, approaching sensory perception in 17th century, knew that other cultures had different approaches to the senses. Dominant Western perceptions, which considered European society as intellectually superior, and therefore more advanced, looked down on cultures and peoples who put more emphasis on the value of touch and physical sensation. Classen further explains that, ‘when Europeans imagined non-Westerners to be more sensuous than themselves, the senses they particularly had in mind were the so-called lower senses of smell, taste, and touch. According to Western sensory symbolism, sight was the highest of the senses and the one most closely associated with reason. As ‘lower’ senses, smell, taste and touch were associated with the body, and with those peoples imagined to live a life of the body, rather than a life of the mind,’ (Classen & Howes, 2006: 204). While Western academics were quick to criticize other societies and seek to dominate them intellectually, the movement towards such domination was driven by imperialism and colonization [Anderson, 1983; Golding, 2010; Said, 2003]. Many artefacts that are seen in Western museums are results of this domination, as ‘collecting is a form of conquest and collected artifacts are material signs of victory over their former owners and places of origin,’ (Classen & Howes, 2006: 209). Because of the technological advantages that allowed some societies to colonize, colonizers believed that their prowess indicated a superiority over the colonized; because they were physically capable of overpowering another society, they believed themselves to be more advanced (and therefore correct) in all aspects of human existence, which included how to react to sensory stimuli [Said, 2003; Anderson, 1983; Classen & Howes, 2006]. This imperialism and appropriation of material culture negatively impacted the chances of Western audiences being able to interpret items as they were meant to be interpreted. Objects that were meant to be held,

smelled, felt, and listened to would be presented behind glass, completely out of context. While these displays solidify feelings of superiority for the dominant culture, the tactile aspects of an artefact are be forgotten, or used as evidence of the inferiority of the culture of origin.

In an effort to move away from colonial interpretations of objects and artefacts, and to find more culturally inclusive and appropriate ways to present items and concepts, there have been some efforts to incorporate other physical senses into the learning experiences in museums. In museum programs where the environment can be controlled and the safety of the objects can be ensured, visitors can interact with objects, using their personal, physical experience with the object to help create meaning and gain understanding. While most museums still emphasize the visual aspect of learning, some 'exhibitions have come to envelop the visitor in visual, tactile, aural, and, increasingly, olfactory sensation,' (Falk & Dierking, 2000: 127). Being able to interpret artefacts through various sensory approaches allows visitors to get a better impression of the objects as wholes. Classen explains that there is an extensive amount of sensory perception contained in every object one can find in a museum:

Every artifact embodies a particular sensory mix. It does so in terms of its production (given the particular sensory skills and values that go into its making), its circulation (given the way its properties appear to the senses and so constitute it as an object of desire or aversion), and its consumption (which is conditioned by the meanings and uses people perceive in it according to the sensory order of their culture or subculture). (Classen & Howes, 2006: 200)

Educators have the ability to identify many different sensory pathways and experiences, and can choose how best to use these avenues to reach different kinds of learners, including participatory forms of engagement that trigger emotional responses. Classen has discussed scientific studies in which relationships between emotions and senses have been discovered: 'the colour red is stimulating, while pink has a calming effect, the smell of peppermint helps us to concentrate, and so on,' (Classen, 1993: 5). Susan Stewart has also looked at this topic, finding that 'of all the senses, touch is most linked to emotion and feeling,' (Stewart, 1999: 31). Touch can be an important bridge to

understanding; prior to the return of sight as the principal sense in Western thought during the Renaissance, touch ‘was generally believed to provide a necessary supplement to sight, which sense was understood to be limited to surface appearances... Touch, furthermore, was believed to have access to interior truths of which sight was unaware,’ (Classen & Howes, 2006: 202). In many museums, touching is usually not an option, which limits the visitor’s ability to engage fully with artefacts.

In limiting the senses that visitors are allowed to use in experiencing objects, museums limit the range of emotions that a visitor can access. If the only things that a visitor can experience are initiated by visual stimuli, experiences that could be provoked through other stimuli – such as auditory, olfactory, or (for the purposes of this thesis) participatory stimuli – are overlooked and ignored. In order to increase the chances that a visitor will be motivated to connect with museum material, the museum should be willing to take advantage of any pathways to learning that exist, including those that traverse the senses.

2.1.2 Empathy and Emotional Learning

Just as museums have exhibited different attitudes towards sensory experiences over time, they have experienced different attitudes towards emotional engagement and behaviour. Museums have traditionally been behaviourally restrictive sites, and many museums throughout the world still are; visitors can be instructed ‘not to touch, not to eat, not to speak loudly, or in any way to assert an intrusive multisensorial presence,’ (Classen & Howes, 2006: 208). In essence, visitors should be neither seen nor heard by other visitors or by museum staff. Visitors must behave exactly as expected or risk being removed from the space, or (in some minds) worse: deemed socially incompetent by peers or museum staff. The apprehensive approach that must be taken towards exhibits when one is expected to behave in a constricted manner prevents most forms of outward emotional reaction. In an effort to avoid displaying emotion, visitors will automatically mute their emotional reactions, preventing potential, accidental emotional displays. This can impede learning by prohibiting personal connections.

Emotional connections in museums are important because they assist visitors in making meaning out of their experiences; this is widely acknowledged as an extremely important component of visitor learning [Falk & Dierking, 2000: 113; Jenson, 1994: 110; Hein, 1998: 147]. Often, visitors will try to make meaning out of museum exhibits

by finding ways in which the subject matter relates to their own lives. If a museum can draw attention to aspects of educational material that will resonate personally with individual visitors, this can help visitors in their meaning-making processes, and facilitate an exchange of impressions and information.

Emotional reactions and learning experiences in museums obviously take place in public, but they are often very personal experiences to which visitors can assign deep personal meaning. As Eileen Hooper-Greenhill explains, ‘emotions are personal; they are our way of claiming something as our own.’ Likewise, if a museum fails to make a connection with the visitor, the result is ‘an involvement without emotion...distant, unengaged, essentially *uninvolved*,’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 175). By providing different kinds of sensory stimuli, museums can enhance immersion in thoughts of different times and places, can recall memories of people, places, things, and feelings, and can reach visitors in a way that is incredibly personal. But, immense as these experiences can be, they are very private, and visitors can be very guarded and protective of them. These periods of deep, thoughtful reflection are what Andrew Pekarik, Zahava Doering, and David Karns call ‘Introspective Experiences’. As they explain, ‘introspective experiences are those in which the individual turns inward, to feelings and experiences that are essentially private, usually triggered by an object or a setting in the museum,’ (Pekarik, et al, 1999: 158). These deep emotional connections can be triggered rather easily.

If a visitor is allowed to physically touch an artefact, a link is created, even if the visitor is unaware of it. If the visitor becomes aware of it, the visitor can choose to allow the connection to deepen (Stewart, 1999: 32). Visitors do not actually have to handle artefacts to experience connections; often, being in the presence of an object can inspire reminiscence or emotional engagement. As long as an exhibit can make a visitor think about the subject matter in a personal way – which is easiest done by reminding visitors of their own lives – an exchange occurs. Memory has immense power to invoke emotional engagement. Though a museum does run the risk of bringing up negative or undesirable memories, the benefits memories yield in terms of personal engagement can be worth the risk.

Sheila Watson looks at how objects can interact with memory:

Objects, speeches and images in museums can evoke emotions connected to events in the past, and the original emotions, once

generated may be substituted for others or imitated. (Watson, 2010: 205-6)

Watson goes on to explain that emotions can be replicated in museums. These replications are based on memories of emotions from other times. However, because events in the past inspired the original emotions, and these events are not taking place again inside the museum, what the visitor experiences is a memory of how he or she felt when the events took place, not the original emotion. Rather than creating an inauthentic experience, this allows visitors to relate to the exhibit in a way they find familiar, (Watson, 2010; 206). Even if the memories involve fear or uncomfortable feelings, the visitor knows he or she is in a controlled space, which makes these remembered emotions easier to negotiate and safe to experience while inside the museum.

Determining the most effective ways to build emotional connections can be challenging, but there are many ways in which a museum can approach the construction. As discussed in the previous section, sensory stimuli can be used to help a visitor interpret collections, but unless the stimuli can trigger an emotional response, either through empathy or memory, the stimuli can be ineffective; a visitor may notice a sensation but, having no personal reaction to it, moves on. If a visitor's personal past does not include experiences that can be used to create an emotional connection, museums must rely on the visitor's capacity to empathize with the material. De Groot writes that visitors desire 'a physical linkage between themselves and the past,' and argues that 'location emphasizes empathy,' (de Groot, 2009: 112). Connections to the past can be empathetically created by being in the same physical spaces that historical figures occupied; visitors can find connections to objects and people from other times and places by imagining themselves in the past. Historical objects can also create empathetic connections to other times and places. As Golding explains, 'objects like language move with people across time and space, and the meanings humans attach to things shift all the while,' (Golding, 2010: 227). Coming into contact with an object from the past may encourage speculation about previous uses for familiar objects, and modern expectations might fall away as a visitor imagines outdated purposes. In this way, an object that might at first have created a feeling of familiarity because of how it feels, looks, smells, etc., can reach a visitor on a deeper level. When external senses are stimulated, visitor reaction is based on one's own past and interpretation of sensation;

when empathy is engaged, a visitor is asked to suspend reality and imagine him- or herself in someone else's emotional situation. Emotional responses triggered by empathetic imagination create ports of familiarity that allow visitors to become personally engaged in a display. And, because of the intangible nature of empathetic stimuli, this approach applies to stories about the past as well as objects (de Groot, 2009; Golding, 2010).

2.2 Learning in Museums

Fundamentally, museums are educational institutions that are immersive, allowing visitors to find themselves inside of something that has been created to foster appreciation and education. Most museums – regardless of subject matter – strive to present visitors with an experience that is provocative and thought inspiring. Traditional forms of education, as found in classrooms and schools, also seek to encourage students to find inspiration in coursework. But the novelty of a museum visit can stimulate an excitement for subjects that textbooks and chalkboards might not. Children on field-trips have the opportunity to spend their time differently than they normally do in a classroom, and that difference alone can make a school museum more interesting. Children on field-trips to museums may notice that they have a greater degree of freedom to move around a space at the museum more than they would in school; they may be able to personally view and handle objects that they would only be able to read or hear about, or see in textbooks in school; they may get a chance to leave with something along the lines of a dinosaur-shaped eraser that can function as an eraser, or as a tangible personal artefact, reminding them of their visits and the things they did at the museum. But, in addition to these differences in atmosphere and opportunity, museums can also often make use of diverse teaching styles that allow visitors to approach subject matter in individualized ways, improving the chances that students with different capabilities and inclinations – students for whom classroom education might be less effective – find ways to relate to the material.

Howard Gardner has suggested that the type of education that takes place in schools is not appropriate for all learners, explaining that ‘not all people have the same interests and abilities; not all of us learn in the same way’ (Gardner, 1993: 10). In order to further explore the differences people experience and demonstrate in the ways they learn, Gardner developed the Theory of Multiple Intelligences, which he describes as ‘a

pluralistic view of mind, recognizing many different and discrete facets of cognition, acknowledging that people have different cognitive strengths and contrasting cognitive styles,' (Gardner, 1993: 6). Gardner initially proposed seven different types of intelligence, of which a person can possess differing combinations and varying levels, including:

- Linguistic Intelligence, found in those demonstrating a prowess in the realm of language,
- Logical-Mathematical Intelligence, evidenced by 'logical and mathematical ability, as well as scientific ability,'
- Spatial Intelligence, found in those with 'the ability to form a mental model of a spatial world and to be able to maneuver and operate using that model,'
- Musical Intelligence, seen when people display innate understandings of musical creation and expression,
- Bodily-Kinesthetic Intelligence, when 'the ability to solve problems or to fashion products using one's whole body, or parts of the body,'
- Interpersonal Intelligence: 'the ability to understand other people: what motivates them, how they work, how to work cooperatively with them,' and
- Intrapersonal Intelligence: 'a capacity to form an accurate, veridical model of oneself and to be able to use that model to operate effectively in life,' (Gardner, 1993: 8-9).

Gardner's Intelligences are relevant to this study on the uses of Museum Theater, as Museum Theater can incorporate elements that apply to a number (if not all) of Gardner's Intelligences. Gardner states that 'all seven of the intelligences have equal claim to priority,' but criticizes the way that education is approached in schools, explaining that, 'in our society...we have put linguistic and logical-mathematical intelligences, figuratively speaking, on a pedestal,' as the development of these two intelligences monopolize the focus of much curriculum in school settings (Gardner, 1993: 8). Since Gardner originally proposed his theory in 1983, it has continued to evolve, and has expanded to include an eighth intelligence (Naturalist Intelligence, when people demonstrate a 'sensitivity to the factors influencing, and influenced by, organisms (fauna and flora) in the natural environment,') and a speculative ninth intelligence (Spiritual/existential Intelligence, demonstrated by a 'sensitivity to issues related to the meaning of life, death, and other aspects of the human condition,')

(Shaffer, 2006: 307). At the time of this writing, this list of Gardner's Intelligences is complete, but its continued evolution and expansion is probable; Gardner believes that, 'it is of the utmost importance that we recognize and nurture all of the varied human intelligences, and all of the combinations of intelligences,' (Gardner, 1993: 12).

In terms of exploring ways of approaching different types of learners, museums have a creative advantage over traditional, classroom-centric educational models. Museum educators often have the flexibility to appeal to those demonstrating different forms of intellectual strengths, especially when museum educators can identify learning preferences and present a variety of activities that allow each visitor to choose lessons most suited to him or her. John Falk and Lynn Dierking have extensively studied visitor behaviour and learning, and agree that 'recognizing learning styles can enhance the museum professional's ability to understand and respond to the visitor's personal context,' (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 103). While schools emphasize fact based and logical education, often focusing on curriculum requirements and testing standards rather than individual learning, museums have the opportunity to branch out from this form of education. Eileen Hooper-Greenhill points out that, 'when we talk about learning, and particularly learning in museums, we are not talking about learning facts only. Learning includes facts, but also experiences and the emotions. It requires individual effort, but is also a social experience,' (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994: 21). This approach towards teaching in museums immediately has the potential to appeal to, not just the Linguistic and Logical-Mathematical intelligences to which a school would cater, but also the Interpersonal and Intrapersonal intelligences. If the museum happens to be a Natural History museum, an educator can incorporate Natural and Spiritual/Existential intelligences. If the visit features the handling of objects, the educator can integrate the Bodily-Kinesthetic intelligence. Musical objects allow an educator to address Musical intelligence, and museum scavenger hunts can address Spatial intelligence. By being able to offer students options other than those found in a classroom, museum educators have the opportunity to create meaningful connections with a greater number of students.

While the ways in which adolescent students learn from a specific type of museum education engagement is ultimately the focus of this thesis, it is also worth considering the ways in which adult visitors experience museum programming. Adults demonstrate the same multiplicities of intelligence found in younger visitors, but they experience visits differently from children, and (like younger visitors) differently from

each other. Adults have the ability to process more complex factual and emotional information, and have a greater range of lived experiences from which to draw and relate to educational material. In addition, visitors will have personal reasons for wanting to visit a museum, which have been shown to influence the experiences they have; Falk has observed that ‘peoples’ motivations for visiting a museum appear to directly influence their in-museum learning,’ (Falk, 2006: 153). This is due, in part, to the fact that each adult who enters a museum carries a unique history and set of past experiences. In essence, each person is a product of every experience he or she has ever had; no two visitors – or people, in general – will ever be the same. Falk and Dierking refer to this as a visitor’s ‘personal context’:

At the heart of every visitor’s preconceptions and expectations is her personal context – her personal reservoir of knowledge, attitudes, and experience, influenced by expectations concerning the physical characteristics of the museum, what she will find there, what she can do there, and who is accompanying her on this visit. All these factors merge to create an agenda for the visit. Evidence suggests that this agenda is important in determining the nature of a visitor’s museum experience. (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 25)

Sheila Watson agrees, explaining that, even if visitors proceed exactly as museum designers have suggested, the result might not be what the designers anticipated, as visitor ‘responses will be dependent on a range of different individual interpretive practices, past experiences, historical knowledge, and backgrounds and their feelings and situation on the day,’ (Watson, 2010: 220). In other words, in order to learn at a museum, a visitor must be looking to learn, or looking for some kind of connection or experience that, when achieved, results in a new experience that can be described as have been a *learning experience*. In this way, it is the responsibility of the museum to motivate a visitor to seek meaningful experiences, but it is the visitor’s job to be willing to connect. There are other factors that influence how reachable a visitor is, such as what Falk and Dierking call the sociocultural context (the meaning given to a museum visit by a visitor’s peers or by the museum) and the physical context (the influences that the visitor’s pre-conceived expectations, the museum’s attitude and approach to the

visitor, the design of the museum, and the place of the museum in society have on the visitor's visit) (Falk & Dierking, 2000: 136-7). But, regardless of the hurdles, a connection of some kind must be made between the museum and the visitor, and something must be transferred. As George Hein writes, 'there can be no learning (or meaning making) if there's been no interaction,' (Hein, 1998: 136). In the case of museum learning, it is the responsibility of both the museum and the visitor to establish an experience that leads to learning, including instances where Museum Theater is used to create the relationship.

2.2.1 Feeling Safely

In order to share the responsibility of creating a learning experience, and to encourage as much emotional involvement as possible, a museum should be doing everything it can to ensure that it is easy for a visitor to participate in making a connection. This can be a scary thing for a visitor to consider allowing; it invariably involves the potential of personal connection, which can leave a visitor feeling emotionally vulnerable. Ensuring emotional safety is crucial, and in order for a visitor to be able to engage emotionally, he or she has to feel safe enough to do so. This is especially important in Museum Theater because a visitor is observing a human being in a situation or set of circumstances that may be uncomfortable; the *realness* of the performance cannot be so real as to cause excessive or gratuitous alarm or distress [Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005; Jackson, 2000; Jackson & Kidd, 2008]. There are a variety of factors that contribute to feelings of safety and security; these can be dictated by the approach of the museum, the willingness of the visitor, and the social situation.

Institutional Comfort

In *A Social History of Museums*, Kenneth Hudson recounts the story of William Hutton, a bookseller from Birmingham who, in 1784, managed to get a ticket to visit the British Museum. In Hutton's words:

We assembled on the spot, about ten in number, all strangers to me, perhaps to each other. We began to move pretty fast, when I asked with some surprise, whether there were none to inform us

what the curiosities were as we went on? A tall genteel young man, *in person*, who seemed to be our conductor, replied with some warmth, ‘What! Would you have me tell you everything in the Museum? How is it possible? Besides, are not the names written upon many of them?’ I was much too humbled by this reply to utter another word. (Hudson, 1975: 8)

This example is over 200 years old, but there are still museums (and museum employees) that feel that, as the keepers of cultural artefacts, it is acceptable to be condescending and withholding, which can create an impression of inferiority on the part of the visitors. Hudson explains that, ‘the original rules and regulations of the British Museum seem to have been expressly calculated to keep the general public out and to make sure that the few who did eventually make the tour got as little pleasure and profit from it as possible,’ (Hudson, 1975: 9). Unfortunately, it is a feeling that can still be transmitted by institutions.

Falk and Dierking have explored the ‘subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, messages museums convey to the public in their physical and social contexts,’ and the ways in which museums can ‘convey an aura of colonialism and elitism,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 85-6). Of the members of the public they interviewed, Falk and Dierking found that ‘the population that did not visit museums...perceived museums as environments that restricted activity and were socially and physically uncomfortable. Museums were described by this group as formal, formidable places that were physically or socially inaccessible to them,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 18). This is something that museums should make every effort to avoid. There is no excuse for exclusivity, especially when it is so easy for museum educators and staff to make positive contacts with the visitors. ‘Museum professionals have a tremendous impact on the quality of the museum experience. Personal interaction increases the likelihood that a museum experience will be memorable. A staff person can, and should, attempt to personalize the experience for each visitor,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 157).

Physical Comfort

Museums can and should do a great deal to make visitors feel physically comfortable. As George Hein explains:

Visitor comfort is an important prerequisite for visitor learning in museums. Comfort covers a wide range of factors from simple physical comfort (Are there places to rest, convenient facilities, and soft floors on which to walk?), to psychological conditions, such as the discomfort humans experience when they face away from open spaces, as they often do in museums. (Hein, 1998: 137)

Aside from the hospitality aspects of ensuring visitors' physical comfort, it is important to make sure that the visitor feels welcome – that visitors know someone was thinking of them when designing and implementing the museum space. This contributes to the visitor's feeling that he or she can be at ease and participate. A positive learning environment is encouraged by everything from the availability of clean restrooms and gallery seating to the size of the text on exhibit labels.

In *Museums: Places of Learning*, Hein and Mary Alexander explore different physical aspects of museums. They describe how 'light levels, wall colors, placement of exits and entrances, noise, crowds, visitor traffic flow – all influence visitor perceptions and their comfort,' (Hein & Alexander, 1998: 11). People are more likely to feel relaxed in areas that are less busy, and when they know they can leave whenever they want. Hein and Alexander further explore how 'both science and art museums have found that secluded areas where visitors have a chance to interact with materials attract visitors and encourage them to spend unusually long time periods engaging in personal inquiries,' (Hein & Alexander, 1998: 17). These smaller display areas appeal to people because they offer a feeling of safety and control. In these 'secluded areas,' visitors find a semi-private place, where they can see who comes and goes, and can have the objects and activities all to themselves for a short period of time, and do not have to worry about how they may appear to other visitors or staff.

Social Comfort

There is safety in numbers, even in museums, and the other people filling a visitor's ranks can impact the experience a visitor has. Falk and Dierking have found that 'most visitors come to museums as part of a social group, which plays a major role

in shaping their agendas,' (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 35). Whether the social group is a family, a school group, or a group of friends, the individual experiences of the people on the visit are affected by the mixture of the group. The willingness to interact with the museum can either be heightened or diminished by the combinations of personalities.

With adult visitors, it can be challenging to incite interaction, especially if it involves visitors being singled out in situations where one might be made to feel as though they look silly or stupid. Adults visiting a museum with friends can find it easier to get over feelings of self-consciousness caused by public interactivity once they realize that they will not be looked down upon by their companions for doing so; they can be especially willing if interacting might give them the opportunity to look smart or demonstrate knowledge or expertise. Hein has explored the idea that 'adults often learn most effectively in groups that they join by choice, groups characterized by discussion, interaction, and collaboration, and in which participants both receive and provide academic and social support. Such groups value the individual; at the same time they require that the learner communicate and reflect within the group,' (Hein, 1998: 173-4). The element of safety that the group creates fosters emotional connections. Falk and Dierking have also found that 'humans are highly motivated to learn when they are in supporting environments; when they are engaged in meaningful activities; when they are freed from anxiety, fear, and other negative mental states; when they have choices and control over their learning; and when the challenges of the task meet their skills,' (Falk & Dierking, 2000: 32). These are all things that museums can provide, and that the presence of supporting social networks can help to enhance.

One of the reasons that school-groups often have successful learning outcomes at museums is because visiting classes are groups of young people who are used to learning around each other. Students are not thrown-off by the museum's invitations to interact or participate, as these are daily experiences they have together in school. But the novelty of the museum setting helps to engage them in behaviour that could otherwise be mundane in the classroom, and allows the museums an element of creative freedom in designing ways to connect with student visitors.

While museum visits mean different things to different people, a museum should make sure that the visit can have some meaning for every visitor. The different learning styles with which a visitor enters a museum can dictate the best way for the museum to approach him or her, and emotional connections may be facilitated if a

museum and a visitor can work together to create a meaningful experience. Of the factors that contribute to the formation of emotional connections – the approachability of the museum, the sensory environment, the subject matter, etc – the attention of the museum to the emotional comfort of the visitor is paramount. Without this, attempts to make emotional connections will either be impossible or be too threatening for a visitor to consider. Our emotions and our ability to imagine the emotions of others are aspects of our humanity that we can rely upon to illustrate the commonalities between people throughout the world. As such, museums should be sensitive and respectful of this kind of engagement, but willing to explore the possibilities that emotional learning provides.

2.3 Learning through Museum Theater

Museum Theater as a distinct and independent entity is relatively new. As a practice, Museum Theater began to gain moment and popularity throughout the second half of the twentieth century. By 1990, IMTAL (the International Museum Theatre Alliance) had been established, and the organization now has three cooperating bodies working throughout the world: IMTAL-Europe, IMTAL-Americas, and IMTAL-Asia Pacific. Museum Theater has become a respected field in which performers can use museum spaces to create new ways of interacting with audiences to teach, inspire, and create meaningful experiences.

Studies on the uses, types, and effectiveness of Museum Theater began to be published in books and articles in the 1990s by academic practitioners, such as Catherine Hughes, the founder of IMTAL. She has made a career out of teaching through theater in museums, and writes:

I believe that museums *are* theatres, rich with stories of human spirit and activity and the natural forces of life. Theatre and museums are storytellers, tapping into an elemental human consciousness. Both museums and theatre present us with ourselves in different contexts, holding the mirror up and showing us what we have done and what we might do. (Hughes, 1998: 10)

However, the presence of theater in the museum can make people uneasy, because it is unusual. Its fictitious nature may frighten some Museum Educators who are hesitant to

present anything that is not authentic or real. Tessa Bridal, currently the Director of Interpretation at the Children's Museum of Indianapolis explains:

As a technique, theatre has proven effective and appealing, as evidenced by the fact that in one form or another, it has been a part of every culture and society for centuries. Museums, however, are frequently asked to compare theatre to other forms of interpretation, or to justify its effectiveness as an interpretive, educational technique. (Bridal, 2004: 105)

In looking at unconventional, emotional, participatory, and imagination-incorporating methods of instruction to which visitors can relate personally, the use of theater education – and the encouraging of imagination-based applications of educational material to a student's personal experiences – is fundamentally similar to the ways in which students are encouraged to learn in museums.

2.3.1 Theater as an Educational Medium

Most of the literature surrounding the use of theater as an educational technique focuses on its use in schools, [Bolton, 1993; Heathcote, 1984a-d; Mirrione, 1993; Pammenter, 1993; Riherd & Hardwick, 1993; Sternberg, 1989; Vine, 1993; Williams, 1993]. Dorothy Heathcote in particular is an accomplished educator and advocate for teaching through dramatic activity. As Heathcote explains, 'dramatic activity is concerned with the crises, the turning points of life, large and small, which cause people to reflect and take note...' (Heathcote, 1984a: 55). Much the same as museum professionals hope to educate people through appealing to emotional responses and empathy, educators using theater hope to influence students by reaching into their personal lives and reminding them of personal experiences. Catherine Hughes writes, 'if spectators relate personally to characters in a performance they may experience empathy, a key emotion which... supports better recall,' (Hughes, et al, 2007: 690). By reminding people of their own experiences with events, friends and family, times of crisis, and emotions, audiences and students can more fully relate to what is being shown to them.

Some have been critical of the technique of emotional learning through theater, believing that the emotional responses triggered by the performance or activity eliminate the possibility for cognitive growth. Jackson writes, 'there are many who see the use of theatre in museums as a threat to the real business of educating the visitor about the past,' (Jackson, 2000: 212). In other words, a person might become distracted from learning about facts of the past by experiencing an atypical interpretational program that involves interaction and encourages reactions on the parts of the visitors, in addition to traditional informational absorption. However, this argument is challenged by those who believe that feeling and learning work hand-in-hand. Garth Allen, Isobel Allen, and Lynn Dalrymple have explored this issue and argue as follows:

If thought and feeling are not separate faculties; and are both a *vehicle towards* understanding and *an expression* of understanding, then learning through theatre is not simply about training feelings. It is not a matter of subjecting feelings to reason but of encouraging understanding or rationality to be gained through an emotional experience. If feelings are the embodiment of reason then the aim of arousing feelings is deeper understanding (more rationality), and not the oppressive or coercive use of emotions to obfuscate moral understanding. (Allen, et al, 1999: 29).

Richard Courtney agrees; he argues that drama, intelligence, and emotion are all interrelated, stating that 'the close relationship of drama and intelligence is strongly influenced by human feeling. Dramatic acts generate deep and significant feelings,' which, in turn, lead to learning (Courtney, 1995: 3).

Theater as an educational technique can be especially useful when helping participants explore decision-making and rationality through the use of the hypothetical. As Heathcote explains, using theater to explore situations that might occur, and how one might react, gives pupils (usually children) the opportunity to take issues apart and think about them in a controlled way. Although this practice utilizes the imagination, and creates a make-believe world, it gives the participants the opportunity to think without the real-life pressures of time or judgment. She explains that, 'the important difference between life and this make-believe life is that in the latter there is the opportunity for one problem to be faced at a time with consequent selectivity being possible, and of course for different permutations of response to be

tried,' (Heathcote, 1984b: 69). One does not necessarily have to make the right decision the first time, but the consequences that would result from this misstep in real-life do not occur. One can learn from a make-believe mistake, rather than a real-life one: 'Dramatizing makes it possible to isolate an event or to compare one event with another, to look at events that have happened to other people in other places and times perhaps, or to look at one's own experience after the event, within the safety of knowing that just at this moment it is not really happening,' (Heathcote, 1984d: 90). Furthermore, by suspending real-life and taking situations apart, more than one option can be explored completely, and more than one person can offer possible solutions. As Bridal explains, 'one of the strengths of theatre is that it allows us to give voice to several points of view – as part of the performance, characters can reveal how they have come to hold these diverse opinions and how and why they may have changed,' (Bridal, 2004: 137).

In order for this approach to work there has to be a willingness on the part of the participant or audience member to suspend reality and buy-in to this world of make-believe. As Heathcote explains, 'dramatic activity is concerned with the ability of humans to 'become somebody else', to 'see how it feels', and the process is a very simple and efficient way of crystallizing certain kinds of information. Humans employ it naturally and intuitively all their lives,' (Heathcote, 1984a: 54). Once this suspension of reality is achieved (and it can often be achieved quite easily) people can begin to use it. Facilitators and actors can use activities and performances to ask participants and audiences what they would think, how they would react, and how they would feel if confronted with the situations taking place in the imaginary world with which they are presented. In schools, this can be a way of broaching topics that would otherwise be taboo or uncomfortable. As Heathcote explains,

Drama [teaches] in the following way. Taking a moment in time, it uses the experiences of the participants, forcing them to confront their own actions and decisions and to go forward to a believable outcome in which they can gain satisfaction. This approach brings classes into those areas that in the main are avoided in school: emotional control, understanding of the place and importance of emotion, and language with which to express emotion. (Heathcote, 1984d: 99)

Theater in Education

In school settings in the UK, theater has become a more permanent fixture than in other parts of the world. In the United States, for example, no overarching program or set of standards exists to document, encourage, or inspire the use of theater in schools and classroom environments; different states may have theater curriculum to which teachers and schools must adhere, but there is nothing cohesive across all states. Organizations promoting Theater Education exist (such as the American Alliance for Theater & Education), but are more focused on bringing students to theaters instead of bringing theater into the classroom. The UK's Theatre-in-Education (TIE) movement has been able to bring 'creative dramatics' into schools, to the benefit of the students, schools, and local theaters. As Catherine Hughes observes, 'this field comprises essentially two movements in one... Drama-in-educations (DIE)...uses a wide array of creative dramatic exercises to teach any subject... Theatre-in-education (TIE), [is] touring performances by professional actor/teachers to schools...' (Hughes, 1998: 78). So, while DIE is primarily participatory, with students as participants in the activity, TIE is primarily performative, with students as active audience members; both, however, fall under the heading of Theater-in-Education. Tony Jackson explains the aims of TIE:

TIE seeks to harness the techniques and imaginative potency of theatre in the service of education. The aim is to provide an experience for children that will be intensely absorbing, challenging, even provocative, and an unrivalled stimulus for further work on the chosen subject in and out of school. (Jackson, 1993: 1)

TIE's origins lie in the mid-1960s. It began, as Hughes explains, 'as part of an attempt by the expanding regional repertory theater network to establish close links with the communities it served,' (Hughes, et al, 2007: 679). In other words, theaters approached schools with projects in mind, and were allowed to proceed. During the years of its operation, TIE has been monitored closely to ensure that it is, in fact, educational and effective, and that public funds and school time are not wasted. The results that have been gathered show that, as Heathcote and other researchers have explained, using theater in the classroom as an educational technique is extremely

beneficial. Hughes shows that TIE has been ‘valued precisely for its ability to bring into schools a stimulus from the outside world, offering (at its best) a rich, multilayered and multivocal approach quite different from anything teachers could offer on their own – usefully bridging the formal and nonformal education sectors,’ (Hughes, et, al, 2007: 679). By offering something a little different, theater is able to attract previously disinterested students, reach deep personal levels of understanding, and introduce students to the world of theater while providing problem-solving and emotional skills that might otherwise go untaught in a school environment. When moved from the school to the museum, theater has the opportunity to do these things for a much wider range of audience members.

Similarities between TIE and Museum Education

Although Theater Education and Museum Education are studied and researched as separate bodies, it is worth noting that they are quite similar in practice. Both use unconventional learning atmospheres and techniques and incorporate them into conventional educational settings and models. Both attempt to find ways for participants to make their own, personal connections to educational material. But nowhere are the similarities between the two genres more evident than in the rhetoric used by scholars and proponents to discuss the educational forms and the people who participate in them. The language used by theater professionals to discuss the goals, teaching styles, and challenges of Theater Education is very similar to the language used by Museum professionals to discuss their goals, styles and challenges.

For example, as quoted previously, the concepts of what Falk and Dierking refer to as ‘personal context’ explores how each visitor’s unique set of experiences determine his or her approach to a visit, and his or her agenda while there. On the topic of prior motivations and the differing impacts that the same program might have on different viewers and visitors, Cora Williams, a writer in the field of Theater Education writes:

The event of theatre, if it is to be an organic experience, does not rest when the actors and the audience e depart. Each member of the event, audience and actors alike, will have brought to the occasion a past; during the event of fiction (the play) they know real events are changing

minute by minute; all members of the theatre event have a future and if the play has been useful it will be carried forward. (Williams, 1993: 102)

Both acknowledge the impact that previous experiences have on the ability and desire of a viewer or visitor to relate to, engage in, and take from a display or performance. This sensitivity to differing levels of receptiveness has also been observed by Gavin Bolton, an educator working in TIE, who explains that:

The TIE team cannot anticipate the ‘readiness’ of a particular audience. Neither they nor a teacher can cater for the individual background and feelings of a particular child. For each member of the class or audience there will be personal meanings that remain unarticulated. (Bolton, 1993: 47)

Also previously explored in the context of Museum Education is the importance of using empathy as a means to connect with visitors. In Theater Education, the role of empathy is equally strong, as Tony Jackson and Jenny Kidd write:

Empathy is a powerful emotion and it can provide insights into and understandings of the lives of other individuals that are hard to achieve through other formal, more cognition-based modes of learning. It can also generate motivation to learn more, to engage more closely with the performance and its subject matter, and to take a further step towards becoming a participating audience member, at least emotionally if not physically. (Jackson & Kidd, 2008: 114)

With so much in common in terms of techniques, concerns, and goals, it is unsurprising that the genres are able to be combined without any great loss of understanding or gaps between methods.

Using Theater in Museums

Like TIE, museums are valued because they can offer something that cannot be found in everyday classrooms. In the museum, this can be anything from historical artefacts to experiences that differ from quotidian regularity. Since museums are already seen as places where alternative forms of education are allowed and encouraged, we can begin to see why many museum and theater professionals have chosen to join forces and provide the illuminating and enriching experiences of theatrical education at museums. As Tessa Bridal contends,

Theatre is a catalyst, a motivator, a means of encouraging audiences to want to encounter and wrestle with ideas. Theatre fosters an imaginative, creative, and culturally diverse understanding of the objects we choose to display – and sometimes of those we don't choose to display. It achieves this by adding the personal – a sense of time, a sense of space, and a story. (Bridal, 2004: 6)

Theatrical programs are valuable Museum Education techniques because they are approaches that can present things differently (and perhaps surprisingly) to the visitor, and encourage realizations and the exploration of other points of view that traditional exhibitions would not.

However, there are complications when using theater techniques, especially when examining and presenting controversial subject matter. Consequently, many institutions are reluctant to invite theater inside their walls. Bridal explains that 'plays thrive on conflict. The same cannot be said of most human beings, particularly those on an outing to a museum. For this reason, institutions often shy away from presenting difficult issues to their visitors,' (Bridal, 2004: 131). But, conflict is a natural part of real-life, and museums – especially history institutions – should be prepared to be honest about the existence of conflict and prepared for the emotional responses that it may trigger. Stacy Roth also believes that, by showing conflicts accurately, museums might be able to infuse more excitement into the museum visit, and appeal to more visitors. She writes:

Conflict and controversy are facts of life. Discord and disagreement create momentous events, drive relationships, and split neighbors and nations. Theater and film capitalize on conflict; it is an essential element in social drama. Therefore, as museums and other sponsors aspire to become more socially relevant and realistic, shouldn't they include argument, emotion, and strife as an integral part of the past? (Roth, 1998: 161)

There is also a concern that theater can be overdone or done inaccurately in the interests of promoting entertainment over education. Entertainment is not, by itself, a bad thing. But it should not be the primary function of Museum Theater. At museums – where education is a primary function – theater must be used with the utmost discretion and attention to detail. Theater should be used in conjunction with museum exhibitions and curriculum, not as a substitute or alternative. As Catherine Hughes writes, 'museum theatre should be used to look critically at exhibitions, collections, and the ways in which each discipline conducts itself, as well as providing a mechanism for celebration,' (Hughes, 1998: 139).

Along with concerns over the accuracy of Museum Theater, and the importance of education over entertainment, there are some who feel that theater in museums is inappropriate. The reasons for this are potentially legitimate: theater is noisier than the usual exhibits; it is a change that might incorporate more responsibilities for museum staff; performers have the added responsibilities of needing to be versed in the subject matter and able to educate, not just perform a script; the subject matter is not presented as a text, and therefore professionals fear misinterpretation (which can happen even when there *is* a text); etc. And, museum professionals are not the only ones who might be upset by the appearance of a new educational technique. As Jackson and Kidd write, 'museum theatre has the potential both to be a corrective and disruptive presence, rewriting and unsettling the established institutional narratives. It can also challenge visitors' expectations of what visiting a museum involves in terms of the range of voices that are licensed to speak, including the voice of the visitor herself,' (Jackson & Kidd, 2008: 13). However, while it is important to ensure that the visitor is always comfortable and that the information is as accurate as possible, we must acknowledge that using theater to teach, especially in public arenas, is not a new concept. Stephen Alsford and David Parry write:

We think of [theater] today principally as a vehicle for entertainment forgetting that, historically, it was always intended to educate as well as entertain. For centuries – even as far back as the roots of theatre, in dramatic ritual – it has been a vehicle for communicating society's values, for addressing ethical issues, for moral education and for influencing the attitudes or behavior of its audiences. It can this be considered a very traditional teaching method, and most modern theatre still aims at communicating messages which are educational, whether they supply the answers to merely pose the questions. Again, historically, theatre does not merely supply information, it contextualizes information (or objects) intellectually, emotionally, socially, politically, spiritually and aesthetically. (Alsford & Parry, 1991: 13)

In addition to defending the use of theater because of its rich history, many museum professionals have advocated the use of theater because of its ability to augment exhibits. Artefacts and labels can tell a visitor quite a bit about some things, but can overlook details that might make the past more relatable to the average visitor: What did people do each day? When did they wake up? Did they have pets? Did they go to school? Were their shoes comfortable? As Jackson and Kidd point out, 'one of the strongest arguments for including performances in the repertoire of interpretive strategies is that it provides museums or historic sites with a resource that helps them fill some of the inevitable gaps in their collections and associated narratives.' They explain that this is 'less to do with compensating for missing artefacts (though this may be one of the aims) but more importantly with finding the humans stories that give life, meaning and context to those collections,' (Jackson & Kidd, 2008: 72). A well-researched, well planned, and well produced theatrical piece can highlight these *human* stories and appeal to visitors who might be more interested in the history of day-to-day realities.

Even though there will certainly be museum professionals who choose never to implement a theatrical program, some will and many have. There are many reasons to employ Museum Theater, and Jackson and Kidd provide give us a relatively comprehensive list of potential benefits. Firstly, 'performance is a powerful way of

opening up aspects of a museum's collection of an historic site to a wider audience'; it can provide an additional aspect of interpretation, 'helping us to understand the social meaning' or objects and spaces; it can 'fill gaps' in textual history by illuminating and personifying aspects of history that might be unapproachable to a casual visitor; it encourages visitors to revisit their personal heritage, having presented history in a *human* form; 'it is capable of generating *more* engagement with, and insight into, the past' than text and pictures can; and, lastly, 'it is a medium of learning...offering [visitors] a unique opportunity to make their own meanings from [history] – to relate it to their own world, to make connections and understand the difference,' (Jackson & Kidd, 2008: 56).

Concerns when using Theater Education

Of the concerns raised when considering the use of theater in museums, the two that come up most often are the emotional repercussions of immersing visitors in a world with which they might not be prepared to cope, and the fear that a recreated, theatrical world might be misconstrued as absolute fact or (especially by younger audiences) as *real*.

Emotional Issues

Most museum theater happens in galleries and exhibits, as part of the range of things visitors can experience while at the museum. Some people who attend the performance will have come to the museum specifically to view it, but there will be people who happen to stumble upon it. Tessa Bridal writes,

It is important to remember that visitors rarely come to museums to attend performances. Theirs is a different agenda, and museum theatre provides an unexpected experience. Not only have our audiences frequently not paid for the privilege of seeing a performance, but the performance itself, if it is on an exhibit floor, is surrounded by distractions. Also, if a museum is highly interactive, it is possible that audiences will see the performance in the same light as any other exhibit. They may not be aware that it would

be desirable for them to modify their behavior by being quiet during the show, and by coming and going unobtrusively. (Bridal, 2004: 39)

Having not known that there would be a performance, these *stumblers* will not necessarily be prepared to consider or personally explore the issues with which they will be presented; the possibility of being confronted with emotionally charged material is not something that most museum visitors consider when arriving for a day of leisure or an educational experience. The resulting emotions can range anywhere from intense joy to sadness, horror, outrage, anger, embarrassment, etc. And this becomes a problem, not just for the visitor who is unexpectedly emotional, but also for the museum professionals, who have a responsibility to help the visitor deal with the issues raised.

As stated previously, many museums shy away from using theater, or presenting potentially upsetting material, for this reason. Hughes explains that ‘engaging visitors’ emotions at this level is not without its detractors. I have heard several educators express alarm at such emotional stimulation,’ (Hughes, 1998: 52). While this ‘alarm’ can be over the threat to a museum’s decorum, it also concerns the fear explored above in relation to drama in the classroom – that the presence of emotion eliminates the possibility of effective learning. However, as discussed above, this fear is refutable; as Hughes writes ‘emotion sparks cognition. This is one of museum theatre’s most powerful attributes, which in turn allows for most goals: it draws visitors in with its emotional content.’ (Hughes, 1998: 53) Emotional learning leads to stronger levels of comprehension, and is generally beneficial.

Authenticity Issues

The other main concern regarding the use of theater is the fear that people will take what they are viewing and believe that whatever they have witnessed during the production is exactly how things were. Tony Jackson explains:

There are many who see the use of theatre in museums as a threat to the real business of educating the visitor about the past. Theatre *can* dilute, distort, even sabotage the educational intent of the curator. Dramatization *tends* to impose narrative structure on history – tidying it

up, reducing it to cause and effect. And there is the further danger of trivializing in the process of popularizing, and making fun out of fashions, behaviours and beliefs different from our own. (Jackson, 2000: 212)

Jackson and Rees Leahy have written further that ‘many museum professionals ... resist the use of what they regard as an inherently fictionalizing medium of interpretation, which deflects learning away from the interpretation of material evidence and towards performance – and even entertainment,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 305). In short, the fear is that the past will be misrepresented; that false information will be imparted, and that visitors will leave thinking untrue things are true.

In response to this, firstly, it is possible that museum professionals are underestimating visitors if they think people believe everything they are told and cannot think for themselves. As Catherine Hughes explains, ‘the often-expressed worry is that dramatic reenactment can distort people’s understanding of the past since that past can never be fully reproduced... [These objections] imply a fundamental distrust of visitors’ ability to rationalize and critique what they are seeing,’ (Hughes, et al, 2007: 684). Likewise, Tessa Bridal writes, ‘reenactments and dramatic presentations require the same suspension of disbelief. Audiences know that they are not really watching a battle or being spoken to by someone who has been dead for centuries,’ (Bridal, 2004: 150). The public to which museums professionals are catering is not a mindless mass of gullible fools. While the education of children has to be handled with a higher level of responsibility, as children invariably know less about the world than adults, adult visitors are usually people who come to learn, bringing with them varying levels of education and common sense; while some may have more of these things than others, none will be void of both.

Secondly, even in schools – the accepted centres of formal education – misinformation can be passed off as fact to students; in the United States, this is often reflected in institutional regionalism. Misconceptions and misunderstandings of history are passed on to students with alarming regularity. For example, many New York State textbooks, in explaining the era of Reconstruction following the American Civil War, attempt to portray well-meaning Northerners who travelled south in the aftermath:

Carpetbaggers were northern whites who moved south after the Civil War. They got their name because they carried their belongings in small suitcases made of a carpet-like cloth. Carpetbaggers went south for different reasons. Some had been Union soldiers and had developed strong feelings for the South. Others were northern business leaders eager to take advantage of new opportunities. They had money to buy plantations and mines from southerners who could not afford to keep them. Still others came as teachers or to help former slaves. Also, the federal government sent tax collectors, customs officers, and other government workers to the South. Although some were greedy and dishonest people, many had good intentions. (Jacobs, et al., 1990: 446)

This is a decidedly Northern version. In South Carolina, schools widely employ Kennedy's version where Carpetbaggers were 'sleazy Northerners who had packed all their worldly goods into a carpetbag suitcase at war's end and had come South to seek personal power and profit,' (Kennedy, et al, 2008: 528). Of the two, Kennedy's is closer to historically provable than Jacobs', but preferred regional memories influence education.

If miseducation can happen so blatantly – and so officially – we cannot assume any institution can be immune to it. Misinterpretations, misconceptions, and distortions of the truth are presented to the public constantly, whether in schools, from the media, or, unfortunately, in some museums. At some point, we have to trust the people being taught to judge for themselves whether or not what they are hearing is believable [Jackson, 2000; Pickering, 2010; Golding, 2009]. Regrettably, any time any educator seeks to impart knowledge about the past – even when supplying the most accurate of information – there is the risk that misunderstandings will occur on the part of the pupil. This is a risk found everywhere, and cannot be a reason, in itself, to discount Museum Theater. In fact, bringing such distortions to the public consciousness may help critical thinking.

What museum professionals need to focus on when creating educational material – whether they use theater or not – is what the visitors will be able to understand, and what they will be able to handle. As Bridal explains, 'understanding our audiences is one of the keys to minimizing our frustrations with them and theirs with us,' (Bridal, 2004: 39). Children might be easily bored by a reenactment of a

debate on the taxation of tea in British colonies, but adults who are well-versed in politics and interested in the formation of the United States might find it stimulating. Likewise, adults might be completely unimpressed by a puppet show that would thrill and enlighten most children. When considering the use of theater and its ability to *fit-in* or operate as part of a *tool-kit* with other interpretative and educational materials, ultimately it is the needs of the audience that should determine the shape of the performance or activity, (Alsford & Parry, 1991).

2.3.2 Museum Theater

Most existing definitions of Museum Theater are quite broad, as many different forms are practiced. Catherine Hughes offers a simple definition, stating: ‘without seeking to limit what it can be, Museum Theatre is the use of drama or theatrical techniques within a museum setting or as part of a museum’s offerings with the goal of provoking an emotive and cognitive response in visitors concerning a museum’s discipline and/or exhibitions,’ (Hughes, 1998: iii). Tony Jackson and Helen Rees Leahy offer a more detailed definition:

The expanding field of museum theatre may broadly be defined as the use of theatre and theatrical techniques as a means of mediating knowledge and understanding in the context of museum education. It may take place in museums or at historic sites and is generally presented by professional actors and/or interpreters. It can involve the performance of short plays or monologues based on historical events relating to a site and its collections. (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 304-5)

Jackson and Jenny Kidd have further explained that Museum Theater ‘may be designed for the curriculum needs of visiting schoolchildren or for family groups and/or the independent visitor,’ (Jackson & Kidd, 2008: 11). Alsford and Parry explain that Museum Theater can be adapted to be appropriate for many venues, ‘from conventional presentations in an auditorium-style theatre...to a dramatized demonstration, or special forms for children, such as puppet theatre or directed role-playing,’ (Alsford & Parry, 1991: 9).

These definitions are quite comprehensive; for the purposed of this thesis, I define Museum Theater (along the same lines as these authors) as any use of performative or interactive theatrical techniques taking place within, or inspired by, museums with the purposes of education and/or thought provocation. This covers a wide range of theatrical practices, and it is important for museums to understand all of the options available to them.

2.3.2.1 Types of Theater in Museums

Luckily for the museum professional, there are a number of forms from which to choose. For the sake of fully understanding the various forms Museum Theater can take, we will explore several of the options available.

Storytelling

Firstly, and often most familiar to the visitors (especially children), is storytelling, a simple and informal technique. Storytelling is a time-honoured educational form. Tales centering on the development of morality, such as Aesop's Fables, are a prime example of how the telling of stories has been used to make listeners think and learn from what they are hearing. Bridal explains that 'museums have employed storytellers to tell children's tales, to appear in costume and weave stories around particular exhibits, and for cultural purposes – to share traditions, history, myths, and folk stories.' (Bridal, 2004: 20) By conveying information in this simple form, it becomes accessible to a wide range of audiences.

Furthermore, storytelling is a tradition that holds immense importance for many different cultures; storytelling has often been the primary mechanism of handing down values and histories from generation to generation. Museums can benefit from the form, not just because of the information that can be conveyed, but also because of the meaningfulness of the experience as a cultural event in itself. Hughes explains that 'storytellers have libraries of legends and folklore touching on diverse themes, and they can bring these themes to life very simply. The techniques of a storyteller are only slightly different from the techniques of an actor. The storyteller may inhabit the characters of the stories they spin, yet not lose themselves to any one character,' (Hughes, 1998: 65). Although not necessarily what we would consider to be 'theater,'

using storytelling as a theatrical event in a museum can be incredibly engaging and educational.

Monologues

Another form often found in Museum Theater is the use of monologues. A monologue is one actor reciting a script alone to the audience, without any interaction with other performers. For the audience, the interaction – though one sided – can become very personal; it is very similar to the experience a person would have during a talk with a friend. Bridal explains that ‘the actor delivering a monologue may be portraying a real or imagined character from any time period, or may even portray more than one character during the course of the performance,’ (Bridal, 2004: 20-1). A monologue can be composed using diary entries, letters, or any other records that, when presented to the audience in this personal way, creates a bond between actor and audience, and leads the audience to a better understanding of what that person (the character) is going through.

Historical Characters

Historical characters are also often used by Museum Theater professionals. As Bridal explains, ‘historical characters represent real, once living people, brought to life through the power of theatre to share their lives, work, and times with an audience,’ (Bridal, 2004: 21). The audience gets to meet people like Julius Caesar and George Washington and hear about their experiences. Obviously, the information imparted is educational, and the observations the audience makes during the show can lead to deeper levels of understanding as well.

Participatory and Interactive Theater

Participatory and interactive theater can also be found in the museum. Though similar, these terms refer to slightly different activities. As Bridal explains: ‘*Participatory* implies that members of the audience are invited to join the performer for an activity or exercise,’ (Bridal, 2004: 21). Here, the actors and the audience work together to create a theatrical product. This form can be especially beneficial when

working with visiting school-groups who might have some knowledge of the specific subject matter, and can collaborate with the actors. There are also varying levels of participation that can be employed; as Catherine Hughes explains, ‘participatory museum theatre can range anywhere from entirely participatory in process-oriented creative drama programs to implicitly participatory in play performances,’ (Hughes, 1998: 69).

There are numerous ways this can be utilized in the museum, but not all museums are willing to subject their audiences to it; Although children can be very eager to participate in such activities when called upon to do so, professionals have found that adults are less willing to be put on the spot in front of strangers or peers, fearing embarrassment. Museum Theater practitioners have found that adults can be encouraged to participate, when made to feel safe and unjudged.

Interactive Theater is a less threatening alternative. As Bridal explains, ‘*Interactive* implies that audience members are acknowledged as being present and may engage in dialogue with the performer, without leaving their seats,’ (Bridal, 2004: 21). This form does not require any audience members to separate themselves from their friends and join the performance; people participate from their safe, chosen locations. This form is becoming more and more popular. As Tony Jackson explains, ‘Interactive theatre is being used increasingly and in a variety of ways at heritage sites and museum, in many countries in Europe, the USA and beyond, in order to enliven the experience of the visitor and to illuminate the past,’ (Jackson, 2000: 199).

Fourth Wall Theater

This type of performance is what typically comes to mind when one thinks of theater. The term ‘fourth wall’ refers to the imaginary wall that exists at the foot of a stage, between the performance and the audience. As Bridal explains, ‘fourth wall theatre is a traditional form of theatre in which actors on stage do not acknowledge the presence of the audience and perform as if a fourth wall existed between them,’ (Bridal, 2004: 24). The audience is always looking in on the action, through this imaginary barrier, unbeknownst to the characters on stage. While usually performed in traditional theaters, it can be performed in any space, including museum galleries, exhibit spaces, or wherever enough room can be found.

Puppets

Children are used to puppets, as they are often found in children's television and in classrooms, and this familiarity can help museum educators connect with young visitors very quickly. As Catherine Hughes writes:

Puppetry creates a vivid and imaginative cast of all types of characters. Furthermore, there is a wide array of puppetry styles: marionettes, body puppets, hand puppets, and shadow puppets. Sometimes puppetry can be incorporated into a play rather than using puppetry exclusively. Puppet shows are especially popular among younger audiences, and many children's spaces have puppet stages set up for young visitors to create their own shows. (Hughes, 1998: 64)

But children are not the only ones who can see puppets as familiar figures; adults can also be captivated and educated by a simple puppet show. Puppets, though childlike in nature, can be incredibly versatile educational tools.

First-person Interpretation and Third-person Interpretation

First- and third-person interpretation, sometimes referred to as 'live interpretation' or 'living history,' are the main forms of Museum Theater that visitors most often encounter; they are widely used, and leave very strong impressions on those who experience them. These forms most commonly consist of interpreters (each of whom is a performer and an educator) dressed in accurate period clothing, and engaging in period activities (such as candle or musket making) while interacting with visitors in personal, conversational, and unscripted manners.

The difference between first-person interpretation and third-person interpretation is the manner in which the interpreters relate to the past and their visitors. As Catherine Hughes explains, 'the first-person interpreter assumes a specific role or character (e.g., a seventeenth-century pilgrim or nineteenth-century loom worker) and talks to visitors as though from the period; the third-person interpreter remains herself in the present while talking about the past,' (Hughes, et al, 2007: 682). Both types of interpretation require intense research and education on the part of the performer, so

that he or she is able to answer any questions the visitors might ask. In the case of first-person interpretation, the performer must be able to answer the visitors in character. As Jacqueline Tivers explains, ‘first person interpretation ... is normally considered to have, or even require, a strong *educational* element...as well as good history credentials and an understanding of ‘performance’ skills,’ (Tivers, 2002: 198). Stacy Roth agrees, and states:

The goal of first-person interpretation is to relate the past and relate *to* the past in a way that personalizes and humanizes it. First-person is particularly suited to the depiction of human feelings, attitudes, beliefs, and social interactions. Presented as an unfolding of events, emotions, and processes, rather than as a lecture full of facts, it promotes understanding rather than memorization, empathy rather than detachment. (Roth, 1998: 20)

Because of the intense requirements of first-person interpretation, it is arguably easier for many educators to work in third-person interpretation. In third-person interpretation, the performer does not need to adopt a different persona, but can educate as herself. This might be the reason behind that fact that, as Alsford and Parry point out, ‘third-person, together with demonstrations of crafts or other skills, remain the staple of live interpretative techniques at most open-air museums,’ (Alsford & Parry, 1991: 8). It is easier for many interpreters to explain things to, and interact with, the public without having to maintain a character.

These two forms of interpretation are very educational. Visitors may remember many aspects of their encounters, taking with them, not only the information that is imparted by the performers/educators, but also elements of the interpreter’s appearance, activities, and behaviour that, while perhaps not discussed during the visit, will be historically accurate and impressive.

Any kind of performance that can be used to educate can be incorporated into museum interpretation, and can be considered Museum Theater. However, not every type of theater will work with every type of audience. Some groups need special consideration when planning performances; subject matter must be appropriate for audiences. For example, children will have a hard time with complicated or upsetting material. Likewise, those with traumatic pasts should not be exposed to performances

that might trigger discomfort. Regardless of the audience in question, an appropriate use of Museum Theater can most likely be identified, and will most likely be effective in educating and entertaining the visitors.

2.3.2.2 Reenactment

While relevant to the previous section, Reenactment is the form of participatory Museum Theater in which the students interviewed for this research project engaged, and will therefore be explored specifically. A reenactment, most commonly, is when an event from history is taken and scripted, usually in an extremely detailed manner, and then the event is recreated for an audience, with the intent of showing spectators the historical event in as historically accurate a manner as possible. Generally, reenactments can incorporate aspects of various other forms of Museum Theater, including First-Person interpretation, Fourth Wall Theater, Participatory and Interactive Theater, Monologues, the use of historical characters, and Storytelling.

In the United States, most people associate reenactments with reenactments of battles from the American Civil War and the American Revolutionary War. These are exceptional because, in many cases, the people who produce these large-scale reenactments are hobbyists, spending their free time and personal resources to create a culturally meaningful and historically significant display. Hundreds (and, for larger battles, sometimes thousands) of enthusiasts spend extensive amounts of time and money to recreate accurate costumes and weaponry, and exhaustively research military formations, activities, and significant historical figures to ensure their portrayal is as accurately realistic as possible. The reenactors travel great distances at their own expense, take great pride in the accuracy of their portrayal, are dedicated to exactly recreating the event, and spend many weekends and vacations with fellow-reenactors, perfecting their performances. The actual reenactments draw spectators from around the country and the world, creating a festive atmosphere as they gather, eager to watch as a moment from American history re-unfolds for their amusement [Mittelstaedt, 1995; Turner, 1990]. In other parts of the United States, notably the Southwest (sometimes called the Old West), daily reenactments of exciting, deadly shootouts between legendary outlaws and vigilantes are conducted for visiting tourists. And, less violent forms of reenactment happen in historical homes, museums, and heritage sites quite regularly.

These Americans are not alone in their affinity for reenactment, or in their desire to reproduce scenes from history with the intent of educating or provoking thought and dialog. Other nations and societies also engage in this dialog with the past in an effort to understand histories and each other more intimately. Katie Kitamura describes an intensely emotion and publicly engaging reenactment, staged by Jeremy Deller, of the Battle of Orgreave. The initial conflict, rioting miners and a resulting clash with police, was recreated on a historically accurate scale and – much like American War Reenactments – drew a festive crowd of enthusiastic spectators. It was also televised:

Involving over 800 participants drawn from 20 reenactment societies across Britain, as well as former miners and police officers themselves involved in the original strike, *The Battle of Orgreave* was an immaculately orchestrated piece of theatre, and remains Deller's most ambitious work to date. In its entirety, *The Battle of Orgreave* inhabited a number of manifestations: a traditional reenactment event, a broadcast television documentary, a social gathering complete with beer tents, and a highly nuanced work of conceptual art. Rather than servicing a single function or speaking the language of a single discourse, *The Battle of Orgreave* was relentlessly proliferating. (Kitamura, 2010: 39)

The scale of such operations can be staggering, but for those who are dedicated to recreating history in a meaningful and serious way, every piece of planning and orchestration must be carried out with great care and attention to detail.

Aside from looking at the types of reenactments that are most often performed popularly, some authors look at how acts of reenactment have existed in the past. For example, Ian McCalman explores the historical interest in reenactment by considering the recreations of battle scenes done by Philippe Jacques de Loutherbourg in the late-Georgian era in the UK (McCalman, 2010); Stephen Gapps draws a connection between the Castle Hill Convict Rebellion of 1804 in Australia as a recreation of the Irish Battle of Vinegar Hill in 1798 (Gapps, 2010); and Paul A. Pickering discusses Australian reenactments of aspects of outlaw Ned Kelly's life (Pickering, 2010). It is an internationally significant form of celebrating shared histories, even when those histories are contentious or controversial.

In the United States, the frequency with which the medium is referenced in popular culture indicates a general societal familiarity with Reenactment; television shows and films can incorporate references to American Civil War and American Revolutionary War reenactment without excessive exposition, assuming a basic level of knowledge about the form, seemingly without fear of alienating average viewers⁴. While snippets and subplots on television might be as close as many people ever get to seeing a war reenactment, the exposure and shared folklore surrounding the practice establish a body of common knowledge. Reenactment is a commonly recognizable practice in the United States. Even if the television shows and, by extension, the average viewers are poking fun at the medium, they are aware of it enough to be able to do so.

The specific program of reenactment explored in this project – a reenactment of the town meeting that took place immediately before the Boston Tea Party – will be discussed further in Chapter 5. But, before exploring how students learned about the Boston Tea Party through their reenactment performances, the concepts of memory, myth, and history, and historical interpretations of the Boston Tea Party will be presented in Chapter 3. Then, Chapter 4 will explore the challenges faced when presenting the history of the American Revolution, as well as the disparities between public memories, official memories, and documented occurrences. These competing narratives influence the landscapes of students' understandings of the American Revolution prior to the reenactment, and can illuminate the ways they choose to incorporate what they learn through the reenactment into their personal perceptions after the exercise.

⁴ For a list of some American television sitcom episodes and films featuring references to Reenactment, see Appendix 1.

Chapter 3

Memory, Myth & History

This chapter begins by defining and discussing the natures of Memory, Public Memory, Myth, and History, and begins to explore the history of the Boston Tea Party. Memory, myth, and history are overlapping fields that apply to ways of recalling the past, interpreting it, and passing it on to future generations. This process begins when an event takes place, and individuals develop personal memories of it. David Lowenthal describes the ways in which a single individual's memory of an event interacts with others' memories and forms collective narratives, explaining that a person's 'memory is wholly and intensely personal,' but 'the remembered past is both individual and collective,' (Lowenthal, 1985: 194). When people compare their perspectives of a shared experience and begin to tell a story that is cohesive and ties together viewpoints, the memory will become a public memory as it spreads through a group and is passed on to others over time. Embellishments and exaggerations may be made and, depending on the cultural significance of the event, a mythology can begin to surround its story. Aspects that may have been incidental at the time of occurrence can be interpreted with greater significance so that the story can resonate and be used to bring people together, as 'mythologies may convey the political and moral values of a culture, and provide systems of interpreting individual experience within a universal perspective,' (Doty, 1980: 531).

Once the event begins to be studied as a moment in the past, it can begin to be interwoven into the story of the past, and become a part of history. The results can be contestable, as much of the study of history is based on the memories people have and share, which can vary from person to person across time and space, depending upon their class, education nationality, political allegiance, etc. Further, a history can never be entirely inclusive, as 'only a small fragment of the totality of people's experiences is ever recorded for posterity,' (Cohen, 1997: 59).

3.1 Memory

Memory is a complicated cognitive mechanism for human survival and more could be written about the science of memory than can be examined here. For the

purposes of this thesis, memory is defined as the way we learn from things that happen in the world, and as the process by which legacies of events are created and maintained over time, personally and culturally. Exploring memory in the context of how individuals use it to make meaning is important before examining how it works on a cultural level, and how altered memories can affect legacies and aid in the creation of modern mythology.

Memory functions on an individual level by helping people create understandings of themselves and their worlds, and to maintain consistent narratives. As Wertsch explains, ‘memory is more a matter of reorganizing, or reconstructing bits of information into a general scheme than it is a matter of accurate recall of the isolated bits themselves,’ (Wertsch, 2002: 1). Pieces of memories fit into a network of understanding, and consistency in this is important. Lowenthal describes memory as ‘crucial for our sense of identity,’ as knowing ‘what we were confirms that we are,’ (Lowenthal, 1985: 197). He writes, ‘self-continuity depends wholly on memory; recalling past experiences links us with our earlier selves, however different we may since have become,’ (Lowenthal, 1985: 197). Falk and Dierking describe remembering as incorporative, but not without faults.

Memory is an active process. Past experiences are connected to recent experiences. Memories are consolidated, or lost, over a relatively long period of time, in some cases in excess of two years. (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 108)

The loss of memories is common; people often forget things, and this can be due to the insignificance of the forgotten information, the brain’s need to make room for new information, or the altering of memories to maintain more stable personal narratives [Luis, 2012; Fitzgerald, 2011]. This, unfortunately, means that personal and collective memories are fallible and, as the foundations for historical recording, memories can lead to conflicting and inaccurate versions of the past being passed to future generations.

Lowenthal argues that flawed memories can be of value, as *something* is remembered, even if incorrectly:

The subjective nature of memory makes it both a sure and a dubious guide to the past. We know when we have a memory, and whether true or false that memory bears in some way on the past. Even an error of memory involves the recall of something, however distorted; no memory is totally delusive. (Lowenthal, 1985: 200)

However, when altered or faulty memories are recorded by historians as facts, conflicting accounts can emerge, and the information surrounding significant events can become clouded. At times, these alterations in memory can be due to a person's inclination to fill in gaps to make sense out of a memory, as discussed by Rodriguez and Strange:

[Memory] is a reconstructive process wherein information is pieced together to form an account of a past event. Often information is collated in a manner that is consistent with a person's pre-existing beliefs and, in the (likely) event of missing information within the memory, people may make inferences on the basis of expectations and beliefs to 'fill in the gaps,' yielding memory errors. (Rodriguez & Strange, 2015: 203)

In other cases, faulty memories result from a 'tendency towards positive biasing of one's past self,' (Howe, 2011: 314). Howe explains that, in these cases, "misrememberings" involve false memories about the self rather than the event, and they allow revision of the past that facilitates self-enhancement, permits a more positive self-evaluation of one's current self, and helps maintain effective social relations,' (Howe, 2011: 314).

In the case of the Boston Tea Party, much of the recorded history comes from the memories of men who participated, but their stories were not collected until about 60 years after the event. This was partly due to the necessary secrecy surrounding the treasonous destruction of the tea, but also because recording the United States' early history did not become a priority until the 1830s [Forbes, 1942; Young, 1999; Hull, 1999; Shear, et al, 2015; Black, 2005]. The popular story of the Boston Tea Party that is remembered and told today comes mainly from the memories of George Robert Twelves Hewes, who took part in the event in 1773, and was found and interviewed later in his life as a hero of the American Revolution. Alfred Young has documented

Hewes' life and his role in the public's memory of the Revolution, explaining that 'the Tea Party became an iconic event in public memory because men like Hewes came forward with their private memories,' (Young, 1999: 194).

Hewes' account of his experience at the Tea Party was published twice; in 1833 and in 1835. In 1833, as Young discusses in *The Shoemaker and the Tea Party*, Hewes' account contained fewer remembered facts and details than his 1835 version. After the first interview was published, Hewes was paraded around parts of the northeastern United States, and had the opportunity to retell and rehearse his story frequently. By 1835, he had a much clearer narrative set of memories to present, but the validity of his second account is questionable, (Young, 1999: 3, 9-10, 66). One of the key details that Young and other historians have questioned is Hewes' recollection of having seen John Hancock in disguise on-board a tea ship, destroying the crates alongside him. This was so popular at the time that it was accepted into a narrative and can still be found in educational material; but Hancock was not on the ships that night [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999: 44, 56, 66]. He remained at the Old South Meeting House, in public with other prominent figures to avoid being suspected of involvement, and to avoid the possibility of being arrested or killed if the protest were to be stopped by the British (Young, 1999; Leehey, 1994; OSMH, 2009). Young believes Hewes' misremembering of Hancock's place was partly due to the fact that it made Hewes' story more interesting, but was also symbolic of the social changes that what would come about the new country. Hewes had met Hancock previously, and had been quite intimidated by Hancock's wealth and status; on the ships, he would have been his equal, (Young, 1999: 3, 66).

In terms of the nature of memory, Hewes' inclination to misremember is not surprising; he was 91 in 1833 when his memories were first recorded, and 'research in cognitive aging has long recognized that older adults are more susceptible to false memories – both 'remembering' events that never occurred and misremembering events that did occur – than are younger adults,' (Dodson & Krueger, 2006: 770). But the ways in which his (and others') memories were shared influenced the ways in which people remember the American Revolution.

3.1.1 Public Memory

Hewes story contributed to a body of knowledge surrounding the American Revolution that was shared, and is still shared, in order to maintain and promote

notions of American heroism and unity during the Revolutionary era. When an event such as the Boston Tea Party is remembered, not just by its participants, but culturally as a significant and influential event, it becomes a shared, public, popular memory. The people who participated in the event are gone, but the story lives on to motivate and unite current and future generations. As Wertsch explains, ‘the driving force behind public memory is not accurate representation of the past. Instead it has to do with the present and future,’ (Wertsch, 2002: 3).

Remembering as a group is something societies often must do to establish and reaffirm their collective identities, and to promote cohesion. Groups rely on public memory to socialize newer or younger members by suggesting how to behave and what to believe, but as Raphael Samuel explains,

Popular memory is on the face of it the very antithesis of written history. It eschews notions of determination and seizes instead on omens, portents and signs. It measures change genealogically, in terms of generations rather than centuries, epochs or decades. It has no developmental sense of time, but assigns events to the mythicized ‘good old days’ (or ‘bad old days’) of workplace lore, or the ‘once upon a time’ of the storyteller. In place of the pedagogue’s ‘causes’ and ‘effects’ or the scholar’s pursuit of origins and climacterics, it deals in broad-brushed contrasts between ‘now’ and ‘then,’ ‘past’ and ‘present,’ the new-fangled and the old-fashioned. (Samuel, 2012: 6)

Just as religions often build on creation myths and origin stories to provide a foundation for unity, memories can be used in these ways by nations and ethnic groups, and public memories are often the basis for what is taught to children as History. As Connerton explains, ‘images of the past commonly legitimate a present social order. It is an implicit rule that participants in any social order must presuppose a shared memory,’ (Connerton, 1989: 3). But, though influential (as seen in the case Hewes’ story), the memories can be flawed and unfounded. What develops is a set of things that are believed to be true, with little historical basis and no historical proof; these can be considered Myths.

3.2 Myth

A working definition of what is considered mythology in this thesis is concerned with the ways in which present-day people remember documented historical events with inaccuracies, due to the ways in which the stories of historical events have been passed down, exaggerated, and changed over time. Hewes' version of the Boston Tea Party wherein John Hancock participates in the destruction of the tea is a story with mythical elements, even though the event otherwise took place as he described, as verified by contemporary news reports and diaries (Young, 1999; Drake, 1884).

A similar phenomenon in American History surrounds Paul Revere's ride to warn colonists that the British were advancing to attack towns in Massachusetts in 1775, as the details with which most people are familiar are from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1860 poem *Paul Revere's Ride*, (Longfellow, 1907). Of the many historical inaccuracies, the most egregious is likely that, after Longfellow's poem gained popularity, Paul Revere is the only rider popularly remembered; two other men – Samuel Prescott and William Dawes – also risked their lives to warn the inland towns, (Fischer, 1994: 129-148). Longfellow, however, wrote the poem as the American Civil War loomed; the poem – and the resulting myth – were intended to inspire American pride and patriotism in the Union, not to convey factual information, (Irmscher, 2008)⁵.

Myths often develop and continue to hold prominence over more accurate versions of events because they serve a cultural purpose, either motivating or uniting people, as Longfellow hoped to do. Doty explains that 'culturally important myths, 'big' stories as opposed to personal themes, reappear repeatedly within various frameworks of [a] society's oral and written literature, and are represented thematically in rituals and iconography,' (Doty, 1980: 536). The retelling of stories can be ritualistic in nature, but ritual exists further in the importance placed on anniversaries and commemorations of culturally significant events, especially those that celebrate creation, as myths about the American Revolution do. 'Mythic accounts, especially those that relate beginnings, embody ideas of wholeness, of order replacing chaos,' (Doty, 1980: 544). An American stability is thought to have arisen from the chaos of the American Revolution and events like the Boston Tea Party.

⁵ Longfellow's poem, *Paul Revere's Ride*, can be found in Appendix 2.

It is often difficult to wrestle less historically accurate, mythologized versions of the past away from people who feel connected to them. As Cohen contends in *History in Three Keys*, ‘once assertions about the past enter deeply into people’s minds (and hearts), it is arguable that they acquire a truth of their own, even if this truth does not at all coincide with what actually happened at some point in past time,’ (Cohen, 1997: 212). Cohen writes extensively on the topic of how myths develop and intertwine with historical accounts:

The past treated as myth is fundamentally different from the past treated as history. When good historians write history, their primary objective is to construct, on the basis of the evidence available, as accurate and truthful an understanding of the past as possible. Mythologizers, in a sense, do the reverse. Certainly, mythologizers start out with *an* understanding of the past, which in many (though not all) cases they may sincerely believe to be ‘correct.’ Their purpose, however is not to enlarge upon or deepen this understanding. Rather, it is to draw on it to serve the political, ideological, rhetorical, and/or emotional needs of the present. (Cohen, 1997: 213)

Mythology painted as history can be used to manipulate people who have an interest in continuing the system in which the myths exist; ‘myths gain their potency from their ability to persuade,’ and it is difficult to remove them from systems of understandings, because myths can contribute to a group’s and an individual’s sense of identity (Cohen, 1997: 212). Even if competing, accurate versions of history are available, people will often cling to the version they like best, as will be explored further in Chapter 4, and in the participants’ responses in Chapters 6 and 7.

3.3 History

One of the goals of history instruction is to help students become knowledgeable and loyal members of a nation-state. It is because the political stakes are so high that disputes can break out over the appropriateness and accuracy of various accounts of the past. But this

raises the question as to whether the instruction involved is really about history or collective memory. (Wertsch, 2002: 70)

In looking at what is taught as history, we see the greatest amount of overlap between what is provably factual and what people want to believe. In terms of a simple definition, Goodacre and Baldwin suggest, ‘if the past is taken to mean all that has gone before, then history is the exploration and interpretation of that past,’ (Goodacre & Baldwin, 2002: 9). However, as we have seen, the past is built on memories, which are not rational or infallible.

History is also often tasked with making sense of the present, which requires a narration of the past. No event happens on its own, without context or resulting aftermath, and a historian often writes from a perspective that includes an outcome that those present for the event could not foresee. Cohen explains,

The knowledge historians have of what comes next, their ability to move forward in time from any point in the past, is paralleled by their wide-angle vision, their capacity to range freely across a vast terrain, to sort out how the experiences of some individuals related to those of others and how a plurality of discrete events widely scattered over space (and time) combined to form event structures of broader scope, often – perhaps always – too broad to be encompassed in the experience of any one individual. (Cohen, 1997: 11)

A historian strings together events from the past in a way that explains the present, which is open to influence and manipulation from those with political or ideological interests in what people believe, and has a strong bearing on how people think of themselves as members of a community, nation, or group. ‘Just as memory validates personal identity, history perpetuates collective self-awareness,’ as is the case for many Americans with stories from the American Revolution, such as that of the Boston Tea Party (Lowenthal, 1985: 213).

3.4 The History of the Boston Tea Party

The dissection of what is fact and what is myth in popularly accepted versions of American History has been carried out exhaustively by authors from various disciplines⁶. In exploring the various versions of history surrounding the American Revolution, some of which are credible and some of which are blatantly mythological, it is important to look at how these myths are learned. Firstly, the versions of history that people carry with them into adulthood are often learned early in life; differing versions are taught for personal, cultural, and political reasons, and it is often up to learners to choose the version with which they are most comfortable, or that they prefer [Boyer, 1996; Linenthal, 1996; Wallace, 1996; Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998; Heehs, 1994]. Secondly, and pertinently for this study, the histories are learned during primary education. The students surveyed during this research project were between the ages of nine and eleven, and are still being given versions of history from which to choose. How mythologized versions are accepted into a person's body of knowledge as fact influences how this person will incorporate new information in the future.

The sooner that myths can enter into common knowledge after an event takes place, the more longevity they are likely to have [Davis, 2005; de Groot, 2009; Egan, 2007; Fisher, 1912; Lee, 2003; Loewen, 2007; Rubinstein, 2004; Smith, 1999; Midgley, 2003]. For example, in American history, myths abound surrounding events like the First Thanksgiving, the creation of the American Flag (a particularly fictitious but resilient story⁷), and the events of the American Revolution itself, with varying versions of why Americans rebelled, the identities of America's foreign allies, how dependent America's success was on foreign powers, and the personalities of the

⁶ For a list of authors who have written explored distinctions between American History and American Myths, see Appendix 3.

⁷ In the early 1800s, a story surfaced about a lady named Betsy Ross from Philadelphia, who had met with General Washington during the Revolutionary War. Usually, the stories claim this meeting took place during the winter of 1777, when Washington and his troops were starving and freezing outside of Philadelphia, in a place called Valley Forge. The story claims that Washington commissioned her to design and make a flag for the Continental Army and for the new nation; it is told in movies and books, on television and in documentaries, and even at the Betsy Ross House, a historical site in Philadelphia [White, 2011; Greene, 2002; Chanko, 2007]; but none of it is historically valid [Panati, 1989: 228-9; Theobald, 2012: 116; Loewen, 2007: 24; Leepson, 2011]. There is no record of Washington ever commissioning a flag, and no evidence to suggest that he ever met Betsy Ross, who did exist and worked as an upholsterer in Philadelphia. She had a grandson who, in the early 1800s, began telling people about his grandmother's role in the creation of the American flag. There is no record of a flag being designed officially until the Second Continental Congress passed a law regarding an American Flag in June, 1777 [Panati, 1989; Theobald, 2012; Loewen, 2007; Leepson, 2011].

Revolution's key players, etc. In the mid-1800s, as Americans realized they needed an official way to remember the American Revolution, overzealously patriotic authors created a national narrative. Many of the stories told by these authors [Watson, 1851; Drake, 1884; Bancroft, 1876] became the basis for myths about the American Revolution that persist today.

For the purposes of this research, the historical event in question is the Boston Tea Party, an event that is seen as a catalyst during the American Revolutionary period. There are versions of the story that are sensationalist, and others that are taken from more conservative (usually primary) sources. The story of the Boston Tea Party – or a version of the story – is likely easily recallable for American readers. However, as it will be necessary to differentiate between common mythology and documented history, and to determine what information children have incorporated into their understandings of the event as presented in the analysed data in Chapters 6 and 7, a brief summary of the American Revolutionary History surrounding the event and common stories of the Boston Tea Party will be presented here.

3.4.1 A Summary of the Events leading up to the Boston Tea Party

The Boston Tea Party is one of the most remembered events of the American Revolution. Occurring in 1773, the nonviolent destruction of 342 chests of the British East India Company's tea propelled Parliament to punish Massachusetts in such a way that the other colonies feared what might happen if they remained independent from each other. Coming together to aid Boston in the aftermath of the destruction, the American colonies took their first steps towards a united rebellion.⁸ In Boston, the Tea Party, as it came to be known in the 1830s, was the result of decades of conflict between the Patriots (those colonists who came to want independence from Great Britain) on one side, and the British government and Loyalists or Tories (those colonists who wanted the American Colonies to remain in the British Empire) on the other.

⁸ This overview of American Revolutionary history is compiled from numerous sources. In the United States, most of the events described here will exist in the realm of common knowledge, but international audiences can assume that, unless otherwise noted, general historical evidence for statements made about historical figures and events include [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

After the French and Indian War (1754-1763), known outside of the American Colonies as The Seven Years' War, Parliament began imposing taxes to try to repay the debt the war had created. The colonists had always paid taxes to their local, colonial legislatures, where they (or, at least the landowning white men) were represented by elected officials. The new Parliamentary imposed taxes were contentious, as many colonists did not feel that they should be taxed by a body in which they had no direct representation, and for funds that they believed would go to English matters instead of local, colonial maintenance. The main British expenditure in the American Colonies (during and following the war) was the maintenance of the British Regulars who were being kept on the frontiers to protect British colonists from the French to the north in Canada, and the indigenous populations. The British needed funds to continue to support and defend the American Colonies, and believed the colonists should assist in paying for their own protection.

The Sugar Act was the first tax act passed with this intention by Parliament in 1763. Many colonists were vocally critical and demanded its repeal; Parliament eventually gave in to the colonists' demands, repealing the Sugar Act in 1764. Next, the Stamp Act was passed in 1765. Also passed in 1765 was a Quartering Act that required colonists to provide housing (in public buildings or meeting houses) and provisions for troops stationed in the American colonies. While quartering of troops would become a more serious issue in 1774, the Stamp Act was the main concern of the colonists in 1765, [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

With the Stamp Act, every piece of legal documentation and most forms of paper-based recreation required an official stamp in order to be legal. Newspapers, deeds, marriage licenses, playing cards, etc. all needed a stamp, the cost of which depended on the item being stamped. Colonists reacted with protests, riots, and mass meetings; Stamp Tax Agents (either British officials, or Colonial Loyalists) were threatened, tarred and feathered, beaten, and had their homes destroyed. Many of these events occurred in northern shipping centres, like New York, Philadelphia, and Boston. A group called the Sons of Liberty began to gather a strong following. Its ranks included influential politicians, such as John Adams (who would become the second President of the United States) and Benjamin Franklin, who openly engaged in dialogues with Colonial Governors and members of Parliament. The Sons of Liberty had a more unruly side as well, and also included rabble-rousers such as Samuel Adams

(John Adam's cousin) and John Hancock who are believed to have orchestrated and funded (respectively) many of the public protests and riots. At the time, Thomas Hutchinson was the Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts, and he was believed to be a Stamp Tax supporter; his home was ransacked, as was the home of Andrew Oliver, a Stamp Tax Agent in Boston. Oliver resigned, but tax agents who were not forced or coerced to resign their posts appealed to Great Britain for assistance. The Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, but the Declaratory Act was passed with the repeal, reminding colonists that Parliament had the right to tax them whenever it wanted.

Getting rid of the Stamp Act left Parliament with no way of collecting money, and the Townshend Acts of 1767 were Great Britain's next answer to this problem. These acts taxed a number of imported items and placed new restrictions on trade. Laws regarding importation had been in place since the early 1700s – the Navigation Acts – but had gone ignored by both colonists and officials for decades. Again, the colonists reacted angrily, but the reactions were not as violent; they smouldered over time. Patriots throughout the colonies instructed merchants to boycott British goods, and to resist the importation laws by smuggling, if necessary. To help tax agents enforce the new customs restrictions – and to protect officials – troops were brought in from the frontiers to be closer to cities. In Boston's case, troops took up residence in tents on Boston Common and in the town's stables and public buildings. Tensions grew as soldiers were allowed to pursue additional income by taking up side-jobs when off-duty. A number of fights broke out during confrontations between colonists and soldiers who wanted the same jobs. Colonists would also taunt soldiers who were on patrol to try to provoke violence that would further criminalize the military presence, and loyal colonists clashed with those sympathetic to the Sons of Liberty. During a street fight between members of the Sons of Liberty and a boycott-breaking merchant in Boston on 22 February 1770, Christopher Seider – a twelve-year-old boy – was killed by the Loyalist merchant. Seider's funeral became a city-wide event and political statement, arranged by Samuel Adams. Businesses and schools were closed as the procession paraded through the streets of Boston; tensions between the Patriots and the Loyalists and British soldiers continued to mount and would erupt days later, on 5 March 1770 in the Boston Massacre [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

Esther Forbes' account of this night in *Paul Revere and the World He Lived In*, published in 1942, is particularly insightful and informative. (In 1943, she would

publish *Johnny Tremain*, a patriotic book about Pre-Revolutionary Boston for young adults that remains immensely popular and influential.) Her version describes everything about the day of the Boston Massacre, beginning with Edward Garrick (a barber's apprentice) hounding a British officer for payment and being injured by another officer who took offense at the boy taunting a soldier. A crowd began to gather and, though the officer Garrick had been following as well as the officer who struck Garrick had both returned to their quarters in the State House, the crowd began harassing an on-duty Regular in the street. The Regular was quickly overwhelmed and called for help. Captain Thomas Preston and his squad responded. There were eight Regulars in a crowd of about fifty rowdy colonists. The colonists began throwing snow and ice at the soldiers. Nearby, church bells began ringing, which was usually a signal that there was a fire in the town but, on this night, they were probably rung to bring more people into the streets. However, in the confusion, the soldiers with their rifles ready heard the word, 'fire' from somewhere (eyewitnesses confirmed that Preston did not say it) and fired into the crowd. Five colonists, including Crispus Attucks were killed. Ironically, on the same day thousands of miles away in London, the Townshend Acts were repealed in Parliament, (Forbes, 1942).

After the Massacre, the troops were relocated to Castle William, an island in Boston Harbor, and tensions relaxed for several years. In March of 1773, the Tea Act was passed, and it was exactly what the leaders of the Sons of Liberty had been looking for to get the colonists back into a rebellious mood. The British East India Company had been granted a monopoly in the colonies by Parliament; the colonists could only legally buy tea from the EIC, and only specifically selected colonial merchants would be allowed to sell the EIC tea. Merchants who had sold tea but were not selected to be consignees feared losing their businesses, and owners of other businesses feared the precedent set by this act. Boycotts were announced and rallies were held. Benjamin Franklin (who was in London at the time) discovered and secretly sent the names of the selected consignees to Sons of Liberty throughout the colonies, and the Tea Agents (as the consignees were called) were harassed up and down the coast of North America. By late autumn, Tea Agents in every port had resigned except for those in Boston, who happened to be related to Governor Hutchinson (two were his sons; the rest were his in-laws), [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

By the time the ships carrying the tea – the *Dartmouth*, the *Eleanor*, and the *Beaver* – arrived in November, the Sons of Liberty had resolved to not allow the tea to be landed. After the *Dartmouth* arrived on November 26, 1773, the merchants had 20 days to unload the cargo before it could be seized by customs officials. During this 20 day period, numerous public meetings were held. Faneuil Hall was the usual meeting place, but so many colonists were coming into Boston from the surrounding countryside that the Hall was overflowing; thousands of people were in attendance. The meetings were moved to a nearby Congregationalist (Puritan) meeting hall: The Old South Meeting House [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012]. On December 16, 1773, the last day before the Customs Deadline, a meeting was called at Old South Meeting House to try to find a solution to the stand-off.

During the December 16th meeting, Samuel Adams and other Sons of Liberty sent Francis Rotch, the young owner of the *Dartmouth*, to the Governor to ask for a pass for the *Dartmouth* to return to England with the tea; the request was denied. When the news of Hutchinson's decision reached Old South Meeting House just after nightfall, Samuel Adams rose and announced, 'This meeting can do nothing more to save this country,' which was a signal to the Sons of Liberty gathered within and around the church, [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012]. Within minutes, a group of about 150 men disguised as Mohawk Indians boarded the three ships holding tea. They had darkened their faces using grease, oil, and ash to avoid being identified, and they wore blankets over baggy, unusual clothing. Many of the participants had been present at the meeting all day with disguises hidden nearby [Bahne, 2005: 20; Drake, 1884: lxvii; Hull, 1999: 25].

Over the next three hours, the men hauled 342 chests of tea out of the ships' holds, smashed them open with hatchets, ripped apart the canvas casing inside, and dumped the tea into the harbour. While their behaviour was destructive, they were as quiet as possible, organized, and orderly. They did not want to draw violent attention to themselves. Nothing but the tea was destroyed on the ships, and nobody was harmed. In the harbour, the British Navy's *Kingfisher* and *Active* were nearby, but Admiral Montague later wrote that he didn't want them to fire on the protesters, as it would have caused too much damage to Griffin's Wharf, (Watson, 1851). The tide was very low, and tea piled up in some places; some men were sent out to wade in the murky mess

and make sure the tea was destroyed. Nearby, on the wharf, thousands gathered and watched in an eerie silence, afraid that the British soldiers or sailors might swoop in to stop the event, [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

Parliament was outraged upon learning of the destructive protest. In response, Parliament passed the Coercive Acts (the colonists referred to these acts as the Intolerable Acts). The Port of Boston was closed (The Boston Port Act); the charter of Massachusetts was revoked, meaning public meetings could no longer be held (The Massachusetts Government Act); a law was passed stating that any British officials accused of crimes in the colony would be removed to Nova Scotia, England, or another colony for trial (The Administration of Justice Act); and a new Quartering Act was passed, requiring colonists in the city of Boston to house British soldiers in their homes. The Quebec Act, though not one of the Coercive Acts and not intended to be punitive, was also considered one of the Intolerable Acts; it gave increased rights to Catholics in Quebec. The harshest of these was the Boston Port Act. The city depended on maritime trade, and the British intended to starve Bostonians into paying for the destroyed tea and/or turning in the orchestrators of the Destruction of the Tea. Closing the port meant depriving the city of its supply of almost everything. The land route to Boston (at the time) was a swampy isthmus that was very difficult to traverse during most times of the year. The other colonies, realizing that the Intolerable Acts could be imposed on any of them as well, recognized the need for unity. The Sons and Daughters of Liberty throughout the colonies sent supplies to the Bostonians so that they could endure the British occupation, and a step had been taken towards united rebellion. The Boston Tea Party is remembered as one of the first events that united the disjointed American colonies against Great Britain. Had Parliament's reciprocation not been so harsh, it is possible that the War for Independence would have been delayed, but by making an example of Boston, Parliament turned thirteen colonies into a single opponent, [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

3.4.2 Stories of the Boston Tea Party

Originally, the event was called *The Destruction of the Tea*. It was a serious protest that would not have been joked about by Bostonians – even in name – as the

British sought to harshly punish all of the people who had been involved (Young, 1999: 156). In the 1830s, as the memory became less violent and threatening, it became an ‘iconic event in the making of the Revolution,’ (Young, 1999: 160). As the United States settled into its identity, ‘calling the historic event the ‘tea party’ enabled the genteel to reduce it to child’s play,’ and created a protective layer of storytelling between the seriousness of the event when it happened and the way people wanted to remember Revolutionary glory (Young, 1999: 163).

Much of the United States’ Revolutionary History can be easily studied; written records, laws, and meeting minutes provide copious amounts of insight into the happenings. But the Boston Tea Party was not recorded at the time by any participants. In the 1760s and 1770s, gossip surrounding every encounter between British officials and colonial Patriots spread quickly; within days of the Destruction of the Tea, exaggerated versions of the story were being told alongside – and as – facts. At the time, people on both sides of the conflict were interested in spinning the details surrounding the event to vilify their opponents in an escalating war of propaganda that lasted through the Revolution and was still functioning when the young United States fought Great Britain for the second time in the War of 1812 [Watson, 1851; Young, 1999; Smith, 1999; Harrison, 2004; Harrison, Jones & Lambert, 2004]. While the histories of many American Revolutionary events can be pieced together easily using participants’ personal diary entries, letters, battle plans, and oral accounts, the Destruction of the Tea was shrouded in secrecy, as the participants feared recourse and punishments for the crime ranging from vandalism to treason. Participants simply did not admit to their involvement; a few came forward in the mid-1800s, as celebrated heroes of the Revolution, but being so advanced in age by then, the stories they had to tell were warped by time and memory, and cannot be considered factually evidentiary. As noted above, the memories of George Robert Twelves Hewes were recorded in the 1833 and 1835. A collection of letters and documents pertaining to the event was not created until the 1880s, when Francis S. Drake published *Tea Leaves*, (Drake, 1884). By the time any primary sources were being compiled regarding the protest, the event had existed in public memory for several decades, leading Americans to have similar general impressions about the event, but different ideas and interpretations of several factors that have evolved from the disparity between documentation and memory. Many aspects of the night have been altered to create a *better* or more publicly appealing story. Most blatantly and obviously, to make the

Figure 2: Account of the Destruction of the Tea, 20 Dec 1773 (from *The Boston Gazette and Country Journal*)

B O S T O N . December 20.

On Tuesday last the body of the people of this and all the adjacent towns, and others from the distance of twenty miles, assembled at the old South meeting-house, to inquire the reason of the delay in sending the ship *Dartmouth*, with the East-India Tea back to London; and having found that the owner had not taken the necessary steps for that purpose, they adjourn'd him at his peril to demand of the collector of the customs a clearance for the ship, and appointed a committee of ten to see it perform'd; after which they adjourn'd to the Thursday following ten o'clock. They then met and being inform'd by Mr. Rotch, that a clearance was refus'd him, they adjourn'd him immediately to enter a protest and apply to the governor for a pass port by the cattle, and adjourn'd again till three o'clock for the same day. At which time they again met and after waiting till near sunset Mr. Rotch came in and inform'd them that he had accordingly enter'd his protest and waited on the governor for a pass, but his excellency told him he could not consent with his duty grant it until his vessel was qualified. The people finding all their efforts to preserve the property of the East India company and return it safely to London, frustrated by the tea consignees, the collector of the customs and the governor of the province, DISSOLVED their meeting. — But, BEHOLD what followed! A number of brave & resolute men, determined to do all in their power to save their country from the ruin which their enemies had plotted, in less than four hours, emptied every chest of tea on board the three ships commanded by the captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin, amounting to 342 chests, into the sea!! without the least damage done to the ships or any other property. The masters and owners are well pleas'd that their ships are thus clear'd; and the people are almost universally congratulating each other on this happy event.

[The particular Account of the Proceedings of the People at their Meeting on Tuesday and Thursday last, are omitted this Week for want of Room.]

Capt. Loring in a Brig from London for this Place, having 58 Chests of the detested Tea on board, was cast ashore on the Back of Cape Cod last Friday se'nnight: 'Tis expected the Cape Indians will give us a good Account of the Tea against our next.

Destruction of the Tea more intriguing, the name was changed to the Boston Tea Party (Young, 1999: 163).

One of the first places in which a description of the Boston Tea Party appeared was the following account of the event published in *The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, a Boston newspaper, on December 20, 1773, four days after the Destruction of the Tea (see Figure 2).

On Tuesday last the body of the people of this and all the adjacent towns, and others from the distance of twenty miles, assembled at the old south meeting-house to inquire the reason of the delay in sending the ship *Dartmouth*, with the East-India Tea back to London; and having found that the owner had not taken the necessary steps for that purpose, they enjoin'd him at his peril to demand of the collector of the customs a clearance for the ship, and appointed a committee of ten to see it perform'd; after which they adjourn'd to the Thursday following ten o'clock. They then met and being inform'd by Mr. Rotch, that a clearance was refus'd him, they enjoyn'd him immediately to enter a protest and apply to the governor for a pass port by the castle, and adjourn'd again till three o'clock for the same day. At which time they again met and after waiting till near sunset Mr. Rotch came in and inform'd them that he had accordingly enter'd his protest and waited on the governor for his pass, but his excellency told him he could not consistent with his duty grant it until his vessel was qualified. The people finding all their efforts to preserve the property of the East India Company and return it safely to London, frustrated by the tea consignees, the collector of the customs and the governor of the province, DISSOLVED their meeting – But, BEHOLD what followed! A number of brave & resolute men, determined to do all in their power to save their country from the ruin which their enemies had plotted, in less than four hours, emptied every chest of tea on board the three ships commanded by the captains Hall, Bruce, and Coffin, amounting to 342 chests, into the sea!! without the least damage done to the ships or any other property. The masters and owners are well pleas'd that their ships

are this clear'd; and the people are almost universally congratulating each other on this happy event. (Lee, 1917: 86)

This simple narrative is the basis for many of the retellings that have occurred since the American Revolution. Exaggerations are widespread, but some educational sources choose to simplify the story rather than get into different representations of specific details. The following is the simple description of the Boston Tea Party offered by the Library of Congress, which is taken from Richard B. Morris's *Encyclopedia of American History*:

When British tea ships arrived in Boston harbor, many citizens wanted the tea sent back to England without the payment of any taxes. The royal governor insisted on payment of all taxes. On December 16, a group of men disguised as Indians boarded the ships and dumped all the tea in the harbor. (Morris, 1996)

The types of presentation vary. Disguised participants can be described in patriotic stories as being overtly violent and in full Mohawk Indian character, including weaponry and war paint, which primary reports do not mention, and would not have been available or practical; the darkened faces were intended to hide the identities of the participants and not to trick onlookers into thinking they were actually Mohawk Indians [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Johnston, 1908; Cummins, 2012]. Further, the environmental conditions of the night are exaggerated to create a more tense atmosphere on which to stage the protest than the clearing skies and crescent moon that were present (Doescher & Olson, 1993). These alterations are especially prevalent in children's books, which generally display a widely varied approach to telling the story of the Boston Tea Party, including differing representations of the events leading up to the Destruction of the Tea, the number of ships that were boarded during the event, the number of people involved, the behaviour of the spectators, and the repercussions, as will be explored in Chapter 4. When presented to young readers, these small differences create an imagined image of the event that seem to be difficult to dislodge when, later in adolescence, more factually based accounts are taught.

Also in some children's books, to create a familiar cast of characters, various historical personalities are inserted where they could not possibly have been. For

example, Samuel Adams is named in exaggerated versions as one of the protesters. While it was on his signal that the participants departed for the wharf to dump the tea, Adams remained at the Old South Meeting House, as did most other prominent, politically active, and easily recognizable Bostonians, like Dr. Joseph Warren, John Hancock, and James Otis; their presence in public at the meeting house during the destruction was an irrefutable alibi protecting them personally from accusations of involvement. These discrepancies arise from attempts to draw people into the story of the Boston Tea Party, but they create widespread misconceptions about the event; it was a relatively quiet, tense act of vandalism carried out by anonymous members of the Sons of Liberty who were mostly young journeymen and apprentices [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Johnston, 1908; Cummins, 2012]. But storytellers like to be able to give characters names, and if a familiar name can be given to a character, it appears to be acceptable to some children's authors to bend the truth and put a person where he was not, rather than risk having an uninterested audience. (Again, several ways in which various versions of the story are presented to children through textbooks, storybooks, and media will be discussed in Chapter 4.)

This phenomenon, of disseminating traditional mythology, arguably explains why misconceptions about the details of the Boston Tea Party are prevalent. Exciting, mythologized versions of the history are presented to people when they are young, and because these exciting versions are more appealing than strictly factual versions, they are retained. More accurate portrayals seem to be more easily overlooked or forgotten in favour of the versions involving colourful war paint, threatening tomahawks, and exciting adventure [Egan, 2007; Lee, 2003; Heehs, 1994; Midgley, 2003; Raphael, 2010; Fisher, 1912; Smith, 1999; Johnston, 1908].

Chapter 4

Mythologized Histories

This chapter further explores the nature of myths, memories, and histories as they apply specifically to American trends in remembering American history, and the ways in which children and students are introduced to these systems of remembering through their interactions with socially prevalent images and interpretations of the American past as disseminated by formal educational material and popular media.

Firstly, the mythologized histories that are presented to pre-adolescent American students are explored, including portrayals found in children's school textbooks, storybooks, and cultural media. Secondly, American Mythology found in American society and culture are examined, in terms of otherness and identity in American Mythology, the resilience of American Myths, the purposes of mythologizing the American past, the relationships between myths and rituals, and some examples of the semi-religious nature of American Remembrance, with reference to martyrs and relics.

4.1 Mythologized histories, as presented to pre-adolescent American students

The line between history and myth is easily blurred in the remembering of American history – and likely all histories. Myths are stories that are passed down and assumed to be true. But in the practice of recording and repeating stories of events, uncontested recorded histories can be passed down and assumed to be true, becoming mythical [Heehs, 1994; Cohen, 1997; Gable & Handler, 1994; Egan, 2007]. This cyclical nature and the resilience of popular myth make it almost impossible to stamp out existing myths and replace them with what could be considered to be truer (Heehs, 1994: 4, 15). It is possible to appreciate history as history and myths as myths, but proponents of each are usually against collusion with the other. Peter Heehs explains:

Myth and history are often considered antithetical modes of explanation. Those who study the data of one field tend to look down on or exclude those of the other... Hence the most prevalent use of the word 'myth' among historians: an interpretation that is considered blatantly false.

Many students of myth have a similarly dismissive attitude towards history and its methods. (Heehs, 1994: 1-2).

The things present-day Americans remember as *historical facts* – whether about the Boston Tea Party, or any historical event – encompass information they have been formally taught, even if that includes mythology as well as history, which is not universally uncommon. As Leehey writes, ‘is there not a point at which any story, no matter how inaccurate, becomes part of the historical record?,’ (Leehey, 1994: 7). Material that is formally taught might have been based on academic scholarship and primary documentation. But it also might have been intentionally spun by careless or partisan teachers who would prefer to perpetuate their favorite accounts; versions of stories they heard and liked, such as dramatized depictions of events in Hollywood productions that are entertaining but questionably accurate; and popular myths that have been passed down through generations – at times, through familial histories, and at times through institutional histories – which have a tendency to be resilient in the face of competing factually accurate versions of events and appeal to public imagination and fancy in a way that more accurate (but possibly more boring) information cannot.

What follows is a look at some ways in which pre-adolescent children in the northeastern United States – children like the students interviewed for this thesis – may have had information about the Boston Tea Party presented to them. The examples from classroom textbooks are not necessarily from textbooks that the research participants will have seen; the evaluated storybooks are not necessarily available or of interest to all children – it is possible that the research participants may have read some of them on their own, or as curriculum, or that they have never seen them at all; and the examples created as educational entertainment are likely to be under the same conditions as the storybooks. But the wide-spread presence of the story of the Boston Tea Party in American culture should not be underestimated, and this section will illustrate some of its breadth.

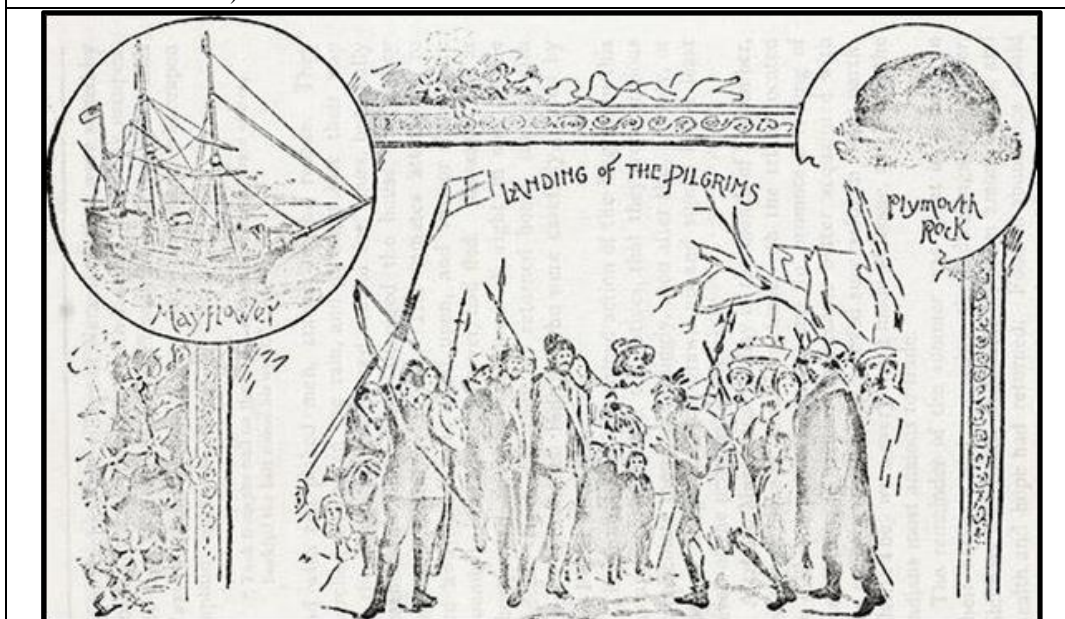
4.1.1 Portrayals in children’s school textbooks

In considering classroom textbooks, it would be possible to consult hundreds of books created as educational tools, beginning with materials published in the late 1700s

and continuing through today. Most examples here are from textbooks that are currently being used in classrooms in the northeastern United States, but should not be considered representative of all time periods, or of what children in all regions of the United States are taught. Issues with the ways in which the event are presented in textbooks – the inaccuracies and arguments against them – are detailed in a number of authors' works [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Lee, 2003; Loewen, 2007; Midgley, 2003; Raphael, 2010; Johnston, 1908]. The arguments refuting the representations in these textbooks are compiled from these sources.

Embellishments and the romanticizing of events from American history is common, and applies to multiple historical events throughout America's history. The most prevalent myth is likely that of the American Thanksgiving. Children in primary school are taught that Thanksgiving commemorates the First Thanksgiving, when Puritan colonists in Massachusetts and their native neighbours came together for a feast celebrating their survival of their first year in the colony, the harvest, and their friendship (see Figure 3). This narrative is so fundamental in the United States that James Loewen refers to it as American's 'origin myth,' (Loewen, 2007: 71). In a 1998 book for children aged '7 & up,' Betsy Maestro explains that the winter had been hard for Puritan settlers, but that 'By the following fall, when the feast we call Thanksgiving first took place, the Pilgrims settled into their new lives. They had plenty to eat, comfortable houses, and nothing to fear from their new neighbors,' (Maestro, 1998: 11).

Figure 3: Reverend John Alden, 1890 (from *The Story of a Pilgrim Family from the Mayflower to the Present Time*)



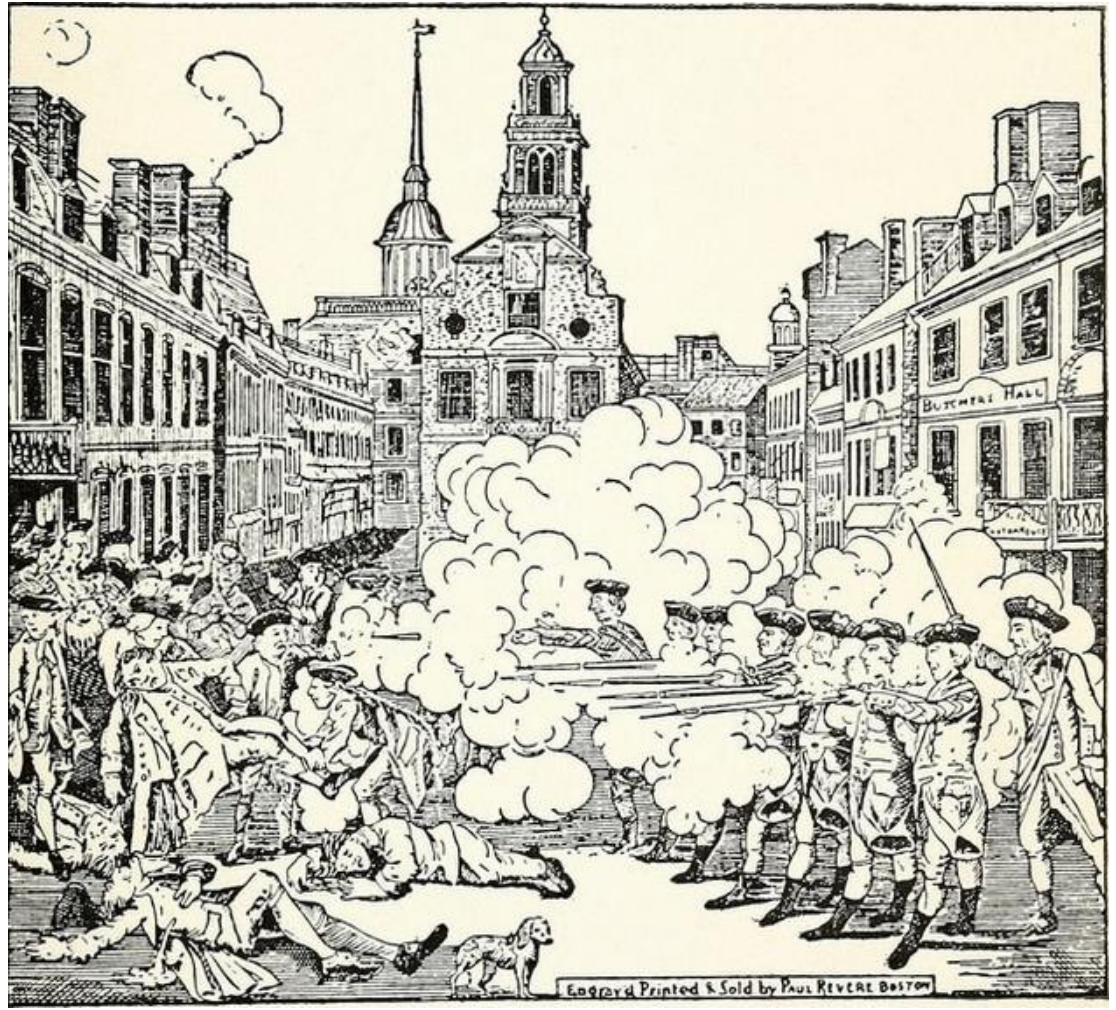
Actually, they were starving, had moved into dwellings that had been vacated by native inhabitants who had recently died from the European delivered plague, and were constantly at war with the surrounding tribes, not to mention the possibility that they had hijacked the Mayflower, landing far north of their intended destination (Jamestown, in Virginia) on purpose [Theobald, 2012; Loewen, 2007; Hobsbawm, 1983]. Loewen explains that ‘such a happy portrait of the Pilgrims,’ such as Maestro’s – which are ritualistically taught in elementary school classrooms throughout the United States each autumn - ‘can be painted only by omitting the facts about the plague, the possible hijacking, and their Indian relations,’ (Loewen, 2007: 84). Mary Miley Theobald succinctly explains that:

That heartwarming tale of Pilgrims and Indians sharing a Thanksgiving feast and prayers at Plymouth never took place. More accurately, it is the combination of two events that did take place: a harvest feast that occurred in 1621 with about ninety Wampanoag Indians and a day of thanksgiving declared by William Bradford in 1623. The pious Pilgrims did not consider the feast a ‘thanksgiving,’ which to them meant a solemn day of prayer at church, not a harvest celebration with non-Christians. (Theobald, 2012: 24)

While the narrative of the First Thanksgiving is based the events Theobald lists, as described by George Bancroft in his 1876 *History of the United States*, the current holiday was enacted in 1863 when, during the Civil War, Abraham Lincoln decided it should be an annual American holiday on the fourth Thursday of the month of November (Bancroft, 1876: 237, 241). The story children learn is an amalgamation of stories, but it is taught as fact, and remembered as such.

Another problem in separating fact from fiction in teaching young students about American history arises when sources that can be considered *primary* are propagandist in nature. For example, Figure 4 shows an engraving created for newspapers in Boston by Paul Revere following the Boston Massacre. The picture shows aggressive British troops firing into a seemingly harmless crowd of Bostonians. The colonists do not appear to be provocative, and a little dog has to watch the whole thing (the dog can be seen at the bottom of the picture, in the centre). This inaccurate illustration was created *as* propaganda at the time, but that qualification is often omitted

Figure 4: Paul Revere, 1770, 'The Bloody Massacre.' (from B. Moses *Paul Revere: The Torch Bearer of the Revolution*)



when the engraving appears alongside descriptions of the Massacre in textbooks [Appleby, et al, 2009; Kennedy, et al, 2008; Blum, et al, 1973; Channing, 1919; Jones, et al, 2008].

Likewise, when explaining the Boston Tea Party, textbook authors approach the subject with differing levels of attention, and with different levels of accuracy. (The following sampling is by no means exhaustive, but serves to present some examples.) In *Western Civilization: Ideas, Politics, and Society*, the authors describe the entire event in a few brief sentences, saying that in 1773,

Parliament granted the East India Company exclusive rights to sell tea in America. The colonists regarded this as yet another example of British

tyranny. When a crowd of Bostonians dressed as Indians climbed aboard the East Indian ships and dumped about ninety thousand pounds of tea overboard, the British responded with a series of repressive measures, which included suppressing self-government in Massachusetts and closing the port of Boston. (Perry, et al, 2009: 445-7)

While incredibly general, this account is not inaccurate. Readers will be left ignorant of the full scope of the Intolerable Acts, but this is an example of a textbook underrepresenting the past rather than exaggerating it for dramatic purpose.

In a 2009 textbook, *An American Journey*, the authors describe the event as follows:

Three tea ships arrived in Boston Harbor in late 1773. The royal governor refused to let the ships leave and ordered them to be unloaded. The Boston Sons of Liberty acted swiftly. On December 16, a group of men disguised as Mohawks boarded the ships at midnight. They threw 342 chests of tea overboard, and event that became known as the Boston Tea Party. (Appleby, et al, 2009: 129)

This account is mostly accurate, but the event wasn't at midnight. In fact, it was over before midnight, but this is a small error. A more troublesome implication is that in blaming a group of men – the Sons of Liberty – it denies some colonists (like John Hancock and Samuel Adams) credit for their involvement and, more importantly, it makes ambiguous the number of colonists involved. The Sons of Liberty could have been comprised of five people or the entire city of Boston. It creates an illusion of a large, united force of colonists resisting British rule, when – at this point – the city of Boston was almost evenly divided in feelings towards the British government, and involvement in resistance was secretive. These authors go on to explain the British response accurately, stating:

The British government responded by passing the Coercive Acts in 1774. These harsh laws were intended to punish the people of Massachusetts for their resistance to British law. The Coercive Acts closed Boston Harbor until the Massachusetts colonists paid for the

ruined tea. This action prevented the arrival of food and other supplies that normally came by ship. Worse, the laws took away certain rights. For example, the laws banned most town meetings in New England. The Coercive Acts also forced Bostonians to shelter soldiers in their own homes. Parliament planned to isolate Boston with these acts. Instead the other colonies sent food and clothing to support Boston. The colonists held that the Coercive Acts violated their rights as English citizens... The colonists expressed their feelings in *their* name for the new laws – the Intolerable Acts. (Appleby, et al, 2009: 129)

The Intolerable Acts do not require much in the way of embellishment to show that the British wanted to punish the people of Boston, and that the punishments were especially severe.

In *Created Equal*, a 2008 textbook, Jones, Wood, and Borstelmann go into much more detail than Appleby, et al. They relate the story of George Robert Twelves Hewes, and explain the reasoning behind the Tea Act of 1773 (Jones, et al, 2008: 138, 155). Of the event itself, they explain:

On December 16, the largest mass meeting of the decade took place at Boston's Old South Church. A crowd of 5,000, including many from other towns, waited in a cold rain to hear whether Hutchinson would relent. When word came that the governor had refused, the cry went up, 'Boston Harbor a teapot tonight!' A band of 150 men, disguised as Mohawk Indians and carrying hatchets, marched to the docks and boarded the ships. As several thousand supporters looked on, this disciplined crew spent three hours methodically breaking open chests of tea and dumping the contents overboard. The well-organized operation united participants representing all levels of society – from merchants such as John Hancock to artisans such as George Hewes – and news of the event spurred similar acts of defiance in other ports. Sixty years later, as one of the oldest veterans of the Revolution, Hewes still recalled with special pride his role in 'the destruction of the tea.' (Jones, et al, 2008: 155-6).

There are a few problems with the way these authors tell the story. Firstly, Old South Church is a different site than the Old South Meeting House. Old South Church is an Anglican church; the Old South Meeting House was a Puritan Congregational Meeting House. Old South Church is also much smaller than Old South Meeting House, where the town meeting was moved when it grew too big to be held at Faneuil Hall. Many children's books that are not strictly for classroom education also mistakenly identify the site of the meeting incorrectly, as will be seen in the upcoming section. Secondly, several thousand onlookers did watch the destruction of the tea, but to say that all of them were supporters creates an impression of unanimity among Bostonians that did not exist. Lastly, it is widely believed that Hewes' memory of having seen Hancock aboard the ships is inaccurate (Young, 1999: 3, 66). Hancock remained at the Old South Meeting House with Sam Adams to establish their alibi. Hewes was either mistaken at the time of the event, or – in the sixty years between his involvement and his documented recollections – his memory changed to incorporate Hancock (Young, 1999). This becomes problematic because, to suggest that someone as prominent as Hancock openly participated also suggests a more brazen approach to resistance at this point in Revolutionary evolution than was taking place.

In the 2008 textbook *The American Pageant*, Kennedy, Cohen, and Bailey define the event in the book's glossary as a 'rowdy protest against the British East India Company,' (Kennedy, et al, 2008: A30). Students trying to learn about the event using just the definition will be misled, as the event was destructive, but not particularly rowdy; it was quite orderly in the way it was executed. In the chapter dealing with Revolutionary history, the authors explain the event in more detail:

On December 16, 1773, roughly a hundred Bostonians, loosely disguised as Indians, boarded the docked ships, smashed open 342 chests of tea, and dumped their contents into the Atlantic, an action that came to be known as the Boston Tea Party. A crowd of several hundred watched approvingly from the shore as Boston harbor became a vast teapot. Donning Indian disguise provided protesters with a threatening image – and a convenient way of avoiding detection. Tea was the perfect symbol to rally around as almost every colonist, rich or poor, consumed this imported, caffeinated beverage. (Kennedy, et al, 2008: 136)

Again, the crowd of onlookers is described as supportive (not all spectators were) but it is also underrepresented; there were thousands, not hundreds, of people watching. Generally, the account of these authors is the most appropriate that could be found in this survey. Of the aftermath, the authors explain that the reactions to the destruction varied widely and that the colonies were not in agreement over the righteousness of the destruction, or the prospect of independence from Great Britain, but that the retribution inflicted by the British united the colonies in fear against the British in an unprecedented way.

Some of these inconsistencies may seem insignificant, but they are not inexcusable when they appear in material that is created strictly for educative purposes. While some misrepresentations are simply mistakes, others are indicative of authors relying on mythologized histories when they create their own, perpetuating error filled versions of the Boston Tea Party that can be found just as often outside of schools.

4.1.2 Portrayals in children's storybooks

What follows is a brief exploration of children's storybooks on the Boston Tea Party. Throughout this survey, examples of differing authors' approaches will be presented. The event itself, combining costumes and pageantry with destruction and protest, can be captivating for readers of all ages, and many children's authors have taken advantage of the already rich narrative. Though the level of historical accuracy varies – sometimes quite widely – between the many Boston Tea Party books written for children, the basic story is always the same: The colonists are taxed unfairly and destroy the tea to show their dissatisfaction. This section identifies some mythologized elements of the basic narrative to which the participants in this research may have been exposed, in an effort to anticipate the types of ideas the students may have about the Boston Tea Party and early American Revolutionary history.

To fully explore the realm of stories available to American children, a brief survey of children's books was conducted. It would be nearly impossible to evaluate every children's book on the subject of the Boston Tea Party, but this survey has been as comprehensive as possible. Sixty-one (61) children's books have been consulted⁹. Of these, thirty-nine (39) claimed to be purely historical accounts; nine (9) were historical

⁹ For a bibliography of the consulted children's books, see Appendix 4.

accounts told through or using fictional characters; five (5) were historical fiction featuring a female protagonist; three (3) were historical fiction featuring a male protagonist; four (4) were historical fiction featuring a brother/sister protagonist team; and two (2) dealt with Revolutionary period personalities, rather than the event specifically. The majority (forty-three (43) of the books) were aimed at nine- and ten-year old children (the collection spanned books directed at four- to fifteen-year-olds). Where these historical accounts contain evidentiary citations [Cunningham, 2013; Forbes, 1943; Krull, 2013; Olesky, 1993; Osborne, 2004; Phelan, 1973], the stories do more closely resemble strictly educational material. However, those that make no attempt at citations suggest that the event, as a whole, has crossed the line from history into mythology, as the story is told and meant to be believed, as a matter of tradition and cultural identity (Egan, 2007). The story has moved beyond needing proof in its retelling; it has been around for so long that most adult Americans can retell the event, exhibiting the small differences in detail that children's authors exhibit in their writings.

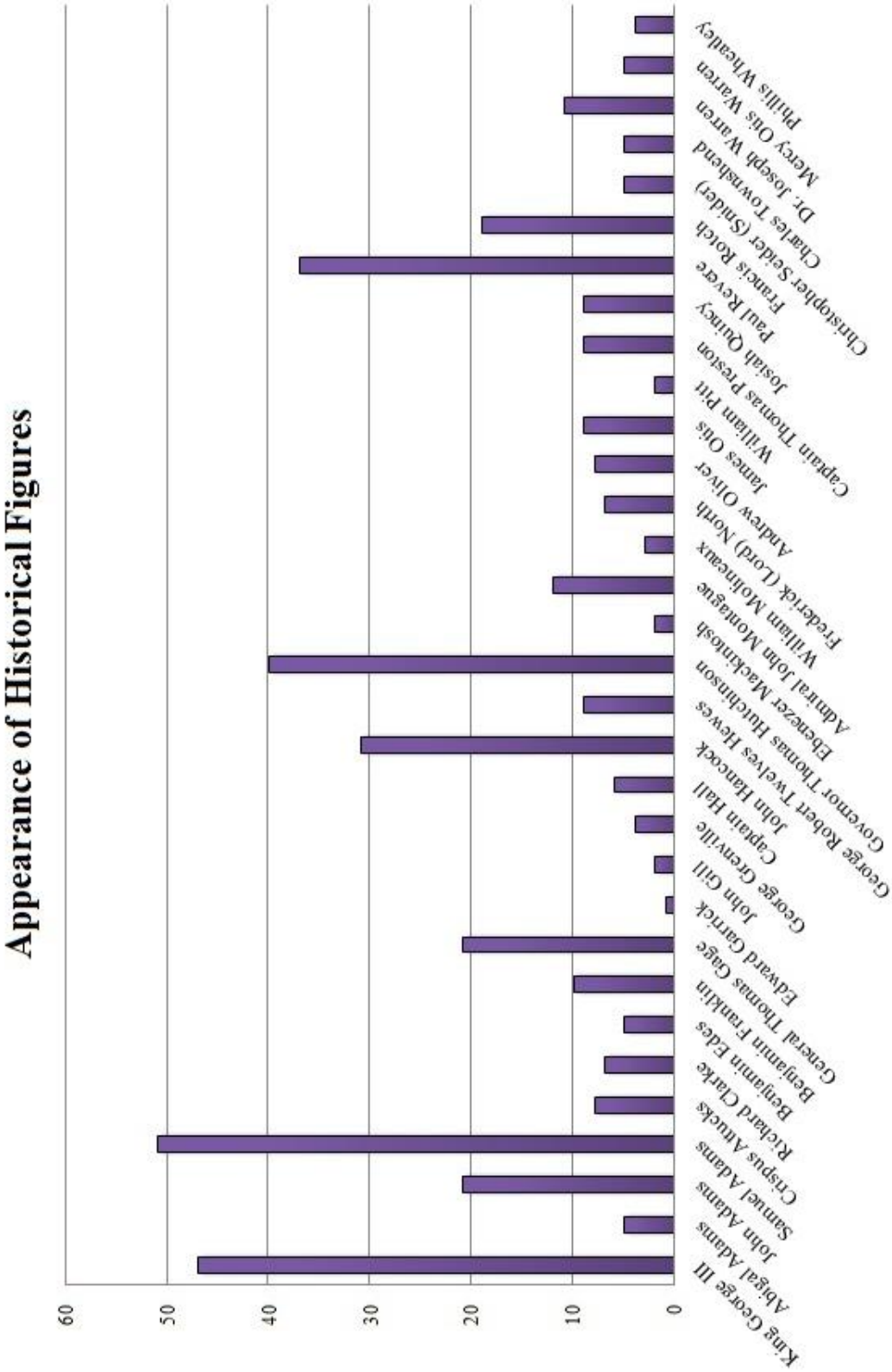
Historical Personalities

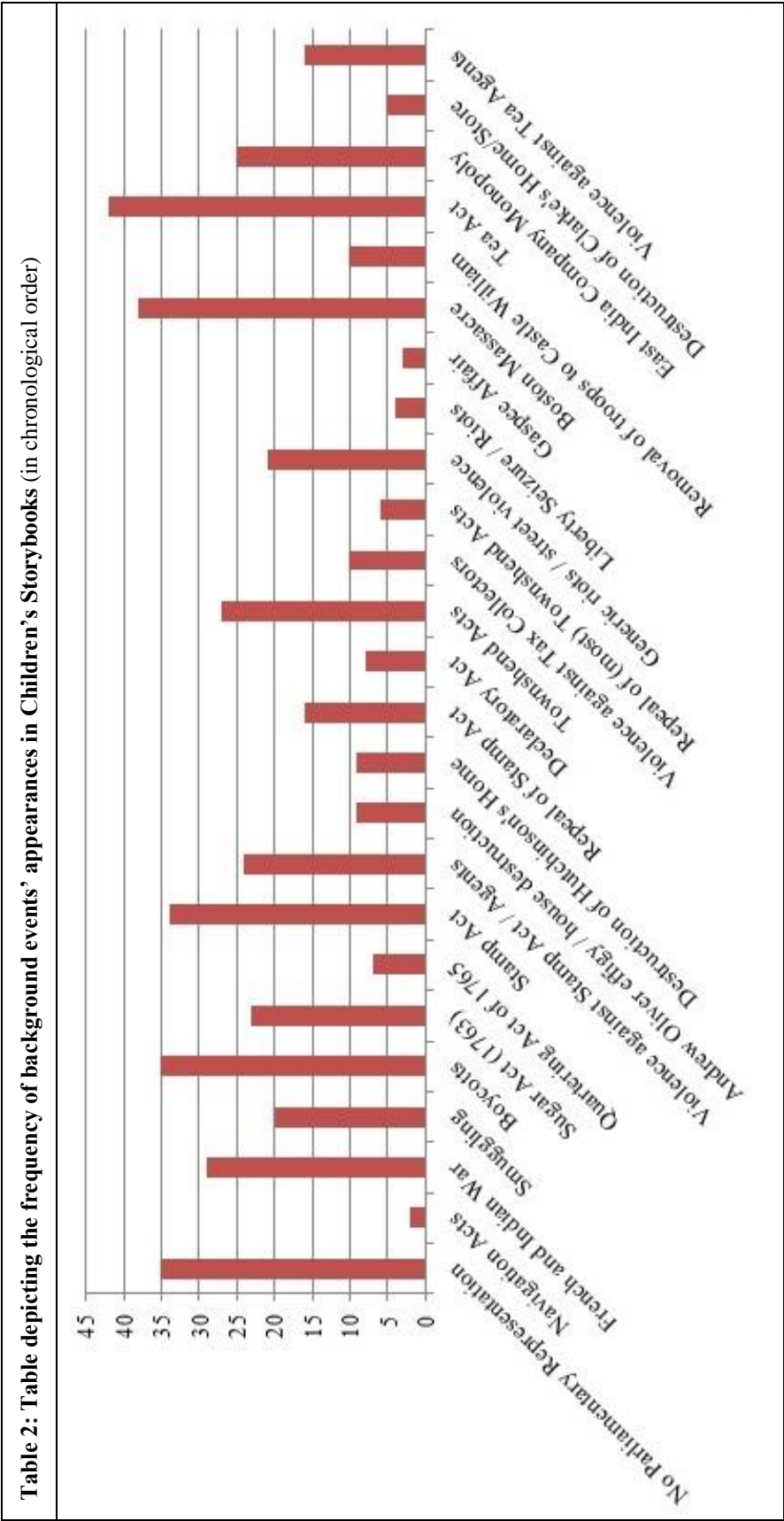
While there are different combinations and levels of significance given to various historical figures throughout the children's books, there are several Colonial Patriots and Loyalists who regularly appear. These are the people through whom the story of the Boston Tea Party is told. Not all historical figures appear in all books (see Figure 3.4). Samuel Adams is mentioned in 51 out of 61 of the books, and King George III is mentioned almost as frequently, in 47 out of 61 books. Other prominent characters are Governor Thomas Hutchinson (40 out of 61), Paul Revere (37 out of 61) and John Hancock (31 out of 61). It would be difficult to read just a few random children's books about the Boston Tea Party and avoid learning something about these key players. Table 1 lists the historical figures that appear in the surveyed books¹⁰.

Those that are mentioned are not always described correctly; for example, General Thomas Gage's first name is occasionally said to be 'George' (Phelan, 1973), and Jonathon Madden explains that King George II was the king during the Boston Tea Party – which would have been difficult, because he had died thirteen years earlier,

¹⁰ For identifying information about these figures, see Appendix 5.

Table 1: Table depicting the frequency of historical figures' appearances in Children's Storybooks (in alphabetical order)





(Madden, 2011). But, the various versions of the story usually focus on Samuel Adams' leadership of the Sons of Liberty and the young patriots struggle against the unfair and irrational British, who denied Americans a voice in Parliament and insisted on enforcing taxes just to raise money. The truth is that, while resorting to direct taxation of the colonies to help repay the debt of the French and Indian War – a war fought in the colonies – Parliament and British officials were so eager to find an effective and reasonable solution that three tax acts (the Sugar Act, 1763-1764; the Stamp Act, 1765-1767; and the Townshend Acts, 1767-1770) were repealed due to the protestation and unrest of the colonists, [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999; Watson, 1851; Thatcher, 1835; Johnston, 1908; Forbes, 1942; Bancroft, 2012].

Historical Backstory

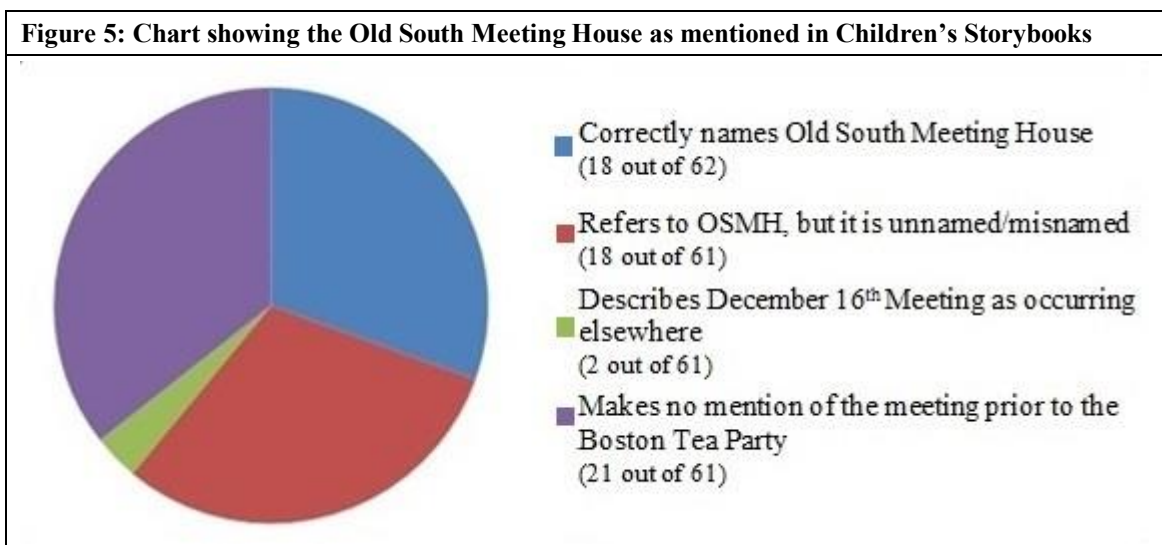
Authors of children's books on the subject of the Boston Tea Party include various pieces of the event's backstory (see Table 2). Most focus on the fact that American colonists had no representation in Parliament, and that many people felt that the taxes were unfair. The Sugar Act is at times overlooked because the resistance to it was not as strong as the resistance to the Stamp Act. Often, the repeals of acts also go unmentioned. While the Boston Massacre is a common element, the removal of troops following the 1770 event is mentioned far less frequently. In fact, some authors have their facts wrong and explain that Regulars were still quartered in The Common, or on patrol in December of 1773, [Brodeur, 2004; Gunderson, 2008; Kornblatt, 1987; Quinn, 2011; Rocca, 2008; Stanley, 2001; Stephens, 2003; Thompson, 2010; Webb, 1956]. This inconsistency can make familiarity with the event difficult for younger readers: Did the colonists participating in the Tea Party have to hide from soldiers in the city? They did not, but we might question whether this fact is played with to increase suspense when reading, or whether it simply because of carelessness.

The accompanying graph also shows some authors mentioning the seizure of the *Liberty* and the *Gaspee* Affair. The *Liberty* was a ship of Hancock's, seized by British officials who suspected it was being used to smuggle. Bostonians reacted violently to the seizure. The *HMS Gaspee* was a British ship used to catch smugglers, but also to harass honest sailors. It ran aground off Rhode Island in 1772, and was attacked and burned by Sons of Liberty from Providence. These preceding events are

rarely mentioned, but help display the level of animosity present in the colonies leading up to the Boston Tea Party.

The Main Event: The Boston Tea Party

The only fact that seems to be universally acknowledged by authors of children's books is that tea was dumped into Boston Harbor. About half of the children's books accurately describe and name the ships (32 out of 61). However, some misrepresent the ships, describing only one, or leaving young readers to guess how many ships were there. A few do not describe ships [Canon, 1998; Goodman, 1998; Lynch, 2010; Tucker, 2001; Wade, 2001; Zeinert, 1996]. Authors of children's books also demonstrate differing levels of familiarity with the Old South Meeting House, the site where the meeting prior to the Destruction of the Tea took place. Unfortunately, only 18 of the 61 books correctly describe the location of the meetings (see Figure 5).

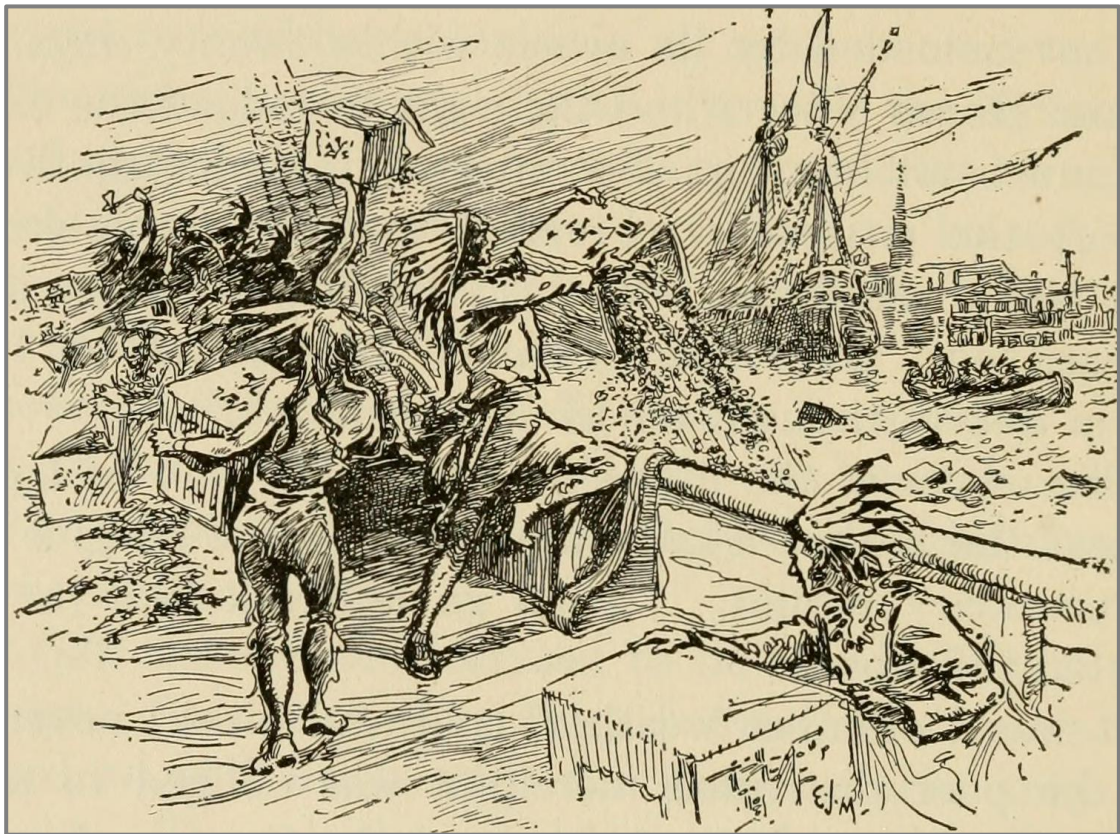


Most books use the phrase 'Mohawk Indians' in describing the disguises participants wore (51 out of 61). They did not intend to be taken for real Mohawk Indians, but were altering their appearances in order to avoid being identified. Some authors accurately explain that no participants were yet disguised during the meeting at the Old South Meeting House (15 out of 61). Others show participants in costumes (8 out of 61). They used blankets to cover their clothing, but contrary to many versions found in children's books, they did not wear feathers in their hair, carry tomahawks, or wear buckskin [Drake, 1884; Young, 1999]. Some authors (16 out of 61) explain that

Sam Adams gave a signal to the participants at the end of the town meeting at Old South Meeting House, but most do not reference his triggering the event. A few (6 out of 61) erroneously claim he participated in the destruction.

Children's books often include illustrations (such as in Figure 6) that further mislead young readers. The participants' main concern was concealing their identities, and facial colouring was the device used. Most authors of children's books acknowledge that the participants were orderly and composed, but a few choose to describe the event as rowdy, boisterous, and violent in an attempt to make the story more dramatic. The behaviour of the spectators on the docks in also exaggerated. They would have been quiet, afraid of British attention, but less responsible authors take creative license, describing spectators as cheering or yelling to the participants on the ships.

Figure 6: Destruction of the Tea, 1921 (from Southworth's *First Book of American History*)



Aftermath

Again, varying degrees of detail and accuracy are exhibited by children's book authors when discussing the aftermath of the Boston Tea Party. Most (46) at least mention the closing of the Port of Boston; 12 mention the 'Coercive Acts'; 26 mention the 'Intolerable Acts'; 16 reference the acts, but do not name them; 22 describe the prohibition of town meetings; 7 say the capital of the colony was moved to Salem; 9 describe how British officials could no longer be tried in the American colonies for offenses committed in the American colonies; 10 explain that General Gage was imposed as a Military Governor for Massachusetts; 16 list the occupation of Boston by British troops; 18 name the Quartering Act; 4 mention the Quebec Act; and 27 explain how the event sparked feelings of kinship between the colonies, leading to a more unified approach to resistance. 13 of the 61 books list no repercussions at all (see Table 3).

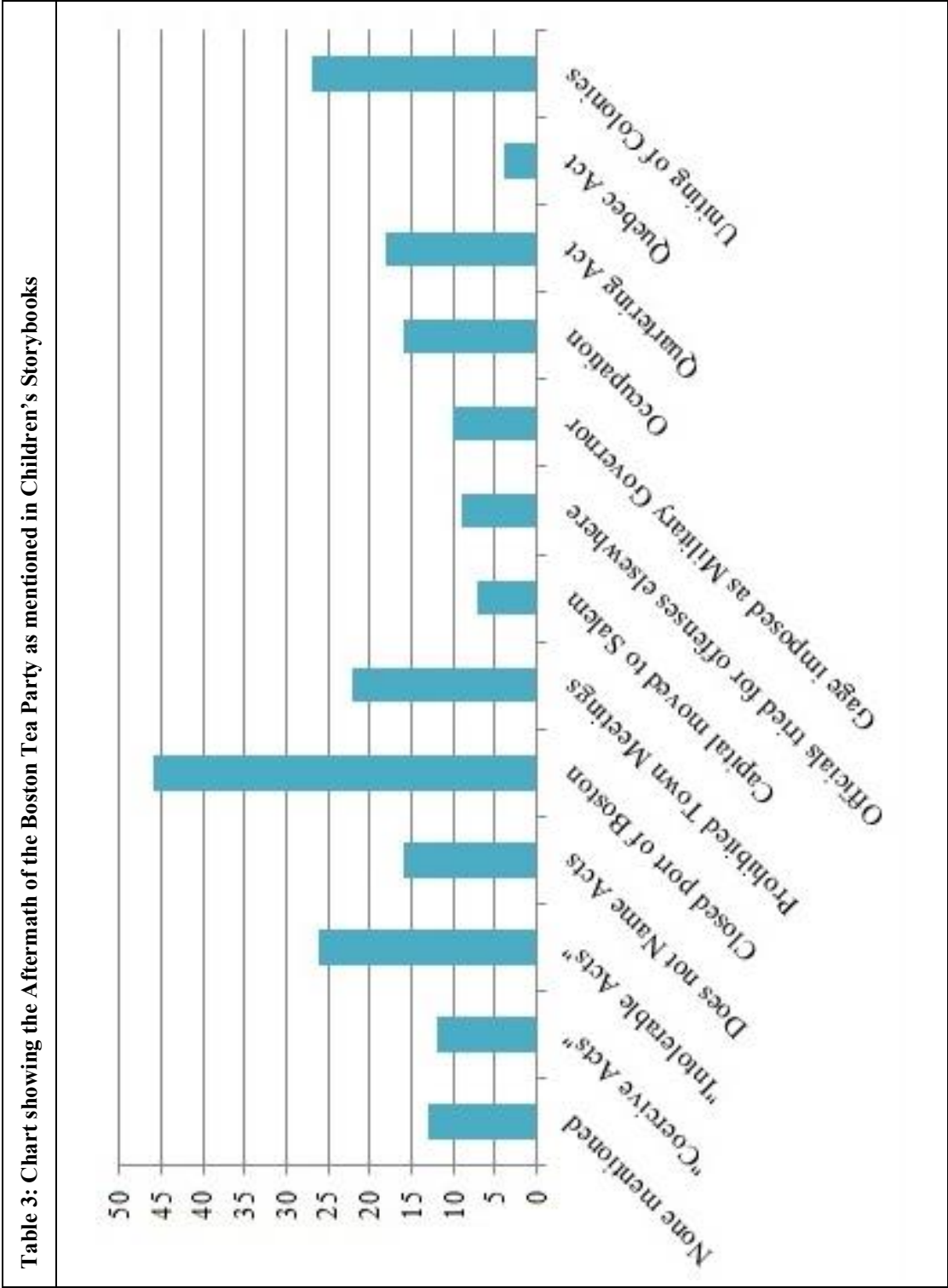
4.1.3 Portrayals in children's cultural media

Print media is not alone in presenting versions of the past to young audiences. When considering the Boston Tea Party, several culturally prominent American television productions have been widely seen and are incorporated by educators and parents into explanations of the Boston Tea Party and its surrounding events¹¹.

The most widely recognized is likely an episode of the television show *Schoolhouse Rock!* that deals with the American Revolution. *Schoolhouse Rock!* was an educational, animated television program that ran on American network television from 1973 to 1985, and has been rerun on public broadcasting and network television in the ensuing years. The episode, entitled 'No More Kings,' features illustrations along with

¹¹ Representations of the events of the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution also appear in popular media directed at adult audiences, including several recent television series in the genre of historical-fiction, created by and aired on American television networks that primarily present factually reliable educational material. For example, the History Channel aired a miniseries in 2006 called *The Revolution* (Schnall, 2006), a made-for-TV movie called *Secrets of the Founding Fathers* (Lihani, 2009), and, most recently, a miniseries titled *Sons of Liberty* (Skogland, 2015). Likewise, the American Heroes Channel recently presented a miniseries titled, *The American Revolution* (Hershberger, 2014). Entertainment-focused networks have also recently produced examples of fictionalized history, including AMC's ongoing television series *TURN: Washington's Spies*, (Silverstein, 2014). The appearance of more fictional versions of historical events on popular television networks further confuses the accuracy of widely held beliefs about American history by suggesting events took place in more exciting, romantic, and heroic ways.

a song¹², also titled ‘No More Kings,’ (Ahrens, 1975). The song has been reproduced as a portion of a *Schoolhouse Rock!* stage show that has further widened the audience. During the song, the viewer is shown images of working-class American colonists at the mercy of angry looking Redcoat British regulars. The colonies are at times pictured



¹² To see the full lyrics to *Schoolhouse Rock*’s ‘No More Kings,’ see Appendix 6.

on the left in the illustrations, bordering the Atlantic Ocean, with the illustration then panning to the right to show King George III on the British shores, across the sea. King George III is pictured grotesquely, surrounded by money and gorging himself on what look like chicken legs, eyeing the colonies across the drawn sea voraciously. The lyrics explain that, ever since the Pilgrims had left England, the colonists had sworn to stay loyal to Great Britain, but that George III had gotten too greedy; he even had the nerve to tax their tea. So, the colonists say, ‘We’re gonna dump this tea, and make this harbor into the biggest cup of tea in history!’ (Ahrens, 1975). The episode paints King George III as the sole British villain, eliminating the role of Parliament. Further, the jump from the Boston Tea Party to independence is glossed over; no specific details of the Revolutionary War are given. American colonists seemingly sparked the war with the tea protest, and then there was an unseen conflict, resulting in a democratic institution. The song ends:

We’re gonna elect a president! (No more kings!)
He’s gonna do what the people want! (No more kings!)
We’re gonna run things our way! (No more kings!)
Nobody’s gonna tell us what to do!
(Ahrens, 1975)

The song is fun, and still used as an entertaining educational tool, but it does not actually show viewers an accurate portrayal of the colonists’ relationship with the King, the details of the Tea Party, the aftermath, the ensuing war, or the differing opinions regarding independence in the colonies.

Histeria! is another animated television program addressing historical events. Unlike *Schoolhouse Rock!* which, while silly, seems to take itself seriously, *Histeria!* is intended to be silly but somewhat educational. This series featured two episodes addressing the American Revolution; the Boston Tea Party appeared in ‘Part II,’ (Ruegger, 1998). The characters, including figures like Paul Revere and Samuel Adams, are depicted with strong Brooklyn-style accents, making them appear almost like American gangsters from the 1920s. They are shown dressing as Mohawk Indians in preparation for the Tea Party, and yelling in stereotypical war-whoops – at which point, the animation cuts to a group of colonial-era-looking American Indians who, speaking in British accents, express their disapproval, telling the audience that war

paint was only used ceremonially, and that war-whoops were solely used to intimidate opponents or (jokingly) when playing party games. The viewer is then taken back to the men throwing tea off of the Dartmouth. While the destruction is taking place (in broad daylight) a colonist is charged with keeping British soldiers away from the ship. He does so by distracting one British officer by saying they are having a tea party, but the officer cannot attend because the colonist is out of every type of tea he requests (mimicking the Monty Python *Cheese Shop* sketch of the 1970s) (Ruegger, 1998). It is overwhelmingly silly, which makes the inaccuracies forgivable; it is unlikely that viewers expect the information to be entirely accurate.

A more historically reliable presentation is that of *Johnny Tremain*, a story that first appeared in the form of a novel in 1943, and then as a Disney film in 1957 (Forbes, 1943; Stevenson, 1957). Johnny Tremain is a young teenaged orphan who is a silversmith apprentice in Boston. He has a promising future as a tradesman until his hand is injured in an accident at his shop. He moves on to work for a newspaper publisher and, as the publisher is involved with the leadership of the Sons of Liberty and hosts their meetings in his shop loft, Johnny begins to become involved in pre-Revolutionary activities. He is present at a number of Sons of Liberty meetings and ultimately takes part in the Boston Tea Party. The story then goes on to detail Johnny's involvement in assisting Paul Revere before Revere's famous (and also highly mythologized) 'Midnight Ride,' and the aftermath of the Battles of Lexington and Concord, the first military encounters of the American Revolutionary War in 1775.

Esther Forbes, the novel's author, was a responsible historian. The year before *Johnny Tremain* was published, she had published an in-depth biography of Paul Revere. She was meticulous in ensuring that historical aspects of her historical fiction were accurate. Complications arise, however, because of the fictional nature of novel; the hero of the story – the young man the reader follows through the events and interactions with actual historical figures – never existed, and inserting him into a narrative can confuse the facts. In the novel, Johnny becomes incredibly close to Paul Revere and his family and to Dr. Joseph Warren, and it becomes difficult – if one is attached to the novel – to accept that these men who contributed so much to the Revolution existed without Johnny Tremain as their young friend.

Forbes was writing on the eve of World War II, and wanted the young Americans who were reading her novel to be patriotically inspired, but aware of the miseries of war. In Forbes' version of the story, Johnny's best friend, Rab, is killed in

the Battle of Lexington. It is a devastating loss for the character and the reader; Forbes intended to increase patriotic feelings in her young readers as the US prepared to enter into a new conflict, but to emphasize that ‘some soldiers would not be coming home after they stepped forward to answer duty’s call,’ (York, 2008: 440). When Disney made a live-action film version, the screenplay for which was written by Tim Blackburn, the Second World War had come and gone. Disney wanted a happier ending to the story, and so – in the film – Rab lives. Blackburn ‘played fast and loose with the historical facts’ in a way that Forbes would not have (York, 2008: 441). The result, while entertaining, is less informative, simpler, and more adventurous than Forbes’ novel.

The last example offered here is the 2002 animated television program *Liberty’s Kids*. In the wake of the September 11th terrorist attacks, patriotism became a serious concern in American culture and society. *Liberty’s Kids* is an unfortunate result of this trend of insistent, almost blind patriotism. The initial episode of the series addresses the Boston Tea Party; it is particularly factually inaccurate. The episode begins with a girl named Sarah writing a letter from a passenger’s cabin aboard a ship crossing the Atlantic Ocean from England to Philadelphia. She is supposed to be met in Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin, but the ship is diverted (for no expressed reason) to Boston. Learning that this will happen, Franklin’s wards – including an American boy named James, a younger French boy named Henri, and a former slave named Moses – ride to Boston to meet Sarah. The trip from Philadelphia to Boston, which should have taken at least a week at the time, takes them a few hours. The viewer is taken back to Sarah’s cabin, where she waits to be allowed to leave the ship, and the viewer learns that she has been travelling on the *Dartmouth*. However, the *Dartmouth* did not carry passengers, and was at no point bound for Philadelphia. The viewer is then taken to a pub adjacent to Boston Harbor where a boisterous, seemingly drunk man speaks to the gathered group of rowdy men. He identifies himself as Sam Adams, and then leads the drunken mob of middle-aged men to the *Dartmouth*, where James, Henri, and Moses have also arrived to search for Sarah, and to find out what the mob is up to. James asks Adams why they are destroying the tea. Adams responds, ‘We’re protesting unfair taxation. Parliament raised the tea tax over our objections! Maybe next time, they’ll listen,’ (O’Donnell, 2002).

This, as explained previously, is a misrepresentation. Yes, Parliament imposed a tax the protesters felt was unfair. But, by saying ‘maybe next time they’ll listen,’ the

writers make the Bostonians petulant and contrary, and it disregards the fact that Parliament had in fact repealed every previous tax that the colonists had protested. At this point, Henri throws a handful of leaves over the side of the ship and yells, ‘No Taxation without Representation,’ in a thick French accent. James asks him if knows what that phrase means, and Henri replies, ‘No, I heard the others saying it,’ (O’Donnell, 2002). Henri is ignorant of the phrase’s meaning, and the audience remains so as well. After finding Sarah, the group retreats from the violent scene on the ship and hides from British soldiers at the home of poet Phillis Wheatley, who seems to have been thrown into the historical narrative to provide another example of a former slave. She was in London at the time of the Boston Tea Party, as was Benjamin Franklin, with whom the group reunites in the next episode. The modifications were clearly made so that the event could be told through younger, relatable characters who could then move on from Boston to tell other stories of the Revolution. But the unruly, inaccurate picture painted in the interests of inspiring patriotism is educationally irresponsible.

The alteration of facts to appeal to the public is not relegated to material created for children. The creation of myths on a societal level is a process that has many steps. Obviously, reports of the events by participants and their experiences are the first ways in which stories will appear. But even these begin to change quickly, with the storytellers embellishing and catering to their audiences. Often, the histories that actually occurred – the events and the players – are not as dramatic, rosy, comforting, romantic, uniting, and pure as storytellers (and, later, leaders and educators) would prefer them to be. As the stories evolve into what is ultimately taught to school children, we see a movement towards alterations – in American Revolutionary history as equally as in Soviet history, Chinese history, and European history – that paint over checkered pasts, leaving whitewashed, cohesive, official versions that, while stirring, are less than completely accurate [Appleby, et al, 1994; Egan, 2007].

4.2 Mythology in American Society and Culture

The existence of historical myths, and mythologized versions of history, is not American in nature, and is not confined to the United States. When creating nationalized identities, many groups – from the United Kingdom to the Soviet Union – have relied on mythologized histories to propel patriotism. Following the American Revolution, the leaders of the young country were faced with the challenge of creating

the national narrative. In the late 1700s, the experience of the Revolution was fresh in their minds, but making it cohesively relatable across fragmented, infant states was not an easy thing to do; creating a unifying narrative was not as easy as pointing to a common heritage or religion, and the struggles that had been endured during the fight for independence had been different for different states. Some, though not many, saw very little violence, while others had been devastated. Americans ‘had to create the sentiments of nationhood which other countries took for granted. There was no common ethnicity, no binding rituals from an established church, no common fund of stories, only a shared rebellion. Americans had to invent what Europeans inherited: a sense of solidarity, a repertoire of national symbols, a quickening of political passions,’ (Appleby, et al, 1994: 92). As the wounds of the Revolution began to heal, and people who had not experienced the events were beginning to learn about them, imaginations were the only landscapes where audiences could ‘see’ what happened¹³. As Cohen points out, in the transition from *Experienced* to *Studied* and *Mythologized* pasts, imagination is the key: ‘If literal retrieval of the experienced past is not a possibility, we can nonetheless form a picture of this past, or at least bits and pieces of it, in our imaginations,’ (Cohen, 1997: 59-60). Imagining versions of the events that had taken place helped to strengthen the concept of the new, united nation; children in Boston could imagine the events, and also imagine other children across the country doing the same thing. This process of remembering – and imagined remembering – fostered unity.

In seeking to harness this and create a cohesive narrative – so that those children across the country could feel as alike as possible – ‘scholars rushed to discover literary and historical forebears who would give the nation a long lineage. Not surprisingly, history books, along with grammars, dictionaries, and the study of folklore, stood at the forefront of struggles for national identity and independence throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries,’ (Appleby, et al, 1994: 65). Versions became accepted, recorded, and were passed around the young nation; though the stories could adapt to relate to new audiences, many of the original stories and myths (as we will see in subsequent discussion) remain unchanged in public memory, (Gable & Handler, 1994:

¹³ This is still the case. As will be explored in Chapters 6 and 7, children demonstrate a dual understanding of the Boston Tea Party – one of learned facts and information, and another of imagined adventure and excitement.

125). As generations of learners grow and change, the myths stay strong, with roots sinking deeper and deeper into the identities of those who believe them to be true.

4.2.1 Otherness and Identity in American Mythology

One of the fundamental myths during and after the Revolution dealt with differences between the Americans and the British. This was necessary because, until the Revolution gained popularity due to economic priorities, most American colonists considered themselves (and referred to themselves as) British. The Sons of Liberty and like-minded revolutionaries had to convince the British colonists that they were not British, and that British people were not like the people in the colonies (Johnston, 1908). Following the American Revolution, these divisions between what was and what was not American helped define a new American identity. One of the simplest ways for a group to define itself is in contrast to another, or an ‘other,’ a process sometimes referred to ‘othering’ and studied in relation to colonialism and nationalism [Said, 2003; Anderson, 1983]. An exhaustive survey of colonialism and nationalism in relation to the whole of American identity could produce a separate thesis. For the purposes here, an exploration of how *othering* pertains to American Revolutionary Mythology is the goal.

Edward Said’s study of the ways in which dominant cultures define themselves by emphasizing differences between themselves and the cultures they dominate focused on Europeans who visited the ‘Orient,’ creating discourses that were used to define both the foreign, strange, exotic ‘Orient,’ and the familiar, safe, conservative ‘Occident,’ (Said, 2003). Often, the differences emphasized the sexuality of ‘Orientals,’ creating a rich, imagined (and sometimes experienced) landscape for sexual exploration and dominance that was often denied or unattainable in Europe. Creating this kind of border – between safe zones and everything outside of safe zones – is both an act of imagination and seemingly inherent in humanity. As Said explains:

It is perfectly possible to argue that some distinctive objects are made by the mind, and that these objects, while appearing to exist objectively, have only a fictional reality. A group of people living on a few acres of land will set up boundaries between their land and its immediate surroundings and the territory beyond, which they call ‘the land of the

barbarians.’ In other words, this universal practice of designating in one’s mind a familiar space which is ‘ours’ and an unfamiliar space beyond ‘ours’ which is ‘theirs’ is a way of making geographical distinctions that *can be* entirely arbitrary. (Said, 2003: 54)

This concept of creating arbitrary but specific boundaries is the focus of Benedict Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*, (Anderson, 1983). Anderson explains that communities such as ‘nations’ are ‘*imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion,’ (Anderson, 1983: 6). Imagined communities are not things that could have existed in uncontrolled forms for much of human history. Christianity was one of the first widespread incarnations, as Catholics listening to a mass in Rome could imagine people doing the same in countless other locations. The advent of print and the rise in popularity of forms of informative and recreational reading material would have fueled the phenomenon. Joyce Appleby, Lynn Hunt, and Margaret Jacob write that, ‘in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two new forms of imagining the social world appeared – the novel and the newspaper. Both made people think of themselves as living lives simultaneous with other lives in a homogenous time measured by clocks and calendars (and not by relationship to salvation or the hereafter). The readers of novels or newspapers follow the lives of people they will never meet but can readily imagine as acting in time and over time like themselves, because they are contemporaries,’ (Appleby, et al, 1994: 54). This kind of imagined relationship was essential in the development of a national unity in the rebelling American colonies.

Prior to Revolutionary conflict (and, in reality, until the War of 1812) colonists identified themselves more by the colony (and, eventually, the state) they were from, rather than as belonging to a united group of colonies or as Americans. It was necessary to create a feeling of kinship among the colonists, and to draw a line between colonists and the colonial officials. As William A. Callahan has explained, ‘nations are constructed through the production of foreign enemies in a clear division of a virtuous inside from a vicious outside,’ (Callahan, 2006: 398). The events that took place in Boston in the 1770s did more to accomplish this than any other event; the reactions of the British were severe enough to terrify the other colonies, creating a common enemy. But colonists were receiving persuasion in written forms as well. Popular writers such

as Benjamin Franklin and Samuel Adams did as much as they could to persuade the colonists to resist British rule. These men, and others, used widely circulated pamphlets to share their opinions and sway public opinion, [Franklin, 2007; Volcker, 2007; Drake, 1884; Adams, 1851]. In doing so, they were identifying and emphasizing the differences between the Americans and the British, exalting the former, and vilifying the latter.

A creation of distinctions – the identification of the ‘other’ and an emphasis on the foreign, *backwards* and *wrong* characteristics thereof – can be strong components in the development of a group’s national or social identity. Once established, a sense of social identity can provide societies and their leaders with social norms and standards of behaviour, as well as motives for violence in the name of protecting virtue and solidarity from outside corruption, [Said, 2003; Anderson, 1983; Appleby, et al, 1994; Callahan, 2006; Egan, 2007]. Comfort in the form of shared experiences – whether real or imagined – keep societies bound together. Romanticized, imagined versions of the past become shared experiences when the legacies of those who came before are either evident, or imagined to be so, by the current members of a society, (Anderson, 1983). From Said’s studies of the discourse of ‘Orientalism,’ we can see the pattern that Revolutionary Americans followed as they began to create their own national identity:

Every single empire in its official discourse has said that it is not like all the others, that its circumstances are special, that it has a mission to enlighten, civilize, bring order and democracy, and that it uses force only as a last resort. And, sadder still, there always is a chorus of willing intellectuals to say calming words about benign or altruistic empires, as if one shouldn’t trust the evidence in one’s eyes watching the destruction and the misery and death brought by the latest *mission civilization*.
(Said, 2003: xxi)

Since America’s inception, it has been claiming (at least) moral superiority and (at most) divine favour (Adams, 1851). This message of America’s unique destiny – and the fight fought by her founders to secure it – is everywhere from present-day Presidential speeches to novels written for children. For example, in the aftermath of the terrorists attacks of September 11, 2001, President George W. Bush addressed a joint session of Congress and the nation, saying:

Americans are asking ‘Why do they hate us?’ They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government. Their leaders are self-appointed. They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other. (Waldman, 2010: 309)

Echoing Bush’s sentiments on the essence of an America that is so *hated* by outsiders because of its inalienable freedoms, President Barack Obama, in May, 2011 (after the death of Osama Bin Laden), emphasized how, even in facing the tragedies of 9/11, America remained united and free: ‘On that day, no matter where we came from, what God we prayed to, or what race or ethnicity we were, we were united as one American family,’ (CBS News, 2011).

As for the latter, in Esther Forbes’ novel *Johnny Tremain*, the character of James Otis (modelled after the founding father for whom he is named, but differing in ways slight enough for children and their teachers to overlook) explains why it was that Americans needed to fight for their freedom; it wasn’t simply about America, it was for the future of all nations:

For what will we fight?...For men and women and children all over the world,’ he said. ‘You [...] are fighting for rights such as they will be enjoying a hundred years from now...There shall be no more tyranny. A handful of men cannot seize power over thousands. A man shall choose who it is shall rule over him [...] The peasants of France, the serfs of Russia. Hardly more than animals now. But because we fight, they shall see freedom like a new sun rising in the west. Those natural rights God has given to every man, no matter how humble. (Forbes, 1943: 177)

For Forbes, it was important to emphasize the similarities between the English and the Americans, for she was writing it to prepare young American men to be brave and patriotic enough for WWII, where they would be fighting alongside this former enemy, [Tarr, 1994; York, 2008].

Unfortunately for Revolutionaries in the late 1700s, the similarities between the English and the Americans were apparent then as well. The work of men like Franklin

and Sam Adams did much in the way of placing the American colonists at odds with the colonizers, but it was largely exaggerated propaganda (Johnston, 1908). They pointed to the illogicality of the American colonies being ruled by a power thousands of miles across an ocean, not to mention the absence of dedicated representation in Parliament, and the presence of an standing army in their midst; they asked the colonists why the British would have soldiers in colonial cities if not to use them against the colonists. Furthermore, many colonists saw themselves as independent from the British by nature of the fact that they were born in America; to some, being born in America had meant that they were never really ‘British,’ (Drake, 1884). As Said explains, ‘imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close to it and what is far away,’ (Said, 2003: 55). This concept of the British government being geographically too far away (even though colonial officials were in every port and British Regulars were everywhere from the frontiers to the cities), and the perceived reluctance of Parliament to allow colonial representation (even though American colonists *were* represented, as they were British citizens, and some regularly appeared in Parliament to testify and weighed in on legislation) helped convince colonists that the British were generally too far away to understand or care about Americans (Drake, 1884).

As American students are taught American history today, the distinctions drawn between the United States and the Great Britain of the 1700s that America fought for Independence seem to melt away as history progresses. American students are taught that the British believed they would recover their colonies in the War of 1812, but America won; that the British laughed at the United States as we fought our Civil War, but America remained united, once again disappointing our former overseers; and then, after about fifty years of Isolationism, the World Wars began and, with a common enemy against whom to unite – *others* who were German, Italian, Japanese, and far less like *us* (a category that immediately expanded to include our necessary allies, especially the English speaking ones) – the United States and the Great Britain found that they could get along just fine [Kennedy, et al, 2008; Appleby, et al, 2009; Bancroft, 1966; Blum, et al, 1973; Cullen, 2003; Harrison, 2004; Hutchins, 2011; Jones, et al, 2008; Lee, 2003; Stearns, 2007; Smith, 1999; Wertsch, 2002]. The United States of America must negotiate the complicated historical relationship with the United Kingdom in order to explain the current state of alliance, and that involves an

element of creating narratives for students to learn. Kieran Egan, who has studied the relationship between myth and history, has summarized this point well:

The overall story which students are told about history today seems to have a powerful ideological component. History is commonly seen as a principal agent of socialization and, not to be too mealy mouthed about it, of indoctrination. This varies from place to place, of course, but it is hard to chat for any length of time with high school students and not conclude that, while their knowledge of nearly all human history is meager in the extreme, they remain generally convinced of their own nation's special place in the world – for good or villainy. (Egan, 2007: 65-6)

While the attraction to mythologized versions of history does prevent people from full understandings of historical events in their complexity, there is also a deeper, emotional need for cultural mythology, especially when navigating conflicting and contentious histories.

4.2.2 Resilience of Myths

In America, the stories that were accepted as fact in the years after the Revolution still hold enormous power, even though they are only partially accurate. Parents tell them to their children at bedtime, the myths are taught in schools and churches, and as children grow, they grow with these stories about their pasts. As a child learns these stories, he creates his own imagined versions of historical people, places, and events; he plays out military conflicts at playgrounds with friends; he visits sites on school field-trips and family vacations, and he's rewarded in school, in his community, and at home when he can accurately recall 'facts' about the country. By the time this person has reached adulthood, national myths are simply – from the perspective of the learner – taken for granted, [Cohen, 1997; Egan, 2007; Boyer, 1996; Wallace, 1996]. Depending of the specific politics, background, upbringing, etc., one's sense of national identity – based on myths that are believed to be fact – can feature prominently in one's personal identity, which can make both the myth and the person incredibly resistant to confrontation and change (Cohen, 1997: 212). Educationally, the

conflict becomes territorial and traumatic; a historian who approaches someone with a new version of events is trying to take something away from a person who holds the myths. ‘The dismantling of the mythologized past, in short, is seldom pain-free: It entails a loss, often irreversible, not unlike that resulting from death, that can be severely disturbing and may, because of this, be stubbornly resisted,’ (Cohen, 1997: 211). Educators are limited in their abilities to reach through myths because, as Mike Wallace explains, myths are impervious to reason: ‘myths can’t be refuted by facts,’ (Wallace, 1996: 176).

Eric Gable and Richard Handler witnessed this phenomenon during research at Colonial Williamsburg, and spoke with many interpreters and educators about confronting mythologized histories:

They explained the ‘gargantuan...problem of historical fact’ – that is, the difficulties that managers have in controlling the stories that both front-line interpreters and visitors seem to want to tell and to hear. As one of them put it: ‘The fact [is] that we have a lot of myths going on around there that take an awful lot of dispelling, and the fact [is] that it’s those myths that people are familiar with, and therefore more comfortable with, and expect. And a lot of our interpreters are comfortable with it, because it’s what they’ve heard all their lives! You know, George Washington had wooden false teeth – doesn’t everybody know that?’ (Gable & Handler, 1994: 125-6).

Unfortunately, rather than telling people the uncomfortable truths about their beloved stories, educators – museum interpreters, school teachers, entertainers, etc. – can be happy to continue spreading the myths, learning new versions from coworkers and counterparts, and mixing together stories from many sources to keep them relatable. As long as people love these myths, they will not disappear. And hearing them reinforced by an assumed figure of educational authority gives the myths new authority. In this way, these mythologized versions of the past gain an unquestionable power, which prolongs their existence and makes believers vulnerable to cultural manipulation.

4.2.3 Purposes of Mythologizing

When adherence to, and support of, cultural myths makes you a ‘good’ student, citizen, patriot, civilian, etc., then denying the myths becomes a socially dangerous thing. Depending on the environment, disavowing widely accepted cultural histories could result in anything from disgrace and embarrassment to ostracism and punishment; therefore, people are eager to stand by and support a myth if it means they continue to be accepted. The potential for using myths in propaganda and as social tools is great. Sometimes, leaders will invoke mythology against an enemy (American military involvement is often justified to the public as necessary to protect ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’; the very ‘freedom’ and ‘democracy’ that men like George Washington and Abraham Lincoln stood for) but sometimes mythology is created to realign history in a way that makes more sense to current populations; to be of more use, [Cohen, 1997; Wallace, 1996; Boyer, 1996; Heehs, 1994].

Cohen explains how myths can sometimes be created:

Mythologizers start out with *an* understanding of the past, which in many (though not all) cases they may sincerely believe to be ‘correct.’ Their purpose, however is not to enlarge upon or deepen this understanding. Rather, it is to draw on it to serve the political, ideological, rhetorical, and/or emotional needs of the present. (Cohen, 1997: 213)

Cohen’s ‘mythologizers’ are very conscious of the stories they choose to tell, ‘wrenching from the past single characteristics or traits or patterns that are then portrayed as the essence of past reality,’ (Cohen, 1997: 214). Mythologizers can be average people, or agents of states, and by simply describing the ‘correct’ way to act and the ‘correct’ histories to believe, they can discourage any confrontations that might discredit their myths. The story of the American Revolution was created in this way, but by many mythologizers, [Johnston, 1908; Appleby, et al, 1994; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996].

In the United States, the need for stories that could unite the young nation demanded the creation of myths. In the late 1700s, as the individual states squabbled over currency and trade agreements, American mythologizers began to realize that, if

the Revolution had not united the nation as one people, perhaps the story of it could. As Appleby, Hunt, and Jacobs explain:

Sensing that written records of the American Revolution could supply the deficiency of venerable traditions, religious uniformity, and common descent, the aging witnesses of the Revolution took up their pens in the closing years of the eighteenth century... These historians showed a remarkable disinclination to fan the flames of partisanship, preferring to use history to create artificially the 'mystic chords of memory' the nation lacked... These original efforts served as a template for successive reworkings of the story of American nation-building. Its fundamental assumptions were not challenged for over a century.

(Appleby, et al, 1994: 101-2)

These early writers wrote about the founding of the United States in a reverential way that overlooked petty and political differences. However, by the end of the War of 1812 (the conflict that succeeded in uniting the states [Johnston: 1908; Appleby, et al: 1994]), the treatment of the Revolution had changed. The History of the Revolution began to be used politically. In the 1830s, as sectional and regional conflicts began to burn ferociously again, and the dirt road to the Civil War was being paved, politicians and mythologizers on all political fronts began looking for ways to claim the noble and pure history of the Revolution as their own and, in so doing, deny it from their opponents. History books began to reflect a change in approach to the meanings behind Revolutionary events: 'Far from telling a straightforward story, early-nineteenth-century historians explained to Americans why their nation was both unique and a model for the world,' (Appleby, et al, 1994: 114). Additionally, 'the history worked out in the early decades of the nineteenth century acquired the force of an uncontested truth,' (Appleby, et al, 1994: 104). The 'uncontested truth' created then is still the dominant narrative in the culture of the United States, as Americans try to find ways to cling to a proud, respectable, exemplary version of their past [Appleby, et al, 1994; Boyer, 1996; Linenthal, 1996; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996].

The conflict between those who seek to protect an unblemished American legacy and those who seek to actively educate – an act that often requires dissecting and debunking myths – was quite apparent during debates surrounding the display of

the *Enola Gay* (the airplane that dropped the first atomic bomb on Japan at the end of World War II) at the Smithsonian National Air and Space Museum in Washington, D.C. Originally, the exhibit script had included information about the devastation caused by the bomb's deployment, and questioned the necessity of using the weapon. Veterans and conservative politicians were outraged by the material, claiming that it was anti-American to suggest that the use of the bomb was not necessary or that US leadership had committed an atrocity by atomically attacking Japan, (Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996).

The controversy sparked a number of studies into the ways Americans think about and treat national history, and the suspicions held against those who might undermine the narrative. Michael Sherry and Edward Linenthal explain:

In the wake of Vietnam, patriotic culture devolved into a rigid patriotic orthodoxy – tightly linked with political and cultural conservatism, baldly insistent on a singular version of the American past, crudely celebratory of the United States' history of war making. When patriotic culture had been more inclusive, it had at least partially embraced the idea that many visions of the past were possible. Patriotic orthodoxy embraced a past which, its proponents claimed, had only one true and unchanging meaning. (Sherry, 1996: 99)

Embedded in such fear of the power of historians' words to shake the confidence of Americans was a sense that the whole nation was now in need of a dose of patriotic therapy; that history's purpose must be to bolster the self-esteem of a country of increasingly needy and vulnerable citizens. (Linenthal, 1996: 62)

Americans who grew up in the United States in the wake of the Cold War learned in school about arguments regarding the sanctity of the American spirit, and a past checkered by the First Red Scare and McCarthyism, witch-hunts for subversives who needed to be purged, and the dangers that being associated with Communism meant for previous generations. But these things had happened before the twenty-first century. For my generation, the baptism into the conflict over who was or was not Patriotic or anti-American happened with the September 11th Attacks.

Then (and still) the fight to maintain and solidify Americanism was as vicious as ever. After WWII, ‘unquestioning support for Truman’s atomic bomb decision [became] a litmus test of patriotism;’ during the Cold War, willingness to denounce and fight Communism was the indicator; and in 2002, unquestioning support for military action in Iraq and Afghanistan became the same, (Boyer, 1996: 137). Issues throughout American history have devolved into bipartisan conflicts, with relation to one side confirming one’s Americanism, and any divergence from that being indicative of anti-Americanism. This pattern of identifying and enforcing a uniform, cultural narrative, and of relying on members of the society to enforce it as rigorously as formal agents of socialization, is an American pastime [Linenthal, 1996; Linenthal & Engelhardt, 1996; Appleby, et al, 1994; Chomsky, 2002]. The myths become as sacred to Americans as Bible stories are to Christians, and in many cases the worshipping of America, and of the American Story, takes on a ritualistic, pseudo-religious personality.

4.2.4 Myths and Rituals

Myths and rituals seem to appear together across cultures and time periods, leading some to study the connections. Anthropologists and sociologists have often been ‘concerned with the relationships between myth, or sacred narrative, and ritual, or sacred ceremony,’ [Santino, 2011: 62; Gilje, 2003]. The way Americans remember and commemorate the past is ritualistic. But, the ritualistic nature of American behaviour pre-dates the Declaration of Independence. While examining the relationships between festive celebrations and culturally meaningful ritual behaviour, Jack Santino explains that ‘scholars have identified patterned, symbolic aspects of ‘rough’ actions such as house assaults, riots, and mob justice, and felt it appropriate to study them as ritual,’ (Santino, 2011: 61). Santino sites the works of Robert St. George, Philip Deloria, Roger Abrahams, Natalie Zemon Davis, E.P. Thompson, Violet Alford, and Clifford Geertz as he argues his case for considering acts of mob violence to be ritualistic.

If we consider this to be true, as Santino describes, origins of American rituals date back to before the American Revolution, and include acts of protest, like the Boston Tea Party, (Santino, 2011: 66). In the years leading up to the revolution, there were numerous instances of mob violence and riotous behaviour, often orchestrated and directed by the Sons of Liberty. The homes of customs officials – and even the colonial governor, Thomas Hutchinson – were invaded and ransacked; colonial officials and

loyal Tories were tarred and feathered; effigies of tax collectors and government officials were hanged and burned; and, of course, hundreds of chests of tea were destroyed in a protest that resulted in vicious retribution from the British, leading the other colonies to wonder: if the British can so easily turn against Boston and Massachusetts, how easily could they turn against the us? If we accept Santino's argument, all of these events can be seen as ritualistic.

In addition, celebrations that commemorate these events – yearly vigils for the victims of the Boston Massacre, annual reenactments of the meeting that led to the Boston Tea Party, Fourth of July parades and fireworks, the observance of Evacuation Day¹⁴ in Boston – are, in Santino's words, 'increasingly referred to and studied as ritual or ritualized behavior,' (Santino, 2011: 64). Yearly observances, or anniversaries, are often culturally influential, as 'anniversaries form an emotional bridge between present and past that is ever subject to reconstruction in response to the shifting preoccupations of people – and governments – in the present,' (Cohen, 1997: 221). As Cohen explains:

Anniversaries are among the most common – and potentially powerful – forms of commemoration of the past. If the event being commemorated is generally viewed by later generations in negative terms, as in the case of the Salem witch trials, a major purpose of the anniversary commemoration is likely to be educational in nature... Often, however, people use anniversaries to re-experience a past with which they feel a strong positive sense of connection. (Cohen, 1997: 220)

In this light, everything from the observance of a Thanksgiving dinner to almost every aspect of a baseball game (the national anthem, the snacks that are served, the statistics, the 7th Inning Stretch, etc.) are traditional, ritualistic, and pseudo-religious, and serve to support the continued development and propagation of mythologized pasts [Hobsbawm, 1983; Cohen, 1997; Santino, 2011; Loewen, 2007: 88-9]. However, Americans also adopt other religious behaviours – like the veneration of martyrs and

¹⁴ Evacuation Day is a holiday specific to Boston and its suburbs, celebrating the anniversary of the end of the British occupation in 1776. There is also an acknowledged Evacuation Day in New York, but it is not celebrated. New York was a predominantly Loyalist region during the Revolution, as opposed to Boston's predominantly Patriot population. The original evacuations held different meanings for the two cities, as do their remembrances.

the worshipping of relics that point more clearly to the ritualistic nature of American society in which some Americans chose to participate.

4.2.5 Some American Martyrs and Relics

Martyrdom has a profound effect on followers of any type of movement; seeing that some people believed so deeply in something that they would sacrifice their lives for it can be intoxicating, intriguing, and incredibly motivating. American martyrs have taken various shapes throughout history, but Revolutionary era martyrs were very easy to designate. During the Revolution, the British held eleven prison ships in New York Harbor. The British would confine thousands of people on the ships, and leave them, wounded and sick, to die in squalor, (Allen, 2004: 60, 128). Some were suspected of privateering, some were suspected of espionage, and some were legitimately guilty of these crimes. But many had the misfortune of being on the wrong ship at the wrong time, and were taken by the British along with confiscated items. Robert Patton believes that ‘most of the 12,000 Americans who perished on the infamous prison ships anchored off New York were civilian mariners, their bodies thrown overboard or shoveled under the sandy banks of what is now the Brooklyn Navy Yard,’ (Patton, 2008: 50). Today, in Brooklyn’s Fort Greene Park, people can visit the Prison Ship Martyrs’ Monument (as see in Figure 7) and pay their respects to the men and women who lost their lives while imprisoned, (Allen, 2004: 60, 128).

Some Americans also engage in what can be considered the worshipping of relics, in the same way that Catholics (for example) do, but for cultural and national reasons. Two prime examples of American relics are George Washington’s dentures and the Star Spangled Banner.

In 2010, the Smithsonian presented a traveling exhibit on George Washington that was hosted for a time at the Heinz History Center in Pittsburgh, where the photos in Figures 8 were taken. The dentures were exhibited in a large, shrine-like installation, elevated on a pillar in the centre of a dimmed room, so that all who visit may approach an altar-like display. The effect was quite striking. As a visitor, I found myself impressed with the reality of what I was viewing: things that were in a man’s mouth, 250 years ago. But I also felt a weight of importance placed on the artefact I was

Figure 7: Photograph of the Prison Ship Martyrs' Monument in Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, New York



Figure 8: Photographs from the Smithsonian's 2010 traveling exhibition on George Washington



viewing, and it was clear – by the methods of display, if nothing else – that I was in the presence of a national treasure.

Likewise, in Washington, D.C., people can visit and pay their respects to the flag that inspired the American National Anthem, the Star Spangled Banner, at the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. The flag was raised during the War of 1812 and was gifted to the Smithsonian in the early 1900s so that it could always be on display for Americans. Now, given its age, it is constantly deteriorating, and so the exhibit is a working one, where visitors can watch restoration teams, (Smithsonian Institute, 2012). This flag is not the first American Flag, as is sometimes suggested, but was a particularly large flag, flown in victory, and well looked-after. Unfortunately, the history of the first American flag is one of the most mythologized stories in American culture.

In the early 1800s, a story surfaced that a lady named Betsy Ross from Philadelphia had met with General Washington during the Revolutionary War (usually, during the winter of 1777), that he had commissioned her to design and create a flag for the Continental Army and for the new nation. This story is told in children's movies and books, television documentaries, and even at the Betsy Ross House, a historical site in Philadelphia; but none of it is true [Panati, 1989: 228-9; Theobald, 2012: 116; Loewen, 2007: 24; Leepson, 2011]. There is no record of a flag being designed officially until the Second Continental Congress passed a law regarding an American Flag in June, 1777. There are various theories about where the design ideas came from. But, the prevailing perception is that Betsy Ross created the flag. It is one of the myths that, though repeatedly refuted, will remain a fact in many minds.

The myths that have been created about and surround the American Revolution do so for the same reason that St. George is the patron saint of England. The stories are about people that listeners wish to emulate, whether to be better, braver, bolder, more exciting, better liked, or admired; if listeners can relate to the story in some deep, personal way, they will. And this is especially true of stories that appeal to whole communities. Even if the stories grow and change over time, those changes will only be things that are 'pleasing to the narrators and their intended audiences,' (Heehs, 1994: 9). In large communities, simply knowing the stories creates a personal meaning and ownership, as each individual imagines it in a specific way that often doesn't conflict with the ways in which other individuals imagine it. The ability to have the legacy and share the legacy is an incredibly powerful construct that can sway those who might not

have adopted the legacy alone. Cohen explains that ‘myths gain their potency from their ability to persuade... Although any aspect of the past has the potential to live on as myth in the present, certain events and persons, because they resonate with themes of broader historical scope and importance, have this potential to a pronounced degree,’ (Cohen, 1997: 212).

When considering the tendencies of people to remember the stories they want to remember, it is important to consider the subjectivity of reports of any event. If an event like the Boston Tea Party happened in the United States of America in the present day – if private merchandise was destroyed for a political reason in protest of the dominant, established government – it would likely be called terrorism. The perpetrators might be seen as terrorists by some and as freedom fighters by others, just as they were, though by different labels, in 1773. What is important here is not how we label the men who destroyed British tea in Boston Harbor, and the ways the act was celebrated or lamented – but the ways in which children are taught about the event, and the ways young learners incorporate mythologized versions of history into their understandings of historical trajectories and their personal and social national identities. The relevance of this will become more apparent as the data is evaluated in Chapters 6 and 7. The intention here has been to examine mythologized histories in order to emphasize the prevalence of the practice of mythologizing, and to demonstrate the atmosphere in which the research participants are taught American history, prior to their incorporations of their reenactment exercise into their bodies of knowledge. The next chapter explores the methodology used during this research.

Chapter 5

Methods

In designing a research methodology for this investigation, I drew from primarily qualitative influences, creating an interpretivist, constructivist, relativist underpinning, and using a Grounded Theory approach. This chapter briefly revisits the questions addressed in this study, and then explores the methodological approaches used in this research, explaining the reasons for these theoretical choices, and exploring potential challenges and methods used in data collection. The methods used in data analysis (which consist of phenomenographical, qualitative analysis of verbal, drawn, and written data, and some quantitative investigations of recurring factors in the data) will be briefly visited, but the full explanation of the analytical techniques appears in Chapters 6 and 7.

The methods for acquiring research participants will be explored below. However, before fully dissecting this thesis' methodology, it is important to note the effort necessary on the part of the participating classroom teachers that needed to be taken for the students to even be able to participate in the field-trip experience. Teachers have a good deal of resources to choose from when designing field-trips, but have to be able to find time to take trips around increasingly rigorous testing schedules and standards. In Massachusetts, where all participating classes were located, the state testing instrument for elementary and middle school students is the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System, or MCAS, which assesses students in the areas of English Language Arts, Mathematics, and Science and Technology/Engineering. According to the Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 'the MCAS program is used to hold schools and districts accountable, on a yearly basis, for the progress they have made,' (Massachusetts Department of Elementary & Secondary Education, December, 2014). Immense pressure is put on teachers and students to perform well on the various tests, which are mostly administered in January, February, and March of each school year. Consequently, most classroom time from the beginning of the school-year (usually the beginning of September) through March is spent focusing on English Language Arts, Mathematics, and Science. History – more commonly referred to in many American primary schools as *Social Studies* – is left out of the testing, and is therefore largely overlooked. Those teachers who do manage to

find time to explore historical topics often do so when the testing has been completed, and at their own discretion; as will be seen, the teachers of the students who participated in this research were all personally passionate about ensuring that their students learned about the American Revolution, but it would have been less work for these teachers if they had chosen not to take the field-trips. Students who are receiving educations in Social Studies and History topics at these grade levels in Massachusetts' public schools are doing so because of the care and enthusiasm of their individual classroom teachers, and would otherwise be less informed.

5.1 Brief review of the Primary Research Questions, aims and objectives

This research project focuses on the uses of Emotional Learning in Museum Education, centering mainly on the use of Reenactment as a form of Museum Theater at the Old South Meeting House in Boston, and the ways in which the educational program presented at this site – *Tea Is Brewing* – enhances the educational and emotional experiences had by 9-12-year-old school children on field-trips. During field-trips to the Old South Meeting House, visiting children are given the opportunity to reenact the meeting that immediately preceded the Boston Tea Party, usually having been assigned the roles of historical characters in advance of their visit. Therefore, also of interest to this study will be the ways visiting students incorporate their experiences with reenactment into their wider understanding of American Revolutionary History.

The main questions addressed in this research have been explained previously, but they are briefly repeated here, to show how the employed methodology was planned to address them. Firstly, the methodology needed to be able to consider the ways in which children who visited the Old South Meeting House with their classes *experienced* the performance-based approach to education found there; the study needed to be able to effectively measure if, and how, the museum theater experience was educational for the students. It would also be important to see if the children had had any experiences with museum theater programs prior to their visit to the Old South Meeting House, and how these might have compared to their reenactment experiences at the Old South Meeting House.

Secondly, the methodology would have to address if, how, and why the visiting children *enjoyed* their experiences with the Old South Meeting House's *Tea is Brewing* educational program. Further, I needed to be able to explore how their potential

enjoyment interacted with the educational aspects of the visit; the designed methodology needed to determine if and how the *fun* enhanced or detracted from the students' learning. I wanted to know if reenactment is a learning method they found entertaining to experience, and how this experience compared to other museum experiences in terms of emotional enjoyment.

Lastly, the methodology would need to address how these students navigated between the murky, mythologized, popular versions of stories surrounding the American Revolutionary War, and the educational material with which they were presented during the reenactment program and related classroom curriculum which, while equally susceptible to bias and oversight, aim to be more grounded in 'fact' and 'truth.' While school curriculum can contain elements of mythologized histories, the versions told in popular culture and the versions taught in classrooms are often contradictory. In the previous chapter, the prevalence and popularity of mythologized histories of the American Revolution was demonstrated. By the age of nine, American children have most likely been exposed to an extensive amount of both myth and history. The methodology for this project needed to be able to explore students' perceptions of the American Revolution – the ways in which they picture and imagine it to have happened – and to see what role, if any, this pre-visit knowledge, or their preferred versions of history, influenced the students' experiences and learning.

5.2 Theoretical underpinnings

In approaching a study such as this, the best choice in terms of a framework from which to explore responses is to employ Qualitative Research techniques within the contexts of Grounded Theory. Knowing that I would be working with and exploring the ideas of children, it would have been irresponsible to restrict myself to pre-formed hypotheses and rigid categories. The study also employed the theoretical frameworks of relativism and constructivism, and interpretivism/anti-positivism; these theoretical approaches and the reasons for their application are explored further here.

5.2.1 Qualitative Research and Grounded Theory

Employing qualitative research gives a researcher a broader range of research techniques, and can therefore be seen as ideal when working with children. Norman

Denzin and Yvonne Lincoln see that this can be freeing, as well as overwhelming in its lack of limitation, explaining that ‘qualitative research, as a set of interpretive activities, privileges no single methodological practice over another. As a site of discussion, or discourse, qualitative research is difficult to define clearly. It has no theory or paradigm that is distinctly its own,’ (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008: 8). A researcher has the discretion to create techniques and adopt theories in ways that will best answer the questions he or she is asking.

Likewise, when working with Grounded Theory, the researcher is free to develop theories and arrive at conclusions as generated by the experiences and data gathered during research. Grounded Theory was developed in the 1960s by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss [Pidgeon, 1996; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967]. Working in the field of sociology, Glaser and Strauss sought to explore ‘how the discovery of theory from data – systematically obtained and analyzed in social research – [could] be furthered,’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 1). Assigning the term ‘Grounded Theory’ to the practice of developing theory through data, they proposed that, ‘generating grounded theory is a way of arriving at theory suited to its supposed uses,’ (Glaser & Strauss, 1967: 3). In addition, this approach increases the importance of the role played by research participants; each, individual response becomes a unique building block from a specific perspective that is unlike all others. As Nick Pidgeon explains:

Glaser and Strauss [chose] the term ‘grounded theory’ in order to express the idea of theory that is generated by (or grounded in) an iterative process involving the continual sampling and analysis of qualitative data gathered from concrete settings, such as unstructured data obtained from interviews, participant observation and archival research. As one aspect of the close and detailed inspection of specific problem domains, grounded theory places great emphasis upon an attention to participants’ own accounts of social and psychological events and of their associated local phenomenal and social worlds. (Pidgeon, 1996: 76)

With this, a researcher is not obligated to prove existing theories when approaching new research, but can rely on data to generate a theory appropriate for itself through the

researcher's analysis. However, the researcher must be attentive and vigilant to ensure that no response is undervalued or overlooked.

In accordance with Grounded Theory, my theories will be generated from the data I have gathered. In this way, my process has been similar to other Museum Theater researchers, such as Anthony Jackson and Helen Rees Leahy. Their research 'was informed by the model of 'grounded theory' inasmuch as [they] wanted the experience to generate the theory rather than the other way around,' (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 308). The technique is further appropriate, as a parallel develops between the researcher and the students; they construct their knowledge based of their reenactment experiences, and I construct my theories based on their reporting of their experiences.

5.2.2 Interpretivism

Considering the different perspectives and subjective requirements of this qualitative research project, it is worth noting that, due to its qualitative nature, this is an interpretivist study. Interpretivism is the antithesis of Positivism which, as Robert Harrison explains, is 'a belief that the logic of explanation in the social sciences should be modelled on that employed in the natural sciences,' with pre-defined theoretical outcomes and quantifiable data (Harrison, 2004: 141). It would be inappropriate to employ positivist methods in exploring the questions this research seeks to address, as the questions are not meant to be answered in pre-defined ways, or with the use of predictable, supplied, or finite responses.

In this way, interpretivist studies differ from the types of research found in the natural sciences. Results from identical research activities may not be identical, but they do not need to be, and for the purposes of this study in particular, it is more interesting when they are not. However, as Denzin and Lincoln observe, accepting the practice of exploring open-ended questions as viable research material is relatively new and was controversial as researchers in the social sciences began to explore the use of qualitative data; 'critics presume a stable, unchanging reality that can be studied using the empirical methods of objective social science,' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008: 11) Qualitative researchers felt a need to justify the use of qualitative methods – to prove that valuable answers can be found, and that it is a legitimate mode of inquiry and scientific study. Denzin and Lincoln explain this tendency:

The experimental (positivist) sciences (physics, chemistry, economics, and psychology, for example) are often seen as the crowning achievements of Western civilization, and in their practices it is assumed that ‘truth’ can transcend opinion and personal bias. Qualitative research is seen as an assault on this tradition, whose adherents often retreat into a value-free objectivist science model to defend their positions. (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008: 11)

The problem with trying to retreat into a value-free model is that it is nearly impossible when interpreting qualitative responses. Different respondents are likely to answer the same question in different ways, from different perspectives, and with different intentions. A qualitative approach allows for this phenomenon, making use of the multitude of unique answers to explore a rich collection of responses. But just as different respondents approach questions in their own ways, different researchers will approach collected data varyingly. The interpretations that different researchers can adopt when analysing the same data allow for the possibility that multiple theories and conclusions can be drawn. Phrases or images that do not stand out to one analyst may be invaluable to another. But, once we admit that the researcher’s role in the study has an impact on the way the data is interpreted, the researcher becomes a factor in the research itself. This will be further explored below.

5.2.3 Individual Constructivism, Social Constructivism, and Relativism

When students arrive at the Old South Meeting House to experience an educational reenactment exercise, each student possesses a unique set of life experiences and prior knowledge that will affect the ways in which he or she will incorporate the reenactment into his or her understandings of the historical event. In addition to possessing a singular background that will create a singular understanding; each student will have a different mindset, agenda, attitude, level of enthusiasm, desire to participate, passion for the subject, etc., all of which will influence how the student experiences the reenactment. In being aware of and sensitive to the many different interpretations that each student creates individually, and that come together in a class’s experience, this study incorporates concepts and theoretical approaches that fall into the categories of Individual Constructivism, Social Constructivism, and Relativism.

While Constructivism generally focuses on the ways in which an individual generates meaning and knowledge from his or her personally collected experiences, Social Constructivism explores how a group creates shared meaning and knowledge [Molyneaux, 1994; Tzibazi, 2006; Charmaz, 2000; Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011; Bowker, 2007; Callahan, 2006]. Relativism, described by Vasiliki Tzibazi as a system that ‘asserts the existence of multiple social constructed realities, which are devised by the individuals as they make sense of their interactive experiences,’ emphasizes a consideration of the many ways in which different people use experiences to create meanings and knowledge (Tzibazi, 2006: 26). Social Constructivism, in bringing together individual perspectives to form shared perspectives, is an inherently Relativist approach. Tzibazi further explores the ways in which these theoretical models fit together:

Social constructivism, like cognitive constructivism is characterized for its relativist approach to the world. It takes a critical stance towards the view that knowledge is based upon objective observation of the world and, as a response to the empiricist and rational dualism, it places knowledge within the social sphere arguing that knowledge is not something people possess individually depending on a cognitive process, but something they construct together as a shared activity... In a way we construct our versions of reality, which are sustained by social process. (Tzibazi, 2006: 35)

The subjective nature of this study, in exploring how students create meaning out of their reenactment experiences requires that the researcher look at how individual students interpret the event. But, students are not alone when they experience the reenactment, and the knowledge a student’s class creates during the exercise – the meaning they construct together – is equally important. Further, investigating the various ways that children interact with and respond to reenactments of the Boston Tea Party, incorporates – almost relies on – the existence of multiple versions of the same event in order to investigate how the experience affects the students. Just as no two students will come away with identical interpretations of the same event, no two classes will experience the reenactment exercise in the same way, and the research project

needs to be able to explore the differences between students and classes in as productive a way as possible.

5.3 Positioning of the Researcher

As established, in this qualitative research, different students and different classes will create different bodies of data from the same exercise. Likewise, two researchers could look at that data and create very different theories and conclusions because each researcher's perspective is unique, just as each student is unique. The theoretical research models mentioned above include taking the identity of the researcher into account when exploring how he or she makes sense of data; a researcher approaches qualitative studies with prior experiences and knowledge that will inevitably have an effect on the ways in which the researcher interprets and presents data and findings. As Denscombe writes,

Making sense of what is observed during fieldwork observation is a process that relies on what the researcher already knows and already believes, and it is not a voyage of discovery which starts with a clean sheet. We can only make sense of the world in a way that we have learnt to do using conceptual tools which are based on our own culture and our own experiences. We have no way of standing outside these to reach some objective and neutral vantage point from which to view things 'as they really are'. To an extent, we can describe them only 'as we see them', and this is shaped by our culture, not theirs. (Denscombe, 2003: 88)

Acknowledging this inherent inability to achieve a total lack of bias, it is important to be vigilant of what it is about oneself that may affect a study before, during, and while concluding research projects. Nick Pidgeon explores this interaction between the researcher and research, explaining that, in many cases, 'the activity of engaging in qualitative research should not leave the data, the theory or the researcher unchanged,' (Pidgeon, 1996: 83). Therefore, if we are to look at how the data is gathered and interpreted, we should also consider by whom.

Denscombe offers a list of factors that a researcher can consider as potentially influential when carrying out research that includes, ‘personal beliefs relating to the topic (politics, values, standpoint); personal interests in the area of investigation (vested interest, history of events); personal experience linked to the research (incidents affecting self or others close to researchers); personal expertise in relation to the topics (qualification, experience),’ (Denscombe, 2003: 90). In the interests of fully exploring my approach to my methodology, I will explore the factors that would prove potentially influential on my method here.

Firstly, and probably most influentially, I am an American. I have spent the majority of my personal, academic, and professional life exploring American History and, even knowing how contested that history can be, and how controversially Americans have behaved throughout the world (both politically and personally), I am proud of my nationality and my nation’s history. But, this is an easy statement for me to make, because, secondly, I am a very lucky American. I am primarily Caucasian; as such, I have not directly experienced racial discrimination in the United States. I was raised in a middle-class family, allowing me access to better schools and facilities and, more importantly, allowing for the possibility of securing loans in the United States to further my education, which is increasingly challenging. The only adversity I have faced in my nation is that which goes along with being an American woman, and there are far more challenging places to be a woman than in the United States. These basic factors will influence the ways in which I approach my research, but these are not the only issues of which I intend to be mindful.

In addition to these basic characteristics which establish my perspective, there are secondary factors – experiences and personal issues – that I recognize as potentially influential. My personal patriotism is chief among these. My identity as a Patriotic American was fostered early in my life, with frequent trips to Revolutionary War battlefields and colonial forts and villages. In the wake of the September 11th attacks, I was enraged with my countrymen, and then quickly divided from many of them as questionably justified US military responses were made, and one’s level of support for the military efforts was seen as evidence of Patriotism or proof of its absence. I went on to serve my country as a Peace Corps volunteer in Albania, and while that experience left me wary of blindly trusting my country, I still consider myself strongly patriotic. National pride seems to be relatively universal in the Western World, but I am especially aware of the American nature of my own, the assumptions people of other

nationalities can have about Americans, and the ways in which I may need to justify and explain my perspective in this respect to an international audience. I have tried to limit the effects that my feelings about my country can have had on my interpretations, and I have attempted to be as vigilant as possible when approaching the subject – not as a participant in American Culture Wars – but as a researcher in the field of Museum Studies, looking at reenactments as teaching tools. Relying on the aforementioned theoretical underpinnings, I have maintained an awareness of my perspective throughout this endeavour and this has hopefully limited as much bias as possible.

5.4 Working with Children

In considering the identity of the researcher, it becomes important to consider with whom the research was conducted, and the steps taken to ensure that the practical research methods would be effective and appropriate. The main characteristic shared by all research participants is that they were children, which can be complicating in terms of both preparation and execution. As a researcher prepares to embark on a project that involves child participants, he or she must be confident in his or her ability to create an effective, short-term working relationship with a room full of people much younger than him- or herself, and to guarantee a safe and comfortable atmosphere that is conducive to participation while allowing the children to retain control over their involvement.

In designing research that will involve children, the first barrier that needs to be negotiated is the difference in ages between the researcher and the students. This age-difference can be problematic not just because it is an obstacle in relating to each other, but because of the perceived power that an adult possesses in society in relation to a child. Establishing a connection across the age gap can be daunting if the researcher is unfamiliar or unversed in working with and speaking to children, but it can also be challenging if the students feel that they cannot speak freely or question the researcher.

Many authors have discussed this discrepancy, encouraging researchers to do as much as possible to close the gap. Vasiliki Tzibazi explains that children understand experiences and their worlds differently from adults, emphasizing the need to ‘acknowledge this difference without, however, considering the children as incompetent and immature and to understand that between the adult researcher and the child participant there is an unequal relation of power,’ (Tzibazi, 2006: 50). Likewise,

France, Bendelow and Williams discuss the age difference and its need for attention, suggesting that ‘being someone [children] can trust or someone that is fun to be around can aid the process,’ emphasizing that ‘being seen not as a ‘proper adult’ is therefore crucial to getting young people’s involvements,’ (France, Bendelow, & Williams, 2000: 152). Ultimately, I was able to create effective short-term bonds with the students quite easily, and I was careful to present myself in a manner that would appeal to the children while encouraging participation.

I was also careful to make sure they fully understood their rights and options from an ethical standpoint, and to meet the requirements necessary to gain permissions to work with these children. The specific Ethical Methodology is outlined below, but in general, my approach was to be thoughtful and attentive when conducting research. I wanted the students to view me as an unimposing figure that they could trust with their information and their responses. I also wanted to ensure that all parties with an interest in the well-being of these students were made aware of this project, and were comfortable with me speaking with the children. In preparing the informative materials that I provided to schools, parents, and students, I ensured that my methods were in line with other studies of this type, and that I received full approval before beginning my recruitment. There is a lack of cohesion in terms of what is necessary when conducting research with children between different countries and sometimes, in the United States, between different states. I designed my Ethical Methodology to adhere to the UK Data Protection Act, and to follow guidelines set forth by the University of Leicester; Ethics Approval for the Pilot run of this project was received from the School of Museum Studies on 4 April, 2013, and approval for the full research project was received on March 17, 2014. Once I began, I was asked by one of the school districts I visited to submit to criminal background checks, and I received clearance and permission before I visited their school.

5.5 Practical methodology

The methods used in the generation and collection of data for this thesis are discussed here, including an explanation of the field-trip program in which the students participated, the selection of classes, and the circumstances surrounding each class’s participation.

5.5.1 *Tea is Brewing*

The *Tea Is Brewing* (TIB) program is described by the Old South Meeting House as ‘an educational program where students experience firsthand the events that led up to the Boston Tea Party,’ (Old South Meeting House, 2009). The program consists of a reenactment, but is adaptable to fit many different groups' needs. Often, as was the case with all my participants, visiting school-groups will receive packets consisting of preparation guides for teachers, classroom activities that can be used before the visit to prepare the class for their reenactments, the parts the students will be performing while at the site, and suggestions for post-visit classroom activities. However, groups with less preparation time can be given the performable parts upon arrival at the site, and are guided through the reenactment by staff members.

The packet contains dialog and a brief biography for 40 actors, 20 of whom are Loyalists and 20 of whom are Patriots (examples can be seen in Figure 9. As explained in the packet, ‘it is not necessary to distribute all 40 roles, [but] there are two roles that must be distributed: Francis Rotch and Samuel Adams,’ (Old South Meeting House, 2009). The dialog that the students either recite or read is taken directly from the minutes of the December 16th meeting, so the words the students are saying are the words of the colonists. The teachers can assign the parts as they see fit. Some parts are well known historical figures and others are more obscure; some dialog is more violent, or involves scripted conflict between actors, and some students are more comfortable than others in performing these more provocative roles. It is usually the classroom teacher’s responsibility to assign the roles appropriately, and then a staff member at the Old South Meeting House acts as a moderator, calling on characters played by the participants to recreate the meeting.

As the participants arrive with their groups, they are brought in to the hall of the Old South Meeting House and seated in pews that are replications of the original pews the congregations would have used in the 1700s. The original pews were destroyed during the American Revolutionary War. When Boston was being held by British soldiers, the church was turned into an indoor riding school. The pews and flooring were pulled out and used for firewood, and the upper galleries of the church were

Figure 9: Examples of dialog provided to visiting groups by the Old South Meeting House for use in the *Tea Is Brewing* educational program. (OSMH, 2009: 22)

	Samuel Adams Political Leader, 51 years old
<p>My name is Samuel Adams.</p>	
<p>We have suffered untold abuses at the hands of the King and Parliament for the last 10 years—from taxing us without our say, to firing upon and killing innocent colonists in the tragic and unjust Boston Massacre.</p>	
<p>Gentlemen, the King and Parliament are three thousand miles away. They don't know what goes on here or how we live. They've left us alone for almost 150 years and we've been doing very well without them. Fellow colonists, we must not let the King and Parliament infringe upon our liberties. I say return the tea! The ships must go!</p>	
<p>[At the end of the meeting, you will be asked to give the secret signal. Stand and say loudly and clearly: "This meeting can do nothing more to save our country."]</p>	
<small>All materials 2009 by Old South Meeting House. All rights reserved</small>	

	Francis Rotch Ship Owner, 23 years old
<p>My name is Francis Rotch.</p>	
<p>I own the ship the <i>Dartmouth</i> which is currently sitting in the harbor filled with British tea. I see many of my friends here on both sides of the aisle. I don't mind if people disagree with me about politics, but I do mind when politics start getting in the way of making a living, and that's exactly what's happening now. If anything happens to my ship, my family's business will be ruined!</p>	
<p>[During the meeting, you will be sent by the moderator to the Governor to request a pass to return the tea to England. Go to the person at the Admissions desk to find out what the Governor said to your request.]</p>	
<small>All materials © 2009 by Old South Meeting House, Boston. All rights reserved</small>	

turned into a bar for British Officers, who could relax and watch the horsemen below, in what had been a Congregationalist house of worship [O'Shaughnessy, 2013: 136; Walker, 2008: 58].

The staff moderator brings them through the various characters' dialog, deviating from the original order of the speeches when necessary, as some groups have to omit some parts, and others have so many actors that parts are doubled and need to be visited twice. When called upon, the actor is usually invited to stand and recite (or read) his or her lines. In response, the rest of the participants are encouraged to yell either 'Fie!' if their character would disagree with the statement, or 'Huzzah!' if their character would have agreed. The end of the program involves the actor playing Francis Rotch (the owner of the *Dartmouth*) being sent to the governor to ask for permission to leave Boston Harbor with the tea still on-board. The actor playing Rotch leaves the hall and gets an envelope from the Admissions Desk, with the answer, 'No.' inside. He or she returns and delivers the response to the rest of the group, who react with 'Fies' and 'Huzzahs,' and the actor playing Samuel Adams brings the reenactment to a close with the words, 'This meeting can do nothing more to save our country!' It is explained to the visiting group that this was a predetermined signal to the Sons of Liberty to depart the meeting, disguise themselves, and go to Griffin's Wharf to dump the tea into Boston Harbor. The group is then invited to visit the exhibits along the hall, and to visit the gift shop downstairs before exiting. An augmented version of the *TIB* involves a guided visit to Faneuil Hall, and the Old South Meeting House also offers teachers a tour involving a guided visit to Granary Burial Ground to see the graves of many colonial patriots, including Samuel Adams, and the victims of the Boston Massacre.

Usually, school-groups visit the Old South Meeting House as one stop on a day of visiting historical sites in downtown Boston and Charlestown. Students who were interviewed for this thesis mentioned also visiting the Paul Revere House, the Old State House, Faneuil Hall, and the Bunker Hill Battle Monument. Teachers also have the option of making use of some or all of the National Park Service's *Freedom Trail*, a cost-free walking-tour through downtown Boston and Charlestown. The entire tour is 2.5 miles, and leads people to each site of historical importance related to the American Revolution by way of a red line on the pavement. Many of the sites offer guided tours, including uses of third-person interpretation at the Paul Revere House, but the Old South Meeting House is the only site that offers a participatory reenactment program.

5.5.2 Selection and Ethical Methods

Depending on varying curriculums in different locations around the state and country, a visit to the Old South Meeting House might fit into coursework of students at any grade level. As my research questions concern pre-adolescent children, I was most interested in speaking with students between the ages of 9 and 12 (in the United States, these ages correspond to fourth, fifth, and sixth graders). I concluded my research with responses from 76 students from five classes. Because of the location of the museum and the availability of classes around state testing schedules, all of the participating classes were from schools in or near Boston, Massachusetts – three were located in suburbs, and two were privately operated schools in the city of Boston.

Initially, I wrote a letter to the Executive Director and the Educator of the Old South Meeting House proposing my project (see Appendix 7). They consented and assisted me as gatekeepers; as school teachers booked field-trips for their classes of fourth, fifth, or sixth graders, the museum would offer each teacher the option of participating in my research, at which point the schools became secondary gatekeepers, potentially giving me access to the students and the classroom interview setting.

As the museum's Educator received positive responses to her solicitations for participation, she would put me in contact with the classroom teacher, at which point I would introduce myself, explain my research, provide an Information Sheet and Consent Form for the teacher, and ask for the teacher's assistance in distributing Information Sheets and Consent Forms to the school's Principal (or Head Teacher), the guardians of each student, and the students (see Appendix 8). I was careful to ensure that my wording and tone were approachable and warm; I did not want any adults or children to feel intimidated or alienated and, therefore, unwilling to ask questions or express concerns. Many children who attend public schools speak English at school and Spanish at home, so I prepared Spanish language Information Sheets and Consent Forms for those guardians who were more comfortable with Spanish (see Appendix 8). The students were given the Information Sheets prior to my visit, but my first task upon arrival at each school was to review the Information Sheet with the students, answer their questions, and then review the Consent Forms with them and ask for their consent to be interviewed. I found that, in addition to giving the students the opportunity to ask questions, asking for the students' consent in this way gave them a greater sense of agency and control over their involvement in the research.

Considering that my research exercises included the collection of written, drawn, and verbal data, I was eager to receive permission from the students and their guardians to make audio recordings of the students' voices in addition to the collection of their written responses. I further ensured that my contact information was present on every form that the students and their parents received, and that I emphasized my willingness to speak with them about any matter concerning the research and the classroom exercises. While no parents contacted me with questions, some did decline to give consent. Before proceeding with my classroom visits, I collected signed consent forms from each classroom teacher with whom I worked and the principals of each school I visited. Data generated by students who had parental consent and who had consented themselves was collected.

5.5.3 Participating school-groups

In scheduling the pilot session in the spring of 2013, a few obstacles were faced. Firstly, in Massachusetts, the school-year ends in mid- to late-June. Having only finalized arrangements with the OSMH in late April, there was not very much time to coordinate with a teacher and schedule my visit. Secondly, due to state testing, teachers were making the most of what time they had left in the school-year with their students, and some did not want the intrusion of a distraction. Lastly, the people of Boston were still reeling from the Boston Marathon Bombings, a terrorist attack that targeted participants and spectators at the 2013 Boston Marathon on 15 April, 2013. In planning, regardless of what group of children would ultimately participate in the pilot, they would be between the ages of nine and eleven, and would have just experienced their first, domestic terrorist attack – in their hometown – which was something that needed to be kept in mind during the interview. I knew I would have to remain vigilant and responsive should questions about violence in the streets of colonial Boston trigger reactions based on violence in the then current streets of Boston.

Ultimately, we were able to find a teacher who was willing to participate in the pilot session: Ms. Amy Michael, a fifth grade teacher from South Elementary School in Holbrook, Massachusetts. I visited the class and collected written and drawn responses to questions, and conducted a verbal interview, which will all be discussed below. Following the pilot session, it was decided that a pre-visit benchmark of understandings of reenactment and aspects of OSMH history would be useful, and a pre-visit

questionnaire was added to the research process. The primary fieldwork sessions were carried out the following spring, in April and May of 2014. This involved visits to four additional classes after their visits to OSMH. These participating teachers were Ms. Kelly Greene, a fifth grade teacher from Haley Elementary School in Boston; Mrs. Helen Palmieri, a fifth grade teacher from Killam School in Reading, Massachusetts; Ms. JoEllen McGinnity, a fifth grade teacher also from Killam School; and Ms. Florence Cronin, a fourth grade teacher from St. Brendan's School in Dorchester, Massachusetts. The content of the students' responses will be explored in depth, but first I will briefly summarize the general makeups of the classes, the atmospheres in each session, and some observations regarding various aspects of the participating groups.

Pilot Session

I contacted Ms. Amy Michael on 16 May, 2013, explaining the interview process. I then mailed her the contents of the consent packet (see Appendix 8) so that it could be reviewed (and potential questions and concerns could be addressed) by Ms. Michael, her administration, her students' parents, and her students. I visited her classroom on 31 May, 2013 to conduct the pilot, and collected data from fourteen participants.

I attempted to approach the activity with very few expectations other than what would be necessary. I anticipated that the Boston Marathon Bombings had been so recent that, if brought up significantly while completing the questionnaires or during the interview, emotional responses from the students might impact questions that were already intended to explore patriotic or nationalistic concepts, and have an effect on the responses. I was prepared to redirect or stop questioning if the bombings came up, rather than explore potentially devastating recent emotions with children to whom I was a stranger. However, I found that the students were so eager and excited to share information about their experiences with me that the bombings, while possibly present in their minds as a recent event, or incorporated into the understandings that influenced their responses, did not specifically come up during my visit.

Ms. Michael's classroom resembled a small-scale Freedom Trail, with pictures of sites, posters, portraits of patriots, and maps covering the classroom walls. She had several books about Colonial America and The Boston Tea Party in the classroom

(many of which I recognized from my research into the materials available to American children, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4). She explained to me that she loved taking her classes to the historical sites, and expressed that her room probably looked like the gift shop at OSMH, as she had purchased many of the items there. Ms. Michael organized the field-trip for her class each year, inviting the other fifth grade teachers at her school to bring their students as well, to ensure that her students would get to see aspects of Boston's history. She was incredibly helpful and enthusiastic about having her students participate.

Prior to the session, Ms. Michael expressed to me that she had low expectations regarding the levels of participation I would receive from her students. They were relatively exhausted from months of preparation and execution of state testing, and it was a very hot day in one of the last weeks of the school-year; she anticipated that they would be distracted by the heat and uninterested, as they were not being graded on my visit. Additionally, her class is what is known in parts of the U.S. as an inclusion class, meaning that students of varying learning abilities and styles are included in the same classroom. Ms. Michael anticipated that the children who tended to be distracted more easily would be quite distracted during my visit. But we were both pleasantly surprised by how engaged the students became. All fourteen participants patiently responded to the written questions and took part in the verbal portion of the interview. Many of the students remembered their memorized parts, and eagerly recited them for me; although this was not something I solicited or requested as part of the interview, they were quite proud to be able to perform for me, and this phenomenon repeated itself at each of the subsequent fieldwork locations. Several students asked repeatedly if the responses they were giving would be graded, or if their answers had to fit parameters required by state tests (i.e. Will my answer count even if I accidentally draw outside of the box?). They seem relieved to be able to interact and give responses in a way that would not be held against them. I think that my reassurances that their responses would not be graded by anyone, and that it was impossible to answer incorrectly, helped to put them at ease during the session. I found it incredibly easy to develop rapport with the class, and they seemed to enjoy the session.

Session 1

I contacted Ms. Kelly Greene on 6 February 2014. Her class was still preparing for and taking state tests before they would be visiting the OSMH, so we had ample time to prepare. I mailed the consent packet to her, and she ensured that her students and their parents reviewed them. I also mailed the new pre-visit questionnaire, which was completed by the students prior to their visit to the OSMH. Haley Elementary School, a charter school within the city of Boston, is a fully inclusive school; as with Ms. Michael's class, students with differing needs are integrated into the same classes. Data was collected from fourteen participants.

I visited on 7 April, 2014, and encountered the same anxiety about answering styles as I had seen in Ms. Michael's class; once reassured that they could not answer incorrectly, and that they were not being graded, the students relaxed quite quickly and were eager to answer and participate. In the United States, most public schools do not require students to wear uniforms, but Haley Elementary School, as a charter school, seemed to have a variation of a uniform policy; students all seemed to have an item of clothing that was part of a uniform, but they were all dressed differently. Between this adaptation of a dress code and the behaviour of the students, it was clear that discipline was valued to a higher degree at this school than at other public schools. But, again, they seemed at ease with me, and were quite respectful.

While varying levels of comprehension and ability were evident, the questionnaires and interview were designed to accommodate this, and were appropriate for all participants. They were eager to share their experiences, and identified strongly with their characters, answering various questions empathetically from the perspectives of the characters they played, and incorporating recitations of their (and each other's) parts into their answers.

Sessions 2 & 3

Sessions 2 and 3 were arranged through Ms. JoEllen McGinnity at Killam School, who I first contacted on 11 March, 2014. She was contacted by OSMH while Mrs. Helen Palmieri was on maternity leave, but knew Mrs. Palmieri would be interested and arranged both classes' interviews. Mrs. Palmieri had returned from her

leave by the time I mailed consent packets and pre-visit questionnaires to their school. I conducted Sessions 2 and 3 on 10 April, 2014.

Mrs. Palmieri's class is Session 2, and data was collected from 18 participants; every student in Mrs. Palmieri's class participated. She is primarily a Social Studies teacher and was very eager to have her students participate. She noted that in previous years, students' attention spans had been longer and they seemed to be able to remember their and each other's parts for longer than they could more recently, but I encountered the same eagerness to recite in her classroom as I had in my previous Sessions. In her class, students learned their parts and performed them from memory at OSMH, but she also conducted a special parents' night where she invited her students' parents to come and watch them perform their reenactment in the classroom; I visited them between their two performances. Like the previous Sessions, her class was an inclusion class. They were very excited for me to be there, and very eager to share.

Mrs. McGinnity was also excited for her students to participate (17 students participated), and I found her class to be more inquisitive about my study than others. Unlike Mrs. Palmieri's class, they would not be performing their roles for their parents, but they showed the same eagerness to recite for me. Several also made sure I noticed that they were using pens made to look like quills that they purchased from the OSMH gift shop. The overall demeanour in these classrooms was much more relaxed than at Haley Elementary, but the students were equally respectful and attentive. It was quite easy to keep them focused and engaged. A few questions were omitted from the Post-Visit Questionnaire for Sessions 2 and 3 to meet time constraints, but the program did not differ significantly from the fuller versions.

Session 4

Ms. Lindamood at OSMH had been very eager to put me in contact with Mrs. Florence Cronin, as Mrs. Cronin had been bringing field-trips to OSMH for many years. I contacted her on 24 April, 2014, and sent her the consent material and pre-visit questionnaires soon after. I made my visit to St. Brendan's School on 12 May, 2014.

Mrs. Cronin was eager to speak with me prior to the classroom interview, and was clearly very passionate about teaching this history to her students; she recalled bringing students to the OSMH for so many years that she had spanned several different curriculums, including National Park Service-run programs. Mrs. Cronin also

makes use of reenactment after the visit to OSMH, but rather than performing for the students' parents, like Mrs. Palmieri, Mrs. Cronin has a reenactment of the Battle of Bunker Hill and its aftermath for her students to perform when they visit the Bunker Hill Monument. She created the Bunker Hill reenactment herself.

This Session consisted of gathering data from thirteen participants. St. Brendan's School is a private Catholic school in a more suburban neighbourhood of Boston. All students wore uniforms and were highly disciplined and respectful. Although these participants in this session were in fourth grade (the rest were in fifth), they were incredibly focused, and their responses were quite valuable.

5.6 Data Generation

Data generation was carried out using a three-part system consisting of a Pre-Visit Questionnaire used to set a benchmark of students' understandings of reenactment and the Boston Tea Party prior to their field-trip; a Post-Visit Questionnaire used to reassess their understandings after their field-trip; and a Verbal Group Interview used to further explore their opinions, feelings, and experiences (see Appendix 9). The exercises were mainly directed at encouraging students to relate empathetically with the people of the Revolutionary Era, while considering how the reenactment helped them to do this, and how the experience influenced their knowledge. The students interviewed during the pilot study did not receive the Pre-Visit Questionnaire, as it was added following the pilot study, when it was realized that some sort of measurement of their students' knowledge needed to be taken prior to the reenactment experience, in order to see what, if anything, changed because of the visit. After I received consent to do so from the students (having previously received consent from their parents and teachers), I created audio recordings of each interview to aid in eventual data analysis. Ultimately, 76 students participated.

The Pre-Visit questions were primarily closed-ended. I gave respondents a set of answers to each question, and asked them to choose as many appropriate answers as they could from the provided choices. The questions served to establish a preliminary level of understanding of the Boston Tea Party and reenactments, and also acted as an introduction to the research for the students. I had given each participating teacher the option of distributing the Pre-Visit Questionnaire themselves in class, or having me visit prior to the field-trip to introduce myself and the project, and complete the

questionnaire with the students. Each teacher asked to distribute the initial survey themselves, given that the pre-visit material only consisted of five questions, and that most classes were juggling state testing schedules in the days and weeks leading up to their field-trips. The students received Information Sheets prior to completing this initial questionnaire, and had the project explained to them, but this set of questions was the first opportunity they had to respond to me. When I arrived at the schools, before collecting the Pre-Visit Questionnaires that the teachers had collected after completion, I explained and reviewed the nature of the study with the students, obtained their personal consent to collect their responses, and then ensured that I did not collect any responses from the students who either did not consent themselves, or did not have parental consent; in cases where the teachers had used the Pre-Visit Questionnaire as a classroom exercise, having all students answer the questions, I simply left the packets that did not comply with my ethical requirements with the teacher.

The students attended their field-trip to the Old South Meeting House after completing the Pre-Visit Questionnaire, but before my visits to their classrooms. Lindsay explains that ‘we cannot assume that research subjects simply cooperate with the research for a short period of their lives and then move on unchanged,’ (Lindsay, 2000: 3). Similarly, while useful as a tool to measure pre-existing concepts and knowledge, exposing those participants in Sessions 1-4 to a set of research questions prior to their reenactment exercise might influence the experiences in a way that would make their opinions differ significantly from those participants in the Pilot Session. However, as will be seen in the following chapters, the pre-visit questionnaire does not appear to have impacted the reenactment experience.

The Post-Visit Questionnaire was significantly more diverse in the methods I asked the students to employ when answering. Some questions asked, as in the Pre-Visit Questionnaire, for students to choose appropriate answers to questions from a field of provided responses, but others asked students to describe their impressions and factual knowledge in their own words. I also asked students at several points to draw examples of what they pictured when they imagined different aspects of the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolutionary period. I ensured that the wording of the questions was simple and appropriate for comprehension in preadolescent students, and as I directed the students through each question in the packet, I would address concerns and answer their questions, and allow them sufficient time to answer before moving on.

In instances where I asked for drawn responses, I would first ask the students to respond in their own words to questions concerning the subject – such as how the colonists behaved during the protest, how the public responded, how the British reacted – and then, using the questions as prompts to think about how these things would have looked, I would ask them to draw the scene. I distributed a small pack of crayons to each student upon my arrival, and encouraged them to use the crayons when drawing their responses. I also allowed them to answer their written responses in crayon, which seemed often to be an exciting privilege, as they are usually told to only use pencils when writing.

In each class's case, as I conducted my research towards the end of the school-year, the students had completed state imposed academic testing very recently. Many were still in an anxious state regarding test responses, and I needed to stress that my research was in no way something that would be used to evaluate them academically. I was asked in multiple classes, and sometimes multiple times by the same class, if their answers would be discarded if, for example, crayon marks accidentally left the box I had provided for a drawing, or if they did not use complete sentences. The teachers would assist me in assuring the students that their responses would only be reviewed for my study, and would not be graded. Once they were convinced that they could answer freely and that they did not need to monitor themselves to ensure compliance with the rules that accompany testing, they engaged quite enthusiastically with the questions, especially in their drawings.

Using drawings to explore the concepts of children is an increasingly popular form of qualitative investigation, used by researchers across various disciplines. As Tzibazi discusses,

The popularity of the medium as a research tool might be ground in the belief that drawings are popular amongst the children, the opportunities it provides for questions and observations, and also on its function as an 'icebreaker' that can make children feel comfortable and engage their interest. Within the context of this research, children's drawings are used to offer an insight into the children's meaning making of the experience and show possible aspects of tacit learning that would not be available through other data generation techniques. (Tzibazi, 2006: 71-2)

The practice of having children draw responses has been proven to provide children with a unique form of expression that they enjoy while giving researchers a chance to literally see some of what they are thinking about [Butler, et al, 1995; Coates, 2002; Cox, 1992; Dockrell, et al, 2000; Gardner, 1980; Lindsay, 2000; Moussouri, 1997; Thomas and Jolley, 1998]. In many cases, researchers use what is referred to as the 'draw and write' technique, in which children are asked to draw something, and then either label the drawing, or write a short explanation of what they have drawn [Horstman, et al, 2008; Kalvaitis and Monhardt, 2012; France, Bendelow, & Williams, 2000]. In other cases, researchers ask children to draw examples of how they imagine environments or events, provide education on these topics, and then ask the students to repeat the drawing exercise, looking for differences. This method seems especially popular among researchers studying environmental education [Bowker, 2007; Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011].

My drawing exercises were included in the pilot study of the research; in reviewing that data prior to embarking on the full project, it became apparent that the students who had been surveyed had very clear concepts of how they thought things looked in the Revolutionary Era, and that their concepts very closely resembled the illustrations found in popular culture. I chose not to administer drawing exercises in the Pre-Visit Questionnaires, as the students' available class-time was limited, and I was most interested in using the drawings to observe patterns across the population. While I did not ask respondents to label their drawings, several did but, of those that did, many told me during the interview process that they were doing so in order to make their illustration more clear for me to interpret; they were insecure about the qualities of the drawings and wanted to make sure I understood them.

With three of the classes, the verbal portion of the interview process was carried out after the completion of the written/drawn portion. The remaining two classes, due to time constraints, were asked to multitask and answer my verbal questions while they were drawing their various pictures in the Post-Visit Questionnaire. The decision to conduct the verbal interviews in group settings was made for several reasons. Firstly, having classmates nearby, to rely on and draw from, gave the students a level of comfort that they would not have had in an individual session. Secondly, the entire reenactment exercise in which they took part was a group exercise. The classes were bonded together in the activity, and the students became part of each other's experiences. It would have been impossible to explore their experiences with them if

they were separated from each other during the process. Lastly, it allowed them the security of finding responses together. Often, when a question was asked, a student would respond tentatively with something, another student would build upon the first response, and fuller pictures of their experiences would emerge.

In each case, I was very impressed with the students' willingness to participate and speak with me, and with the answers they gave. While not all questions were answered by all students, most participants contributed a verbal answer at some point during the process. Other researchers have found that 'a serious problem with group interviews is that some participants may dominate by either restricting the topics for discussion or dominating the discussion themselves,' (Dockrell, Lewis, & Lindsay, 2000: 52). In this research, some students were quite outspoken, but responses were eventually elicited from quieter children, without pushing them excessively. I was careful to prepare and present myself to appear physically neutral; I dressed as a teacher would, so that I would not stand out or distract the students from the topics of discussion. And I made sure that, while reviewing the ethical material and completing the Questionnaire with them in their classrooms, I established a casual, fun, slightly silly rapport. I wanted them to have fun talking to me, so that they would talk to me more, and I believe I succeeded in this. It was important that they recognize my concern for exploring broad areas of 'knowledge' and appreciate that our conversations would move beyond simple questions to evaluate their factual knowledge. The research addresses the whole child (minds, bodies and feelings) in their socio-historical worlds.

The challenges present when adult researchers must work with children have been addressed above, and are discussed by many [Tzibazi, 2006; Dockrell, et al, 2000; Falk and Dierking, 1997; Falk, 2006; Falk, et al, 1998; France, Bendelow, & Williams, 2000; Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005; Jones, 2011]. I found my greatest challenge, having spent so much time as an educator in classrooms and museums, was remembering that I was not in front of these classes to teach. During analysis of the pilot study, I observed that I had a tendency to allow students to distract me from my questioning if they showed interest in, or asked me about, a related topic or specific details about the American Revolution. Following this observation, I was careful to direct students and myself back to the research at hand when tangents presented themselves.

5.7 Methods for Analysis

The final issues to be briefly considered here, and more deeply explored in following chapters, are the methods used during data analysis. The responses have been analysed in a phenomenographical way. As Svensson explains, ‘phenomenography may be briefly described as, ‘describing conceptions of the surrounding world,’’ (Svensson, 1997: 163). In practice, however, it is demonstrated by the grouping of responses together into categories, repeatedly, and looking for trends to emerge, which can point to larger interpretations of ‘conceptions of the surrounding world.’ Developed in the 1980s, Entwistle explains, ‘phenomenography sees learning as relational – it takes place through an interaction between the student, the context of learning material, and the overall learning environment,’ (Entwistle, 1997: 129). In addition, the analysis of the drawn data has included a quantitative element used to evaluate the frequency and prevalence of characteristics and elements in the students’ drawings.

Since conducting fieldwork, categories (or themes) in the responses have been identified that allow me to analyse the recurring sentiments [Entwistle, 1997; Svensson, 1997; Hasselgren & Beach, 1997; Åkerlind, 2005; Sandbergh, 1997]. Phenomenography is categorized by deep exploration of gathered data; I planned to work within this framework and to go ‘beyond the description of categories to the detection of underlying meaning,’ (Entwistle, 1997: 127). Knowing that I planned to employ phenomenographical analysis after data collection, I made audio recordings of my interviews and transcribed the recordings in as detailed a way as possible¹⁵. As Åkerlind explains,

Phenomenographic interviews are typically audio taped and transcribed verbatim, making the transcripts the focus of the analysis. The set of categories or meanings that result from the analysis are not determined in advance, but ‘emerge’ from the data in relationship with the researcher. (Åkerlind, 2005: 323)

Jackson and Rees Leahy have made use of similar systems of analysis. They explain that ‘categorization of the responses was clearly necessary for the organization and analysis of the data in a manageable form,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 308).

¹⁵ A sample transcript can be found in Appendix 10.

Pekarik, Doering, and Karns also found that themes and categories presented themselves quite easily, writing ‘often there was a common thread, a single type of experience, that surfaced repeatedly in these stories,’ (Pekarik, et al, 1999: 155). NVivo software was used in categorization; transcriptions of each Group Interview were analysed for recurring phrases, attitudes, anecdotes, and sentiments. All written responses were analysed for similarities in content and expression. The themes emerging from this language-oriented data are explored in Chapter 6.

Likewise, Chapter 7 explores the pictures the student produced visual data. In addition to identifying themes in the visual data with phenomenographical groupings, categorizations, and recategorizations (for example, Pictures of Soldiers > Pictures of Soldiers in Red Coats > Pictures of Armed Soldiers > Pictures of Armed Soldiers in Red Coats), I also followed a quantitative model of analysis of children’s drawings demonstrated by Daniel Shepardson in various studies in the field of environmental education [Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011]. Much like the phenomenographical techniques, this quantitative analysis involved categorizing aspects of the students’ drawings, recording the aspects’ prevalence across the sample, and noting the frequency of their occurrences. This practice served to corroborate the qualitative findings, allowing the tracking of common themes in the children’s drawings, and across their responses as a whole. The analysis of the data and the ways in which it has been used to address the aims of this study are discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter 6

Exploration of Language-Oriented Data

The nature of the collected data resulted in a two-sided approach to discussion; an exploration of Language-Oriented Data, which will take place in this chapter, and an exploration of Drawn Data, which will be found in Chapter 7. This chapter explores the language-oriented data by examining several of the themes that emerged during analysis. Language-oriented data refers to data that was recorded in the form of written or spoken words during the five research sessions. The explored themes emerged after an exhaustive phenomenological review; much of the language-oriented data was qualitative in nature, and the themes encompass viewpoints gathered during the pre- and post-visit questionnaires, as well as the verbal interview sessions.

Firstly, this chapter explores the themes that emerged regarding the experiences had by the participants as students, as visitors, and as reenactors. Within these themes, the social nature of the visits, reenactments, and class-shared activities emerged as significant; this is discussed below. Secondly, the patterns with which the participants remembered stories about the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolutionary will be explored. While this general theme also raised questions regarding dual understandings that seem to have developed in students as they absorbed historical facts as well as myths about the American Revolution, this area of inquiry will be more fully explored following a discussion of its presence in both language-oriented and drawn responses, in Chapter 7. Thirdly, a theme of patriotism in responses emerged, and will be examined. Lastly, the presence of emotional engagement within the participants' responses will be demonstrated, in terms of its effect on the experiences of the students, and the ways they incorporated emotional responses into their understandings of the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution.

6.1 Experiences

The participants experienced their reenactment exercises from three different (though, at times, overlapping) perspectives; as students, as visitors, and as reenactors. It is not uncommon for visits to museums, and activities therein, to require visitors to adopt different roles, or approach material and exercises differently. 'A museum visit

can be very complex, involving different dimensions of a visitor's life, including the physical, the intellectual, the social, and the emotional,' (Pekarik, et al, 1999: 153). Having experienced the exercise as students, visitors, and reenactors, the participants had reactions as each.

6.1.1 Experiences as Students

The participants first experience the topic of the Boston Tea Party and the prospect of an upcoming reenactment as students in a classroom. Their curriculums and instructors prepare them with the use of school history textbooks and literature designed for children, much of which includes a mixture of history and myth, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Studying similar relationships between school curriculums and museum theater programming in the UK, Ceri Jones has noted that 'school history [contains] elements of national, collective memory, whether as the 'national story,' entwining myth, memory and history, or by explicit attempts to simulate traditional forms of historical consciousness,' (Jones, 2011: 25-6). Similarly, Elaine Davis, in studies of American schoolchildren, has explored the ways in which 'history, limited to its disciplinary definition, privileges the past that is represented by written text. This sort of document-based history carries an authoritative voice; the storyteller who took pen to page and made history often becomes invisible. When we lose the connection between a story and its origin, it enters the realm of mythology,' (Davis, 2005: 13). Students are given a set of facts to remember, but reliability of these facts as historical absolutes is questionable once the stories develop a shared social existence.

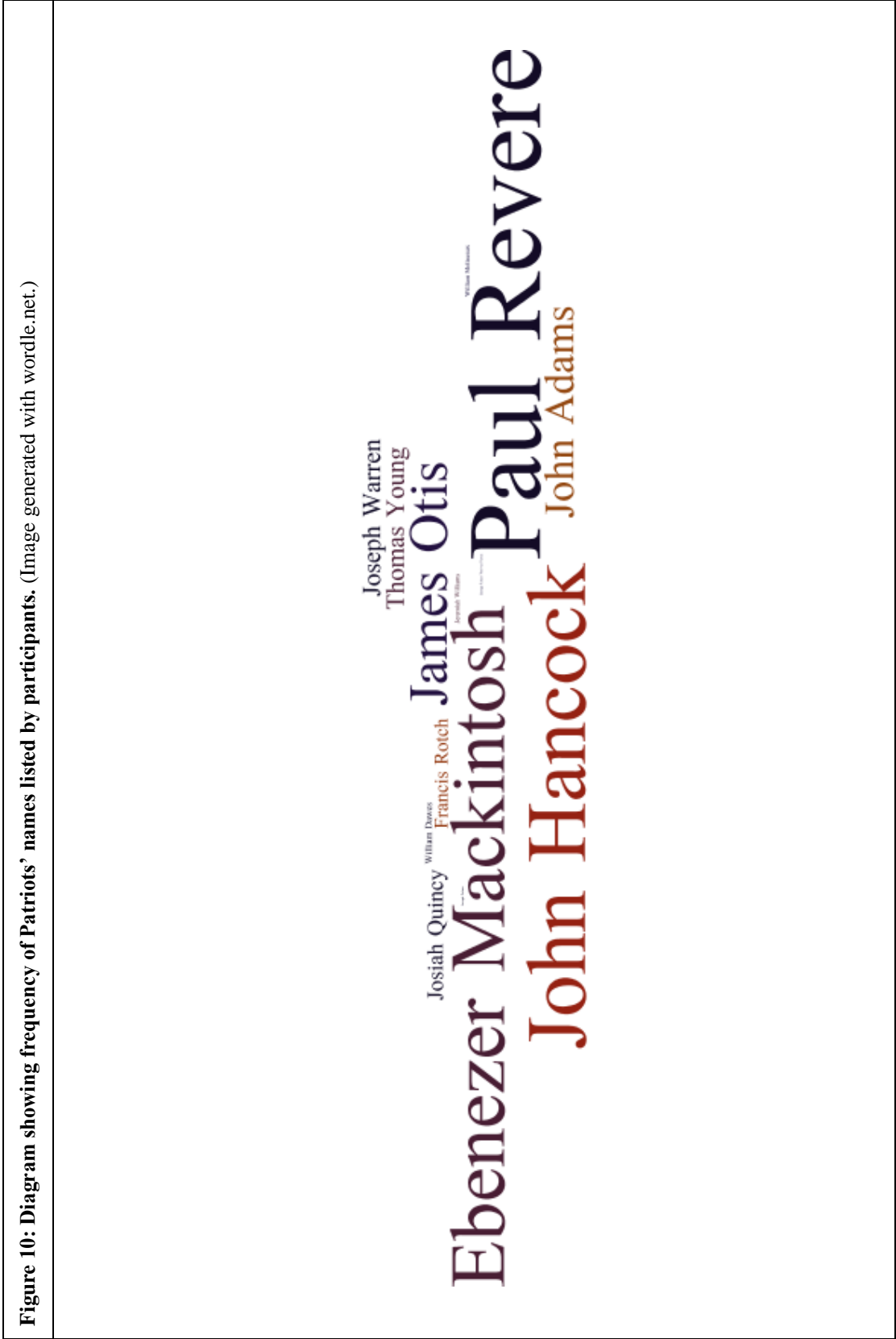
Nevertheless, the facts with which the students are provided are, to them, truths they are meant to learn. And the taught information is incorporated into reenactment, as the reenactment is incorporated into the classroom curriculum. The relationship between information and its portrayal can be beneficial; as Pluckrose writes,

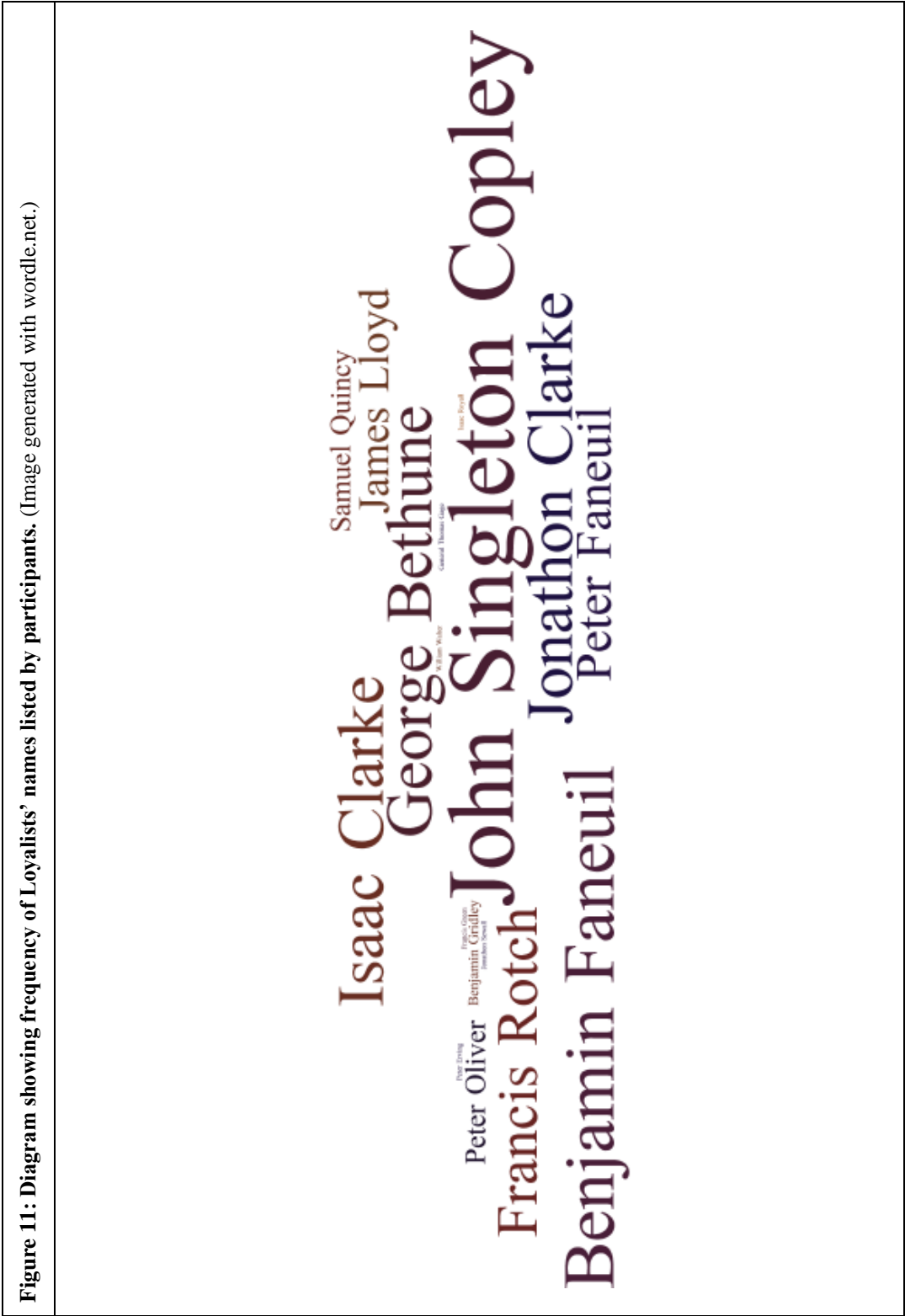
Well researched re-enactments whether within school or outside it, can provide children with the opportunity to move from the simple and the concrete to the complex...Moreover the academic disciplines which underpin history are much more likely to be understood if each child is actively participating by doing, seeing, feeling; by using spoken

language; by listening and actively responding to words and sounds.
(Pluckrose, 1991: 112)

This was evidenced by the data collected in the written questionnaire, addressing the names of historical figures students could recall on their own following their participation in the reenactment. Prior to each research session, the questions to be asked were reviewed with the participating teachers, and in each session the teachers advised me to not expect the students to be able to remember many of the key Patriots' and Loyalists' names. The students were not required to list multiple figures from the period on any tests, and the teachers did not anticipate that the students would be able to recall the names, as it had not been a topic of review in any of the classrooms; they each advised me that the students probably would not be able to name more than the answers I had given to get them started (Sam Adams for the Patriots (q15), and Thomas Hutchinson for the Loyalists (q16)) and perhaps their own characters. However, the students recalled a surprisingly high number, given their teachers' scepticism, though six of the Loyalists mentioned were only mentioned once; a few students remarked that the only Loyalists they could remember were the ones they had played, or a Loyalist character that they had had to interact with during the debate.

Figure 10 shows a word cloud indicating the frequency with which various Patriots were mentioned, and Figure 11 indicates the frequency with which various Loyalists or British allies were mentioned (Table 4 shows the exact names and frequencies). Generally students remembered more Patriots than Loyalists; most Patriot responses consisted of names that are well known and appear often in American popular culture and society. The most remembered Loyalist was John Singleton Copley, whose part in the reenactment is larger than other Loyalists, and is commemorated culturally in Boston where his name appears on buildings and neighbourhoods. Richard Clarke, one of the family members of Governor Hutchinson with stock in the East India Company was recalled eleven times, with his brothers remembered less (Isaac Clarke was listed seven times, and Jonathon Clarke was listed nine times). Benjamin Faneuil was influential, and it is easy to understand why the students remember him, as Faneuil Hall is still a popular area in Boston. Of the list of Loyalists who were remembered, the only one who did not speak at the reenactment was General Thomas Gage, who imposed martial law on the city of Boston following the Boston Tea Party. Francis Rotch was not technically a Loyalist – he owned the





Dartmouth – but his part is categorized as a Loyalist part in the Old South Meeting House curriculum, so students often remember him as a Loyalist.

Table 4: Chart showing frequencies of Patriots’ and Loyalists’ names as listed by participants.

List of Patriots		List of Loyalists	
Historical Figure	Frequency of appearance	Historical Figure	Frequency of appearance
Paul Revere	32	John Singleton Copley	13
John Hancock	26	Richard Clarke	11
Ebenezer Mackintosh	24	Benjamin Faneuil	10
James Otis	17	George Bethune	9
John Adams	13	Jonathon Clarke	9
Dr. Joseph Warren	8	Francis Rotch	8
Dr. Thomas Young	8	Isaac Clarke	7
Josiah Quincy	7	Peter Faneuil	7
Francis Rotch	6	Dr. James Lloyd	6
William Dawes	3	Peter Oliver	4
William Molineaux	2	Samuel Quincy	4
Jeremiah Williams	2	Benjamin Gridley	2
George Robert Twelves Hewes	1	Peter Erving	1
Joseph Palmer	1	General Thomas Gage	1
		Francis Green	1
		Isaac Royall	1
		Jonathon Sewall	1
		Rev. William Walter	1

The students in each Session had a tendency to more easily remember the figures portrayed by more outspoken classmates, which is likely due to the social nature of learning in a museum. As Falk and Dierking have noted, ‘learning is almost always socially mediated. Because humans are social organism, they rarely acquire information in a social vacuum. People learn while talking to, listening to, and watching other people,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1992: 100). In many cases, either during rehearsals before the visit or during the visit to Old South, inside jokes between classmates had developed. As they began to think about each other’s characters for these questions, an atmosphere of nostalgia and an eagerness to share their stories about their field-trips with me emerged. The students were influenced by these experiences, and acquired knowledge and memories based on their social interactions; ‘They incorporate other people’s ideas in their own; even feelings and physical actions are amalgamations forged during social contacts,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1992:100). This group-consciousness spilled over into students’ perceptions of the historical figures they were asked to portray.

During the verbal interviews, the students were asked if they found it difficult to take on a character if they didn't necessarily agree with the character's views. This question sparked a lot of conversation in every session, leading me to believe that arguments over who *had* to be a Loyalist and who *got* to be a Patriot had been going on for weeks, and that students had been wary of playing characters they thought might be viewed negatively by their classmates. As Jones writes, 'the role that history plays in promoting a collective sense of national identity is often held up as an example of how the past can be made relevant and meaningful to young people,' (Jones, 2011: 22-3). These young people seemed afraid to adopt an imagined personality that diverged from the class's (and a wider) collective sense of national identity. Having experienced the material primarily as a taught subject, the students knew the Patriots and Loyalists were adversaries, and there appeared to be some anxiety regarding how they would be perceived after portraying Loyalists.

The question itself elicited four types of responses from the students, as they reflected on their reactions to receiving their assigned parts, prior to their visit and reenactment experience. Firstly, several students had wanted to be Patriots but were assigned Loyalist roles:

'I really wanted to be a Patriot...but since I got a Loyalist part, I had to deal with it anyway...and I practiced the whole part, and just got the hang of it.' (pS, [00:58:05])

'I wanted to be a Patriot.' (S2, [00:29:25])

'I had Benjamin Faneuil...and I wanted to be, uh, a Patriot.' (S3, [00:58:45])

'[I was] Nathaniel Noyes...and I wanted to be a Patriot.' (S3, [00:58:55])

'I was...Johnathon Clarke, and I wanted to be a Patriot.' (S3, [00:59:00])

'I just didn't want to be a Loyalist.' (S4, [00:48:10])

‘I didn’t want to be a Loyalist because, like, I’d be people that people don’t like. I’d be a person that people don’t like...well, American people don’t like.’ (S4, [00:48:20])

These students were hesitant to appear to be un-American, even in an imagined sense. The second type of response came from students who wanted to portray figures with whom they could engage more emotionally and patriotically:

‘My guy didn’t talk enough...I wanted to be a Son of Liberty’ (S1, [00:55:40])

‘I was Peter Irving, and I didn’t want to be a [Loyalist]. Because Patriots are, like... they’re like rebels, and I’m sort of a rebel in my family, *and* my occupation and age was unknown. So, I didn’t feel like being a nobody. I didn’t like being a nobody.’ (S2, [00:29:45])

‘I was Nathaniel Noyes and I wanted to be, like, bigger, like, more, like powerful guy, like John Hancock.’ (S2, [00:30:00])

These students wanted to portray the historical figures they already admired from their history texts, and who had recognizably influential places within the larger story of the American Revolution. They also wanted to have roles that other classmates would find desirable, and to whom they could better relate, rather than Loyalists who have mostly been unfairly cast in history books as villains [Johnston, 1908, Juhnke, 2002].

While the ways in which the students learned together have been shown to have been influenced by their classmates, each student had created his or her own personal relationship with the subject matter before visiting the Old South Meeting House. Davis explains that ‘how students assimilate what they know of the past and how they make meaning of it is their own personal act...’ (Davis, 2005: 21). Before looking at the students’ experiences as museum visitors, it is important to note that they seemed more engaged with the material as the research session progressed, suggesting that the act of reviewing the experience, and relaying it to the researcher, provided a new level of understanding and connection. Jackson and Rees-Leahy, when interviewing pupils

about museum experiences, that ‘the children felt a strong personal connection with the subject matter when they were addressed, not as ‘pupils’ in a classroom, but as researchers, investigators,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 312). By being invited to contribute to an academic discussion on the topic of their experiences, the students seemed to find a more authoritative, confident platform from which to share, which hopefully positively impacted their wider learning experiences in early American History.

6.1.2 Experiences as Visitors

After studying the events of the American Revolution in classrooms and preparing for the reenactment exercise, the students’ next experiences were as visitors to the Old South Meeting House, and the site itself served as a tangible link to the past for the participants, as is often the case when museums and historical sites are used in education. As Hughes, Jackson, and Kidd found, when examining the use of theater in museums, learning in museums differs fundamentally from learning in a classroom:

Learning in a museum has distinct differences from learning in school. Learning in a museum is not necessarily linear...in that visitors can move through most museums in the direction and at the pace they choose. They are not following from one textbook chapter to another, nor considering topics as part of a predetermined, carefully ordered curriculum package. (Hughes, et al, 2007: 685)

The participants’ classroom experiences were mainly driven by their teachers’ instructions, but visiting the museum gave the participants a greater degree of agency.

Students on field-trips to the Old South Meeting House are invited to walk through the historic hall on their own and with groups of friends, and to explore the exhibits. In this type exploration, ‘the visitor is exposed, if he chooses, to a kind of elective education that is superior in some respects to that of the classroom, for here he meets the Thing Itself,’ which, in this case, was the very place the colonists debated the Tea Tax, (Tilden, 2007: 25). For the participants who visited the Old South Meeting House, the site had the potential to act as a portal to the past. Rosenzweig and Thelen have written that ‘museums and historic sites [work] a powerful magic because they

[evoke] immediate personal and familiar connections,’ (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998: 32). The existence of the Old South Meeting House, as a place of worship or a community centre, can remind students of places they regularly attend, and help engage their interest by simply being familiar. As Eileen Hooper-Greenhill explains, ‘museums enable the integration of mind, body and emotion, in a way that few other sites for learning do,’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 14). The students are there to experience a lesson, but also experienced the site itself.

To encourage the participants to incorporate their experiences at the Old South Meeting House into the research sessions, the first questions they were asked dealt with the students’ physical comfort levels at the site, and how they felt this differed from the ways the American colonists felt there during the meeting that the students reenacted. The participants were first asked what the weather was like when they visited, and the 41 responses gathered were straightforward descriptions of the day, with 30 students mentioning their physical reactions to the temperature and humidity¹⁶. Secondly, they were asked to recall the colonists’ experiences on the night of the Boston Tea Party, and to remember what the weather was like on that day in 1773. As this is an aspect of the story they reenact, 39 of the 41 students accurately remembered that it had been a rainy, cold day. A small number of participants (five) imagined how the colonists might have felt as a result of the weather. For example, pp02 speculated that the colonists ‘might have been damp;’ participants pp12 and pp14 expressed that the colonists might have felt cold because of the weather; pp04 explained that the ‘colonists wore warm [clothes]’ because of the temperature; p042 believed that the colonists would have been less comfortable than the students were on the field-trip.

Thirdly, they were asked if they thought they were more comfortable at the Old South Meeting House than the colonists were on December 16, 1773. This question encouraged all participants to relate their experiences as visitors at the site to the experiences that the colonists would have had during the meeting. The responses showed that most (40 out of 41) students recognized that the colonists would have been uncomfortable. A few respondents stood out for their recollection of how crowded the meeting hall was during the meeting (as explained in Chapter 3 and 4, thousands of colonists were crammed into the building during the meeting): pp11 expressed that

¹⁶ In total, 76 respondents participated in this research. However, two fieldwork sessions had to be abridged to meet the classroom teachers’ scheduling needs. For questions that were omitted in the abridged sessions (or when some students elected not to give answers to all questions), there are fewer than 76 responses, as seen here where 41 students responded to this specific inquiry.

‘there were less people;’ pp14 explained that the class was ‘more comfortable because the colonists were all packed together;’ p037 noted that the class was ‘more comfortable with the space,’ and that, unlike with the colonists, the number of students did not result in an overflow that spilled out into the streets; p043 explained that the class was ‘more comfortable with a lot of space;’ p055 described being more comfortable than the colonists, saying ‘we had space,’ while in 1773 the hall had been ‘packed with colonists;’ and p047 said, ‘I think I was WAY more comfortable than the colonists. I was warm and had a lot of room, they were chilly and cramped together.’ The students were better able to understand the atmosphere on the day and night of the meeting because of their experiences as visitors; the size of the hall, and the fact that it had been packed in 1773, showed the students how many people must have been present to create such an overflowing crowd.

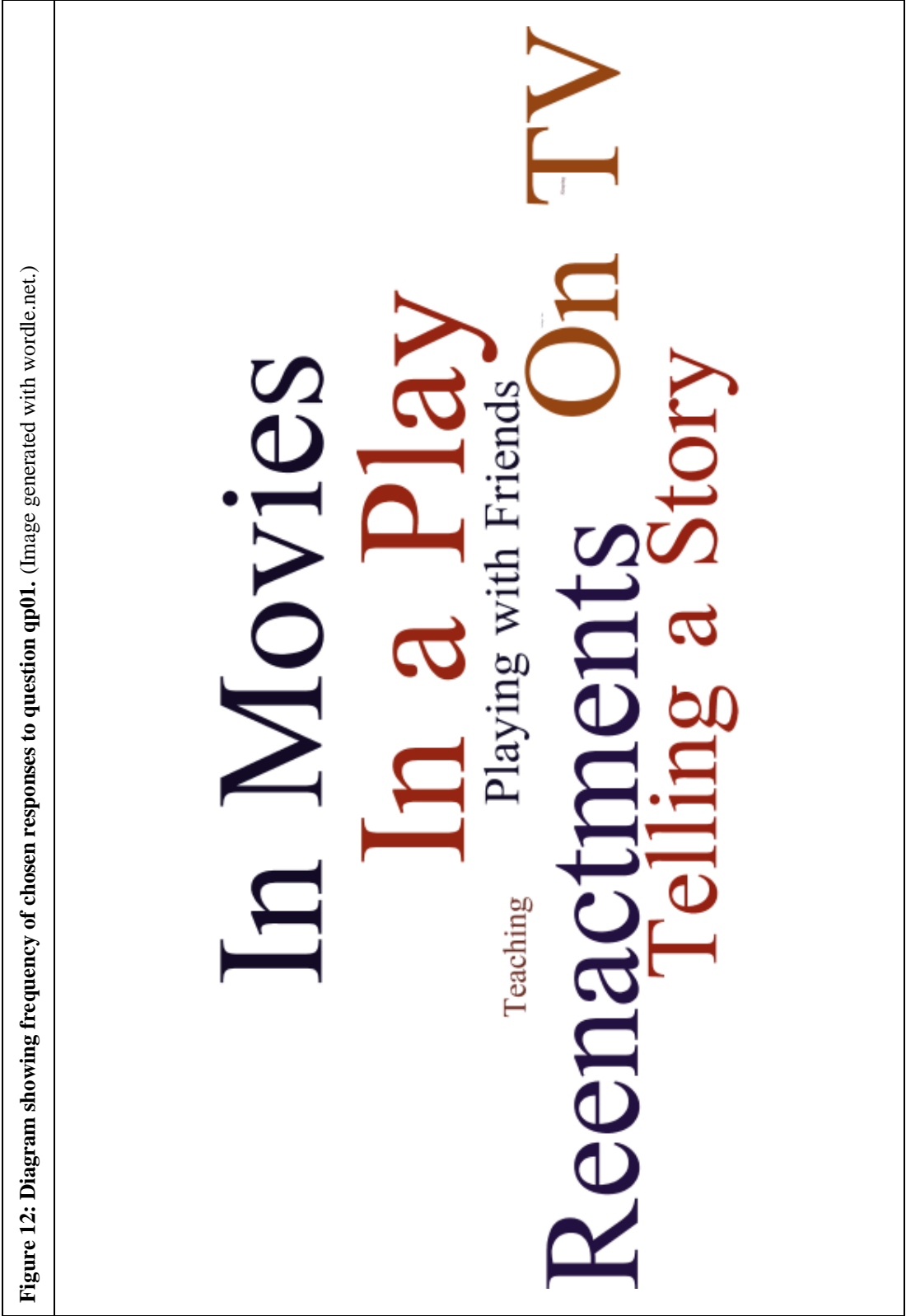
However, even their visit to a tangible piece of history could not fully dispel the myths surrounding the stories of the Boston Tea Party. The responses to these questions became the first in which participants’ remarks included references to more mythological versions. As explained in Chapters 3 and 4, there were no British Regulars on duty in the city of Boston on the day this meeting took place in 1773, or during the Boston Tea Party that night. But mythologized versions describe colonists having to hide from and avoid the soldiers. Participant p036 incorporated the myth of patrolling Regulars into the comparison, saying ‘I was more comfortable in two ways, first I was not scrunched, second I did not have to worry about the regulars.’ Two other respondents made reference to the emotional tension that would have been present: p054 said, ‘I think we were more [comfortable] because it was fun and they had to fight;’ and p051 believed the colonists would have been ‘a bit nervous.’

Even though these responses reflect the tendency to cling to the myths, they also show that these students were engaged emotionally as visitors. One participant’s comments regarding his favorite aspect of their field-trip was being ‘right where [the colonists] were,’ (q21: p019); eleven other students shared this enthusiasm for the historical significance of being in a place where colonists were. Ceri Jones has written that, ‘as part of a history education, museums and historic sites...can bring a sense of immediacy to the past,’ (Jones, 2011: 93). Here, the colonists seem to have been more imaginable because of the shared physical space, even though about 240 years had passed. As visitors, the participants experienced physical, emotional, and intellectual reactions to being at the historic site.

6.1.3 Experiences with Reenactment

Reenactment as an educational medium can be an effective teaching technique for audiences, as well as performers. Pluckrose tells us that ‘children who take part in well-prepared re-enactments are given a high level of experience to which they can respond,’ which is supported by the data gathered for this thesis (Pluckrose, 1991: 110). In this study, the participants were both the audience and the performers; they delivered their speeches for their classmates, and then listened as their classmates spoke. After each person’s speech, his or her supporters would cheer, ‘Huzzah!’ and those who disagreed would yell, ‘Fie!’ In this way, the students portraying Patriots had supporters and adversaries, as did those playing Loyalists and, as Tessa Bridal explains, this is one of the benefits of using methods such as reenactment: ‘One of the strengths of theatre is that it allows us to give voice to several points of view – as part of the performance, characters can reveal how they have come to hold these diverse opinions and how and why they may have changed,’ (Bridal, 2004: 137). The differing viewpoints impacted the way the students understand the events surrounding the Boston Tea Party, as well as the American Revolution, as will be seen below. However, first it is worth noting the students’ perceptions of Reenactment prior to their engagement in it.

By the time participants experienced the reenactment, they had encountered the Boston Tea Party as students and as visitors. But, as 9- and 10-year-olds, some had little knowledge about the type of performance in which they would be taking part. Their levels of understanding were assessed prior to their participation when they were given the Pre-Visit Questionnaire, during which six of the 62 responding students expressed not knowing what a reenactment was. The first question asked them what kinds of activities were examples of times when people would read or act out parts, or pretend to be other people. The answer field contained the following choices, of which students could choose as many as they wanted: *In a play; On TV; In Movies; Reenactments; Telling a Story; Teaching; Sleeping; Taking a Test; Eating; and Playing with Friends*. Figure 12 shows an image depicting the frequency with which each option was circled (Table 5 shows the distribution of their responses). From this question, it was clear that the participants could identify situations involving the adoption of a character, and one could speculate from this that they should therefore be able to engage in this behaviour themselves, and learn from each other in the process.



This is important, as the participants' abilities to adopt their characters can influence how effectively the group navigates their reenactment. 'If spectators relate personally to characters in a performance they may experience empathy, a key emotion which supports better recall,' (Hughes, et al, 2007: 690). And, in this case, where students are portraying adversaries and allies, empathetic connections to both kinds of characters can create better understandings.

Table 5: Chart showing frequency of responses chosen for question qp01.

What are some other kinds of activities where people read or act out parts, or pretend to be someone else?	
Choice	Frequency of selection
In a Play	62
In Movies	61
On TV	55
Reenactments	55
Telling a Story	41
Playing with Friends	20
Teaching	13
Sleeping	2
Taking a Test	1
Eating	0

The students were also asked why people might try to recreate events that happened in the past, both in the pre-visit questionnaire, and in the verbal interview during their post-visit sessions. The responses to these questions were similar prior to, and following, their reenactments. Table 6 shows the choices that participants were given in the pre-visit questionnaire, as well as the frequency with which each was chosen.

Table 6: Chart showing frequency of responses chosen for question qp03.

Why might people try to recreate events that happened in the past?	
Choice	Frequency of selection
Because the event was important	58
To teach people	54
To help people remember the event	50
To feel proud about good things that happened	25
To see how people react to it	20
To remember bad things that happened	15
Because it's tradition	13
Because they want to	10
For no reason at all	7

Most participants responded with choices that indicated the importance of recreating events for educational purposes. The students who gave responses to this question in the verbal interview answered with similar comments when asked why people would recreate historical events:

‘To teach people about what happened.’ (S3, [00:49:40])

‘It’s easier for people to learn about it.’ (S3, [00:50:00])

‘To kind of inform people of what has happened in history.’ (S2, [00:16:45])

‘It will teach us about the American history.’ (S4, [00:38:50])

‘So maybe, if they’re bad, then we don’t do it again.’ (S2, [00:20:45])

‘To like pass on history so, like, people don’t, like, completely forget about it.’ (S2, [00:21:00])

It is clear that the respondents recognized practicing reenactment as an educational technique, but determining how they felt about the form and how they might come to interact with it was also important. The pre-visit questionnaire also asked them to choose words describing ‘Reenactment’ from a field of answers including *History*, *Acting*, *Fun*, *Boring*, *Educational*, *Pretend*, *Silly*, and *Helpful*. Figure 13 depicts the frequency with which the options were chosen. 49 of the 56 respondents chose *History* as a word to describe reenactment. 55 chose *Acting*; 24 chose *Fun*; three chose *Boring*; 44 chose *Educational*; 23 chose *Pretend*; three chose *Silly*; and 31 chose *Helpful*. As with the previous statements, these responses suggest that reenactment is seen by the participants as somewhat serious and something from which to be learned.

Following the reenactment, the students were again asked to define reenactment, this time in their own words. This question had three main types of responses. The first was often straightforward and simplistic, stating that reenactments are basically just reenactments:

‘It’s when you reenact someone’s part in something.’ (pS, [00:36:40])

‘It’s like when you do, reenact, like, acting things that somebody did before you.’ (S1, [00:46:05])

The second type of response usually described reenactment as the recreation of an event:

‘A reenactment is something...kind of doing something to represent or show what happened at that period of time.’ (S3 [00:48:30])

‘It’s, well... You recreate an, uh, important event.’ (S2, [00:16:00])

‘Acting something that happened in the past.’ (S4, [00:38:15])

The third type of response, which is can also be seen in the first two, is that reenactment is a type of theater:

‘It’s when, like...something already happened but you’re acting it out, you’re acting it out again.’ (S1, [00:46:30])

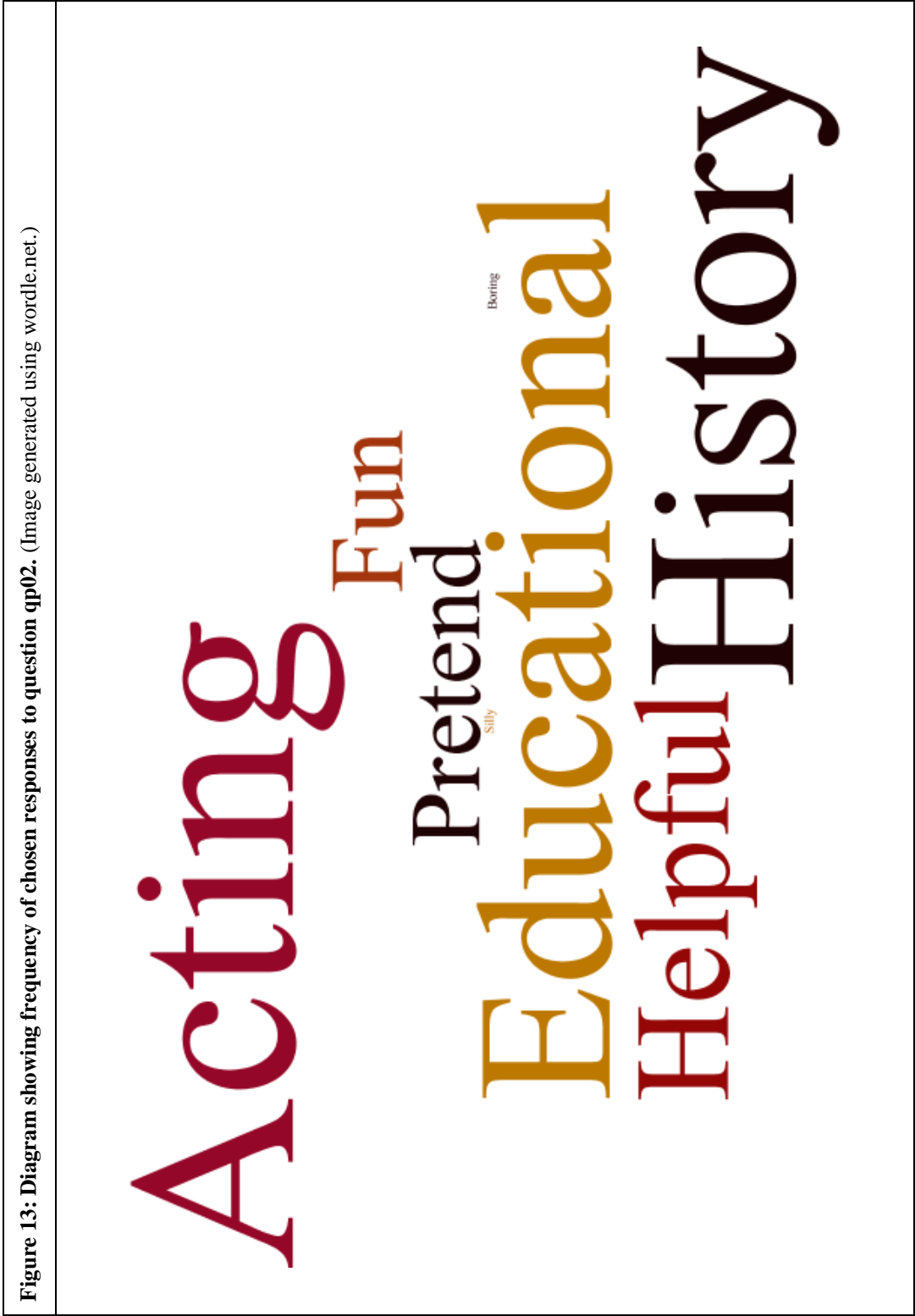
‘It’s kind of like a play.’ (S2, [00:16:15])

‘It’s when people, like... like, do a play about something historical, like to kind of, like, remind people of it.’ (S2, [00:16:30])

‘A play. That has words to say.’ (S4, [00:38:18])

These responses are simple but insightful; they show that the students felt like they were acting while they were recreating the historical event, and that they know the recreations are not meant to be real, which fosters an element of safety. Dorothy Heathcote notes that ‘dramatizing makes it possible to isolate an event or to compare one event with another, to look at events that have happened to other people in other places and times perhaps, or to look at one’s own experience after the event, within the

safety of knowing that just at this moment it is not really happening,’ (Heathcote, 1984d: 90).



The students were also eager when asked to describe other kinds of reenacted events they had heard of, other than the town meeting in which they participated. In the Verbal Group Interviews, eleven students mentioned reenactments of wars and battles, such as the French & Indian War, the American Civil War, and the American Revolutionary War, with students in Sessions 2 and 3 specifically mentioning the Battles of Lexington and Concord, which took place just outside of Boston and are reenacted yearly. As mentioned previously, Jackson and Rees Leahy found that students' enthusiasm increased when they felt collaborative in the project, and this was true here as well (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 312). One student from Session 4, a class that would be performing their teacher's reenactment of the Battle of Bunker Hill, described their upcoming project, (S4, [00:41:50]). And another student recognized the form of war reenactment in something else he had seen:

'My mom is currently watching a TV show about food from World War II...about, like, how people survived, and, like, how to make that food.'
(S4, [00:42:40])

The students were able to think of multiple war reenactments, but thought of other things as well, and recognized that adapting recreations for media – such as television and film – can be reenactment as well.

In addition to the understandings of reenactments that the participants gained through their experiences, many expressed enjoying the reenactment when asked about their favorite parts of their field-trips to the Old South Meeting House. 39 of the 72 participants said they enjoyed doing their own parts. Their comments often reflected strongly identifying with their characters:

'My favorite part was reenacting the debate about the tea tax. I was Paul Revere so that made me feel good,' (q21: p052).

'My favorite part of the Old South Meeting House was reading my part. I really felt like I was in the 1700s. I really felt like I was a loyalist,'
(q21: p047).

‘My favorite part was when at the end when [she] left to get an answer from the Governor and when I said the last lines [as Samuel Adams],’ (q21: p026).

‘I was [Paul Revere] a awesome silversmith and engraver,’ (q21: p015).

‘My favorite part of the reenactment was when me and the [captain] of the [Dartmouth] ship went to see the Governor’s response,’ (q21: p004).

29 participants also expressed having enjoyed watching their classmates perform, and all but one student had positive things to say about the reenactment experience¹⁷.

With this in mind, it was not surprising that their abilities to recall the historical content they explored during the reenactment were strong, as will be seen below. Jackson and Rees Leahy have noted that ‘children’s *active* participation in [events contributes] to a strong sense of engagement with the content of their visit and, equally, their ability to recall it,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 311). Furthermore, doing this activity in the historical site aided in the student’s ability to engage with the material. This is in line with Vasiliki Tzibazi’s observation in her study on primary school children’s experiences with museum theater; that ‘the setting made ‘real’ what the children had been visualizing about life in the past and triggered their imagination.’ Likewise, she found this to be particularly true ‘in the case of the participatory events where the children experience the setting from *within*, the setting facilitated the creation of atmosphere and tension and contributed to the establishment of make-believe,’ (Tzibazi, 2006: 292). Through the process of reenactment at the Old South Meeting House, the students engaged in a way that would be impossible in a classroom, and connected with a version of the past that, while imagined by each individual, was made tangible and historically relevant.

¹⁷ The one student who did not enjoy it said she did not like it ‘because I like stuff [quiet]. And I don’t like acting because I am really not that person,’ (q21: p003).

6.1.3.1 Social Aspects of Reenactment

Within the responses to questions addressing participants' reenactment experiences, a theme emerged wherein students described a strong social element to the practice of reenactment, and their navigations thereof. This is common in museums; Eileen Hooper-Greenhill has written:

When we talk about learning, and particularly learning in museums, we are not talking about learning facts only. Learning includes facts, but also experiences and the emotions. It requires individual effort, but is also a social experience. In museums, it is the social experience that is frequently best remembered. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994: 21)

The social nature of the reenactment seemed to help students relate more closely to the material. Several students expressed having connected more deeply with their characters because of scripted interactions with classmates. Such responses include:

'It kind of felt weird for my friends to be my kids. [They] were my kids, and they were both Loyalists too, so I was happy.' (pS, [00:59:15])

'I am Josiah Quincy...I don't like getting interrupted when I'm talking. And (said to classmate) I didn't want to be your brother.' (S4, [00:49:00])

Participants in each interviewed class demonstrated a group dynamic that indicated an enhanced enjoyment of the activity, as well as an increased comfort level, because classmates were present.

'I liked doing the reenactment because all of us got to scream 'Huzzah' and 'Fie' as loud as we could.' (S4, [00:52:40])

'I liked doing it because we weren't scared in front of each other.' (S4, [00:52:50])

‘It was fun to do it with the class, because we probably all embarrassed, embarrassed ourselves in front of everyone, so it was a little weird feeling stressed out for anything.’ (S4, [00:53:20])

This seems to be a common aspect of children’s experiences (not just in museum theater activities, but in many museum interactions), as the people with whom one visits a museum can impact the museum experience. Building on theories established by Falk & Dierking, Ceri Jones noted that, during visits and programming at museums, children’s interaction with peers influences the ways in which they experience the visit, and learn from the content (Jones, 2011: 110-4). Similarly, Silverman writes that, ‘in general, the museum visit is often an intimate experience in which companions can significantly affect meaning in a number of ways,’ (Silverman, 1995: 162). Likewise, Bowker points out that ‘learning is primarily a social activity and involves cognitive processes in which the learner’s new knowledge is constructed with others on the basis of what the learner already understands and believes,’ (Bowker, 2007: 77). The social nature of field-trips and museum visits may also help students to remember the field-trip better. In a 1997 study, Falk and Dierking explored potential factors leading to remembered aspects of field-trips, and found social settings to be influential, finding ‘strong interrelationships between cognition, affect, the physical context and social context,’ (Falk & Dierking, 1997: 211). The students were more comfortable about speaking in front of a crowd because the crowd was full of familiar faces, and they seemed to remember many aspects of their class’ trips as a group, in addition to their personal, individual memories.

Furthermore, it is interesting to note the ways in which the development of shared experiences through social interactions in museums parallel the development of shared experiences in society, especially as it pertains to the ways in which the students learn the myths and histories associated with the American Revolution. When a historical event takes place, witnesses walk away with different perspectives and interpretations, and as those people tell their stories, different versions of the event take on roles within the realm of public memory [Egan, 2007; Samuel, 2012; Lee, 2003]. More accurate versions might not be as popular as more exciting versions, and listeners will retell the versions they prefer. This phenomenon manifested itself on a micro-scale in the visited classrooms.

Across the five sessions, fourteen students (out of 76) were singled-out to me by their classmates for their portrayals of their characters, and the classmates would often imitate what they had seen performed by the singled-out students. In this way, the social group of the class was developing within itself a public memory of the event and, as can be the case with repeated stories, any embellishments or exaggerations that are added by storytellers as they describe the original event can become part of a myth surrounding it, adding to a cycle of social performance surrounding a shared event [Anderson, 1983; Lowenthal, 1985; Egan, 2007; Roth, 1998; Gable & Handler, 1994; Hughes, 1998]. Paul Connerton's descriptions of how stories become cycles of performances within small communities can be applied here. He writes:

What holds [a village] together is gossip. Most of what happens in a village during the course of a day will be recounted by somebody before the day ends and these reports will be based on observation or on first-hand accounts. Village gossip is composed of this daily recounting combined with lifelong mutual familiarities. By this means a village informally constructs a continuous communal history of itself; a history in which everybody portrays, in which everybody is portrayed, and in which the act of portrayal never stops. (Connerton, 1989: 17)

In the classrooms, this phenomenon – the social construction of the exercise created by the students' – seems to have aided in their abilities to recall information along with the experience. The stories that they remembered together while reminiscing carried historical information, regardless of whether the students were conscious of the educational material they had retained. This had a positive and profound impact on their learning, even if they were almost tricked into learning these things because of the fun they were having together. Though they were often recalling the ways that certain students recited their lines because of the amusement they experienced during the recitation, the information contained in that recitation was retained, and then reinforced further by the group remembering it together.

The ways in which the students reacted as a group, and the ways in which America remembers the Revolution, are related in the evolutionary nature of storytelling and memory, and will be explored further in the next section.

6.2 Remembered Stories

How things are remembered, and the ways in which collective memories function culturally can hinder the process of discerning *real* truths from what a society wants to remember as truth. Memory makes studying history questionable, not simply because a person might individually remember an event differently from a version found in a text, but because the versions found in texts may be based on a collective memory that has been altered over time, exaggerated, or changed to avoid discomfort. As Lowenthal explains, 'history differs from memory not only in how knowledge of the past is acquired and validated but also in how it is transmitted, preserved, and altered. We accept memory as a premise of knowledge; we infer history from evidence that includes other people's memories,' (Lowenthal, 1985: 212). The ways in which the students recall learned information during the research sessions offered a glimpse into the ways they incorporate mythology surrounding the American Revolution into their understandings of the event.

Furthermore, the incorporation of myth into historical understanding – is not uncommon or necessarily counterproductive; myths can stand separately and alongside factual history. As Midgley writes, 'myths are not lies. Nor are they detached stories. They are imaginative patterns, networks or powerful symbols that suggest particular ways of interpreting the world,' (Midgley, 2003: 1). The students use myths to help them negotiate the relationships they have between possibly boring, school-taught information and the romanticized versions of the Revolution they cling to in their imaginations. They remember what they were taught in school (information that was reinforced during their reenactment experiences and museum visits), and what they have been taught culturally, and find ways to make these stories fit together.

6.2.1 Historical Recall and Mythological Applications

As has been discussed in previous sections and chapters, the presence of what is considered historical fact and what is considered mythology surrounding the American Revolution creates a confusing web of overlapping storylines, containing both slight and significant differences in the ways that people who are being taught about the Revolution create their own understandings. There are so many different narratives

from which to choose that students can develop their preferred series of events, each of which can be equally valid. The American Revolution is not the only occurrence that demonstrates this phenomenon; any event that can be remembered publicly risks alteration, mythologization, and the creation of a new, socially adopted version that encompasses things that were accurately remembered, as well as embellishments. Leehy discusses this phenomenon, saying, ‘is there not a point at which any story, no matter how inaccurate, becomes part of the historical record?’ (Leehey, 1994: 7).

Indeed, the historical facts recalled by the participants often included elements of myth which, at times, resulted in contradictions within individual’s responses, indicating a duality of understanding, resulting from the overlapping incorporation of fact and myth. This duality will be explored further in Chapter 7; but reliance on mythologized versions of the American Revolution when teaching is a longstanding occurrence. As Akers points out, ‘for nearly two centuries the historiography of Revolutionary Massachusetts has suffered from neglect and the uncritical acceptance of oversimplified and mythical interpretations,’ (Akers, 1974: 120). Here, the ways in which the students recalled information that they absorbed during their classroom instruction, field-trip, and reenactment experience will be explored, with attention paid to the instances where myth and fact simply overlap.

The participants were first asked to choose words describing the nature of the Boston Tea Party in the pre-visit questionnaire. The possible answers, from which they could choose as many as they wanted, included *A Protest*; *A Riot*; *A Celebration*; *A Fight*; *A Party*; *A Holiday*; *An Important Event*; *A Joke*; *Just for Fun*; and *A Normal, Everyday Thing*. The frequency with which each option was chosen can be seen in the Word Map in Figure 14. The most historically accurate responses are *A Protest*, *A Riot*, and *An Important Event*, although ‘riot’ implies more interpersonal violence and destruction for personal gain than took place. Of the 62 respondents, 54 identified the Boston Tea Party as *An Important Event*. *A Protest* was chosen 51 times, and *A Riot* was chosen 37 times; 31 participants chose both *A Protest* and *A Riot*. Of those 31, 12 also chose *A Fight*. In total, 25 participants chose *A Fight* to describe the event, which is not accurate. There was no clash between sides, but this idea is perpetuated in more mythological versions of the story of the Boston Tea Party. Five participants chose *A Celebration*, and four chose *A Party*, both of which are also based in mythological retellings rather than historical accounts. One participant chose *A Holiday*, one participant chose *A Joke*, and zero participants chose *Just for Fun*. The responses

indicate that, although specific aspects of the Boston Tea Party might be conceptualized differently based on the overlapping histories and myths of the story, the majority of the participants recognized the event as rebellious, and saw it as historically significant.

These sentiments were echoed during the verbal interviews that were conducted during the post-visit sessions. Students in each section expressed an understanding of the reasons behind and benefits of using reenactment as a tool during education. When asked why people do reenactments, students expressed its importance as a medium of memory, helping current generations to understand the past through recreation:

‘To celebrate that time.’ (S1, [00:47:45])

‘They like that time, they like that period of time.’ (S3, [00:50:10])

‘To like pass on history so, like, people don’t, like, completely forget about it.’ (S2, [00:21:00])

Likewise, when asked why the meeting they reenacted at the Old South Meeting House was an important event to reenact, students recognized the meeting’s role in the oncoming Revolution, and the people who took part. Reenacting the meeting gave the colonists a chance to be remembered for their actions:

‘To remember them by.’ (S3, [00:51:45])

‘The people who did it should be honored and not forgotten for all the things they did, how they risked their lives and they could have died.’ (S4, [00:41:00])

Furthermore, many students identified the Boston Tea Party and the meeting that preceded it as key milestones on the road to the American Revolution:

‘Because...that was like the start of, like, the Revolution, cause...that’s when we had to start fighting, because...England closed our ports. They put, like, big warships in it. Then Paul Revere did his ride. Then the Battle of Concord and Lexington happened.’ (S4, [00:43:40])

‘Because we wouldn’t, like, America wouldn’t be America if that hadn’t happened.’ (S1, [00:48:42])

‘It kind of started the Revolutionary War.’ (S3, [00:54:55])

While arguably the events that followed the Boston Tea Party – particularly the Intolerable Acts and the other colonies’ fears of similar treatment at the hands of the British – were stronger catalysts, these students’ opinions were shared by Charles Bahne, who writes that ‘more than any other event, the Boston Tea Party was the turning point of the protests that led to Revolution,’ (Bahne, 2005: 28).

6.2.2 British as Mix of Foes

Another emergent theme in the way participants remembered stories about the Boston Tea Party is a tendency of many students to use the term *British* interchangeably when referring to any combination of King George III, Parliament, British people in England, British officials in the colonies, and/or Loyalists. It seems that opposition to the colonial Patriots is grouped together in the minds of many participants, creating an illusion of one united voice against American Independence, where in fact there were many different voices, with different motivations and perspectives.

This might be due in part to the need for a cohesive opponent when developing an understanding of a conflict – an *other* to whom a group can compare itself, (Said, 2003). Some participants’ responses to questions about reactions to the Boston Tea Party suggest that relating to the colonists as fellow Americans, and having one opponent (rather than the king, Parliament, the East India Company, and local government officials) simplifies the narrative, making it more manageable:

‘They want to tell the British that they don’t have to [pay] the taxes.’
(S1, [00:49:45])

‘Stop taxing tea, stop taxing us, or we’ll so it some more, or something.’
(S3, [00:54:15])

Figure 14: Diagram showing frequency of chosen responses to question qp05. (Image generated using wordle.net.)

An Important Event
A Riot A Fight
A Celebration
A Party
A Protest

‘We are not gonna let you guys take advantage of us, we don’t really care what you say, we want our freedom, and we’re not gonna pay for the taxes.’ (pS, [00:43:30])

The students seemed to want to their responses to sound as defiant towards the *British* as they imagined the colonial Patriots would have been.

The amalgamation of the term *British* also might be due in part to the fact that very early educational textbooks on American History suggest a unanimity amongst *British* players. George Bancroft, in a text first published in 1834, explains:

The people of Great Britain identified themselves, though but for the moment, with their king, and talked of their subjects beyond the Atlantic. Of their ability to crush resistance they refused to doubt; nor did they, nor the ministers, nor George III, apprehend interference, except from the great neighboring realm whose colonial system Britain had just overthrown. (Bancroft, 1966: 139)

Bancroft tells his readers that the average people living in England considered the colonists to be their subjects, as much as the king’s, and that they only believed France would interfere, but that would not matter, as England had just defeated France in The Seven Years (or French and Indian) War. To a young American student (both in the 1830s and presently), this would imply that the people of Great Britain were as tyrannical as their king, and irrationally hated the idea of American Independence simply because their king did. Other early American History educators painted a similar picture of the willingness of Parliament to blindly obey the tyrannical king. Drake writes in 1884 that the king ‘was obstinately bent upon maintaining the supreme authority of parliament to make laws binding on the colonies ‘in all cases whatsoever.’ He was unfortunate in having for his chief advisor, Lord North, who sought to please the king even against his own better judgment,’ (Drake, 1884: xiv). With Parliament and the British people so eager to align themselves with King George – as is suggested in these early textbooks – it is easy to see where a legacy of *British* blending begins.

King George III is a mysterious figure to most the students. One remarked, ‘He was the one who’s crazy,’ (pS, [00:45:10]), as soon as he was mentioned. The image of

King George that is presented to American students is one of a crazy, petulant, vengeful ruler who wanted to take advantage of the colonies for their money and resources, and be incredibly strict [Winters, 2008; Draper, 2002; Freedman, 2012; Klingel, 2002; Jeffrey, 2012; Mortensen, 2010; Phelan, 1973; Sutton, 2003]. In the group interviews, the students were asked how the king might have reacted; some of the students expressed that they believed the king would have been angry and disappointed in the colonists' behaviour.

'Maybe he felt mad.' (S1, [00:51:05])

'Mad...because the colonies weren't, like behaving.' (S2, [00:25:15])

'Probably disappointed that they couldn't, like, do all the stuff and act, like, appropriately.' (S2, [00:25:35])

Others believed the king would have felt threatened and betrayed.

'Maybe now he knows that, if he keeps on doing these taxes, the, uh, colonists are gonna fight back.' (S1, [00:51:20])

'They're rebelling against his rules, and...he might think that they're, he's not setting the right rules, and he, or he wasn't strict enough.' (S1, [00:51:30])

'He probably thought that they were rebelling against him.' (S2, [00:25:45])

'He [would have been] kind of scared of what they were gonna do.' (S3, [00:54:30])

Even in these responses, it is clear that the students largely do not understand who was passing laws over the colonists, which fuels the concept of the *British* as a united, indistinguishable foe, comprised of Parliament, the King, British officials, and Loyalists.

When specifically asked to imagine regular, common people in England, and how they might react to hearing about the Boston Tea Party, the students seemed hesitant to reply; it is possible that the students had never been asked to consider this before. Reactions of British citizens are not part of the narrative of the Boston Tea Party, and this group of people could easily also fall into the murkiness of the *British* category. At first, students in two of the sessions responded that they would not have cared:

‘They didn’t care.’ (pS, [00:45:45])

‘None of them cared.’ (pS, [00:45:50])

‘They wouldn’t understand because they’re not the ones doing it, and they know they’re free, and they can do whatever they want, so they don’t really care.’ (S4, [00:45:15])

In each of the Sessions, I pressed a little further, explaining that – like in Boston – there were merchants and farmers in England who paid taxes, and asked how they might have felt if the news of the Boston Tea Party reached them. Some students responded that people in England might have economic concerns tied to the tea, or concerns over the possibility of war.

They were upset about the Boston Tea Party, too. Because if they, if people weren’t buying, like, tea or paying taxes, what would happen to their family, or how would they survive?’ (pS, [00:46:30])

‘I think they were nervous. Like, because maybe... there’d be a war, and it might come to, like...England and they might, like, destroy their homes.’ (pS, [00:47:50])

‘Angry...because, like...they ordered the ships to go to the Boston Harbor so they could unload the tea there.’ (S1, [00:52:35])

But students in three of the sessions imagined that the people of Great Britain would either not understand that the actions of the colonists were over representation in Parliament, would think the colonists were overreacting and wasting tea, or would be offended that the colonists refused to pay a tax when the British paid far more in taxes, as seen here:

‘Um, they probably thought, ‘what are they doin?’’ (S2, [00:26:20])

‘They thought it was kind of dumb, they were, like, freaking out over a couple of laws.’ (S2, [00:27:45])

‘Like, kind of like, why would they do this?’ (S3, [00:56:20])

‘They think that we’re being, um, kind of mean or something.’ (S4, [00:45:20])

‘‘These guys are overreacting to this small tax.’’ (S4, [00:46:25])

‘Um, they’re probably thinking, like, ‘Oh, good grief, these people are dumping hundreds of pounds of this thing that we have billions more pounds of, just because of a silly little tax...The tea that they’re dumping, like, we could have had.’’ (S4, [00:47:10])

One student added that the Loyalists in Boston would have been upset about being lumped in with the rebelling colonists, saying ‘the Loyalists who are living, like, in Boston, they’re probably gonna get, be mad, because they might get in trouble, too, but they didn’t do anything,’ (S4, [00:45:30]), which suggests that at least this student equated a Loyalist in Boston with a British person in England. Some students knew that the people in England paid more taxes than the colonists were being told to pay. But the responses to this were mostly conjecture.

However, even in side conversations, an ambiguity surrounding which British governing body made which decisions, and which *British* body was responsible for what, was present. One student, while speaking about the king, said, ‘I think [the king] letting the British [who were] ordered to kill five people in the Boston Massacre sleep

in [the colonist's] house, I don't think people flew with that' (pS, [00:45:20]). There are several misunderstandings here; the soldiers were not ordered to kill anyone, and the king did not pass the Quartering Act, but even in this student's wording, the victims of the Boston Massacre were killed by 'the British.' Not soldiers, not a patrol; the *British*.

6.3 Patriotic Responses

When reflecting on an event that several participants considered pivotal in the creation of their nation, many students' responses displayed an attachment to patriotic concepts, feelings, and pride. This is expectable; Sharpe has written, often 'children have a strong sense of being proud of belonging to the country they identify with,' and this was represented in the gathered data, (Sharpe, 1999: 189).

Initially, participants demonstrated patriotic sentiments when choosing words that described the rebellious colonists in the pre-visit questionnaire. The field of descriptive responses – from which the participants could choose as many options as they liked – included the terms *Brave*, *Rebels*, *Protestors*, *Patriotic*, *Americans*, *Criminals*, *Bad Guys*, *Good Guys*, *Heroes*, *Crazy*, *Ungrateful*, *Dangerous*, and *Terrorists*. This question was intended to explore the participants' opinions of the men responsible for the Boston Tea Party, and to see how flexible their perceptions were by asking them to consider both positively and negatively charged adjectives to describe the colonists. Three of the five participating teachers noted that students who had been assigned Loyalist roles were more willing to describe the Patriots using negatively charged language after they began to adopt their characters, but most responses indicated sympathetic opinions of the men who dumped the tea. Figure 15 depicts the distribution of the responses.

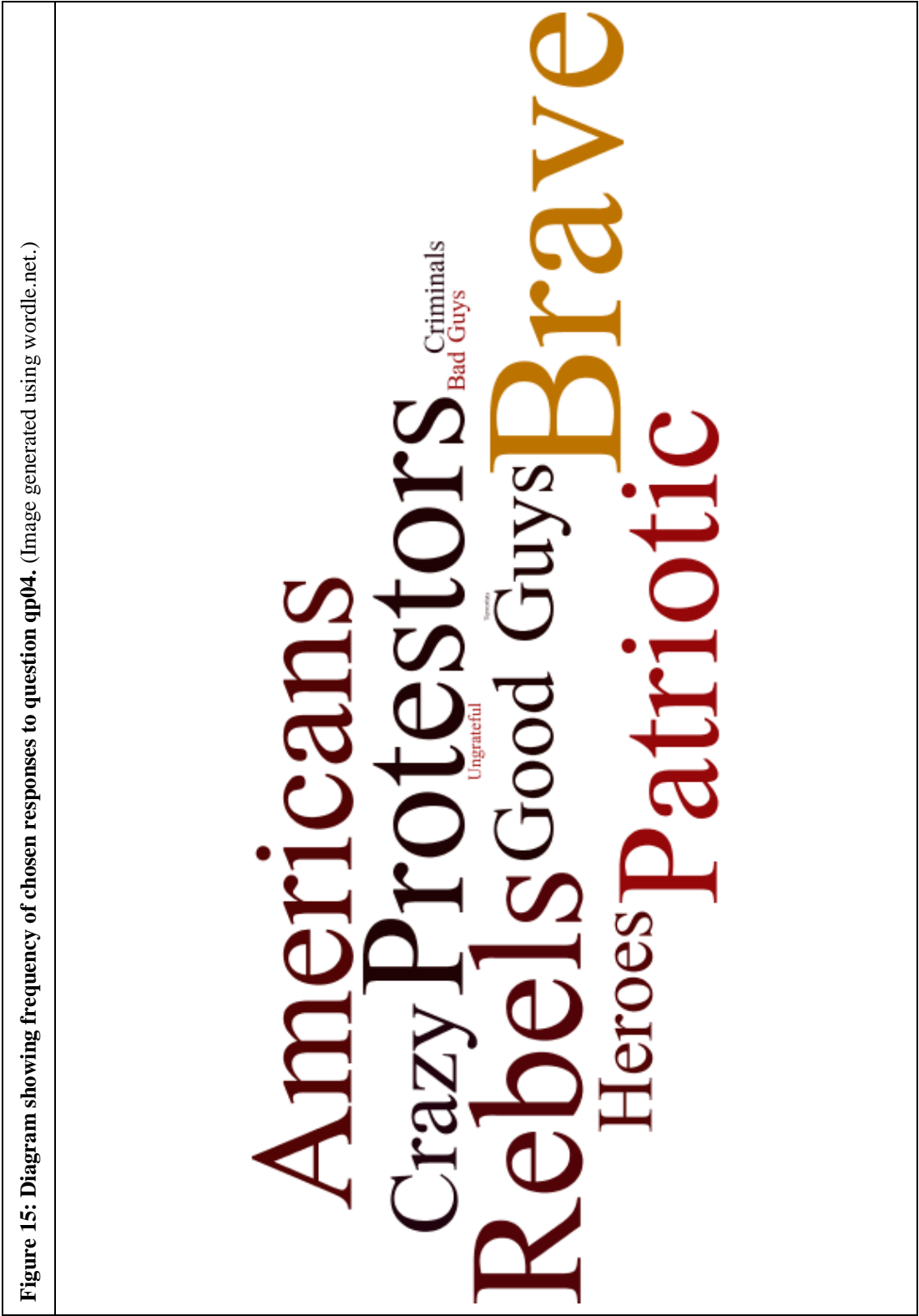
The majority of these responses were factually accurate as well as patriotic. 55 of the 62 participants chose *Brave* to describe the colonists. 45 described them as *Rebels* which is not necessarily a negatively charged description. Many students expressed pride in the rebellious spirits of the colonists throughout the sessions. The development of national identity based on the identification and repulsion of the other is common; 'the strength of national identity is fundamentally related to perceptions of 'threat' from a more powerful 'other' nation/group,' and rebelling against that other can be a source of pride (Sharpe, 1999: 201). 42 participants described the colonists as *Protestors*, which is accurate, and respectable; students are taught that Freedom of

Speech and Assembly to protest are rights expressly granted to all Americans in the United States Constitution.

Most transparently, 41 participants chose to describe the rebelling colonists as *Patriotic*; and 41 chose *American*, which is particularly interesting, as colonists would not have described themselves as *American*. While *Patriotic* and *American* both were chosen 41 times, only 20 respondents chose both *Patriotic* and *American* as descriptions. *Good Guys* was chosen 24 times, and *Heroes* was chosen 22 times (17 participants chose both *Good Guys* and *Heroes*).

The more negatively charged terms were chosen less. 15 participants chose *Dangerous* to describe the colonists. *Criminals* was chosen 8 times, and *Bad Guys* was chosen seven times, but that was over 14 participants; only one participant chose both *Criminals* and *Bad Guys*. Five participants chose *Ungrateful* to describe the colonists. These choices reflect more Loyalist-leaning perspectives, and may have come from students assigned Loyalist roles, as predicted by their teachers. *Terrorists* was chosen only twice; if an event such as the Boston Tea Party occurred today, it would likely be labelled terrorism. However, ‘terrorism’ also implies anti-Americanism, and the colonial Patriots are not considered anti-American. It was added as a choice to see how many children (if any) might be able to see the event through a current perspective. But given the short amount of time that had passed between the Boston Marathon Bombings and the research sessions (in the case of the Pilot Session, only six weeks had passed) it is understandable that the students would not consider the destruction of tea *Terrorism* when the term so recently referred to close, violent bloodshed.

Likewise, students in each session seemed to take pride in the fact that other colonies came to the aid of Massachusetts following the Boston Tea Party and the establishment of the Coercive Acts as punitive measures. Concepts of nationalism and patriotic feelings are often born out of reactions to attacks, and feelings of sameness; Klineberg writes that ‘the development of national identity is based on comparisons with other peoples who are similar and different and these comparisons very likely reflect long term historical international relations as well as more contemporary international relations,’ (Klineberg, 1961: 594). Students are taught that the other colonies sent supplies to Boston over land after the harbour was blockaded in response to the Tea Party, and that the harsh retaliation of the British united the colonies, because such harsh actions could be taken against any colony. When asked about the other colonies’ reactions to the Boston Tea Party, students said:



‘I think the other colonies kind of, um, after what was going on in Massachusetts, I think the colonies were kind of worried...because of what happened to Massachusetts, they might have been worried that it could happen to them too.’ (pS, [00:47:30])

‘They sent help and stuff...like people and food, and stuff...because, like, the Boston Harbor wasn’t open anymore.’ (S1, [00:54:00])

As children of Massachusetts, who had just experienced the nation rallying behind them in the wake of the Boston Marathon Bombings, they seemed to strongly relate to this particular circumstance, and to understand how coming together in a time of hardship led to a greater unification.

‘I think they might feel bad for Massachusetts.’ (pS, [00:48:05])

‘The British are doing this to us. We should fight back.’ (S1, [00:50:20])

Patriotic sentiments were also present when the participants were asked to imagine if the men who threw the tea overboard were afraid of confrontations with the British soldiers. One might assume that the conspicuous protestors felt fear, however 53 of the 75 respondents indicated that they believed the men destroying the tea were not afraid of the British Soldiers. Only 19 students believed the men would have been afraid of a confrontation. Several of the individual responses were significant because of the emphatic nature of the negative responses. Six students expressed their certainty that the colonists had not been afraid simply, with their use of capitalization or punctuation. Others explained that the men were not afraid because they were doing what they believed was right: p050 said, ‘No cause they thought it was the right thing;’ and pp14 said, ‘The men were not afraid because they were willing to do anything for independence and no tax.’

Significantly fewer students responded with answers indicating that the colonists would have been afraid of the British Soldiers. Of the 19 who did, two specifically mentioned that the colonists would have feared being shot by the soldiers: pp09 said ‘Yes [because] how would they [know] that they [wouldn’t] shoot,’ and p055

said that ‘they might have been a little afraid they would be shot, but they were going to do it anyway.’ It is likely that, rather than basing their answers to this response on facts or imagined emotional states of the colonists, some of those who answered negatively did so from a place of patriotic zeal and national pride in the memory of the patriots. The students choose how they want to remember the men of the past, taking ‘an active role in using and understanding the past.’ In this way, ‘they’re not just passive consumers of histories constructed by others,’ but the versions they choose may be more patriotic than accurate (Rosenzweig & Thelen, 1998: 3). Envisioning the colonists as noble, unstoppable men who stood for righteousness is patriotic. But it contradicts the reality wherein the colonists were unarmed, risked being intercepted both by Regulars who could have been sent from Castle William to subdue the protest and by British warships in the harbour, and could be seen as glorified vandals, destroying private property for political reasons (Watson, 1851).

6.4 Empathetic Engagement

The last theme examined here is that of empathetic and emotional engagement on the part of the students with both the subject matter they encountered in their reenactments, and with the characters they were assigned and observed throughout. As Jackson and Kidd explain, ‘empathy is a powerful emotion and it can provide insights into and understandings of the lives of other individuals that are hard to achieve through other formal, more cognition-based modes of learning,’ (Jackson & Kidd, 2008: 114). By playing the roles of historic personalities, the students gained an insight that they would have been denied in simple classroom education. The characters became real and relatable because, more than names on a page, the exercise turned them into people to be interacted and empathized with. Some characters’ lines mentioned families, motivations, worries, and fears – all of which the participants were capable of understanding and relating to, and they did. Furthermore, they were encouraged to do so by their teachers, creating an even more successful experience. Csikszentmihalyi & Hermanson write that,

When we are intrinsically motivated to learn, emotions and feelings are involved as well as thoughts. For example, our wish to know about peoples in faraway places includes not only the desire for intellectual

understanding but the desire to feel emotionally connected to them as well. (Csikszentmihalyi & Hermanson, 1994: 155)

When we consider the past to be a faraway place (or a foreign country, as Lowenthal encourages (1985)), the tendency of students to find emotional connections with their own and each other's historical characters is not surprising. And some students expressed that they felt this was a key reason for performing reenactment – to *feel* connected to the past.

‘Um, I think they do reenactments to see...so people can get a feeling of what it was like back then.’ (pS, [00:38:20])

‘People who weren’t around for when they actually happened, they can understand how it was like.’ (S2, [00:17:30])

‘You can *feel* like it.’ (S1, [00:48:15])

These participants, in describing how others might *feel* because of reenactment experiences were also describing the effects it had on them. Their comments are reminiscent of a study conducted by Jackson and Rees Leahy in which they found that, in engaging empathetic connections, ‘pupils evidenced a personal relationship with the subject-matter that undoubtedly contributed to an experience that, to all intents and purposes, was ‘seeing’ or ‘doing’ it ‘for real,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 312).

Reenactment, as a form of theater education is fundamentally role-play, and adopting the façade of a character enables the students to think as someone else. Dorothy Heathcote explains that ‘dramatic activity is concerned with the ability of humans to ‘become somebody else’, to ‘see how it feels’, and the process is a very simple and efficient way of crystallizing certain kinds of information. Humans employ it naturally and intuitively all their lives,’ (Heathcote, 1984a: 54). The students were asked if they felt that it was easier for them to understand the colonists after they pretended to be colonists. 50 of the 62 students described strong connections to the historical figures they portrayed, and expressed that being that person had helped them to understand the conflict and the event; their remarks were enthusiastic:

‘I think it definitely helped me feel, it helped me...know what they felt like because [her] character had a lot of, like, feeling and...passion... And my character actually had a lot of it, and we were, like, we were like all mad.’ (pS, [00:56:50])

‘When I started to read my part...I kind of like have...pictures in my head of what it would have been like back then...and it helped, and it kind of made me feel what that day was like.’ (pS, [00:57:20])

‘I think it really helped me, because there were some people who said ‘Give me Liberty, or Give me Death,’ ‘Join or Die,’ and that made me think about how they felt and that it was, like, necessary for them.’ (pS, [00:57:30])

‘Mine...James Otis, it said on the bottom, it said ‘Read this with passion,’ and he was really passionate and cared about what he said, So I act... kinda liked my part a lot cause I got to say what I really wanted to say how I actually felt about it too.’ (pS, [00:59:00])

Some students explained that the competing dialog helped them understand not only the perspectives of those on both sides of the argument, but also how heated and complicated the issue was.

‘Some people were mad and the patriots were mad that we were mad.’ (pS, [00:57:10])

‘It was hard because everyone had a good point, so, and it kept going back and forth...between the Patriots and the Loyalists...so it made it hard to decide.’ (S1, [00:57:00])

The students seemed to find the reenactment beneficial in helping them understand the colonists’ points of view, and seemed to easily connect empathetically with these characters from a very different time, and a very different America. And, as Hooper-Greenhill explains, emotional engagement can help create individuals’ understandings:

‘Emotions are personal; they are our way of claiming something as our own. An involvement without emotion is distant, unengaged, essentially *uninvolved*,’ (Hooper-Greenhill, 2007: 175). More than simply learning facts, the reenactment gave the participants the opportunity to find personal connections to the past, from which they seem to have come away with deeper understandings.

These understandings will be further explored in Chapter 7, where the data that students produced through their drawings, and the themes thereof will be examined, as will the inherent duality of understandings present in their responses as a result of combined history and myth.

Chapter 7

Exploration of Visual Data

This chapter explores the data collected from the participants' drawn responses. As a method of exploring the ways in which students visualize and imagine the way things, places, and people looked during the pre-American Revolutionary period, the participants were asked to depict their versions of British Soldiers; the behaviour and the appearances of the protesters who threw the tea overboard during the Boston Tea Party; the scene as it took place during the night the tea was destroyed; and the spectators who observed the event from the nearby on the wharf. The students seemed to be comfortable with the task of drawing these people and places. As Cox explains, drawing human figures is a familiar and practiced task for children in the participants' age-range; 'one of the first recognizable forms that children draw is the human figure, and it remains one of the most popular topics they choose to draw until at least the age of 10 years,' (Cox, 1992: 31). In addition to the basic figures that were drawn, categories of represented aspects within the pictures began to emerge, and as they emerged, they were dissected and counted. This technique has been used in research regarding the use of drawings in Environmental Education [Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011; Horstman, et al, 2008; Bowker, 2007], and utilizes an inductive approach where, 'instead of searching for pre-determined patterns, themes [are] allowed to emerge from the data,' (Shepardson, et al., 2009: 555). In this way, the students' drawings were analysed for common themes and possible conclusions.

As with the language-based data explored in Chapter 6, a duality of understanding presented itself in the drawings. The students were able to use words to answer questions about historical content accurately, but would draw images that not only represented mythologized versions of the people and events, but strongly resembled images presented to children in children's books¹⁸, in children's educational

¹⁸ For examples, see [Dreary, 2010: 37-43; Dolan, 2002: 38 & 41; Doeden, 2005: 25; Dahl, 2004: 9-11; Cunningham, 2013: 23; Cook, 2006; Gunderson, 2008; Gunderson, 2004: 24; Gondosch, 2011: 18; Furstinger, 2002: 15; Hossell, 2003: 10-1; Kroll, 1998: 6; Mortensen, 2010: 15; Walker, 2008: 33]

texts¹⁹, and in children's television²⁰ that display images depicting this historical period.

The methodology employed to gather the students' images was quite successful. They were enthusiastic in their drawn responses, and the simple task yielded a great deal of information, not just about their understandings of the event, but also about the relationship their understandings have to American mythology. As will be seen, the commonalities between the children's drawn images and culturally prevalent images are noteworthy. Visual representations of the mythologized history that exist in wider American culture are persistent and pervasive. By being constantly available to young people (and all Americans) these images seep into historical understandings, further perpetuating mythological versions of historical events, creating misunderstandings, and impacted what and how students learn. The methodology used in this research was able to highlight this phenomenon by encouraging students to create their own visual representations. Although the students were invited to create the images they felt were most appropriate, the images they created echoed existing, mythological versions.

This chapter begins by looking at students' depictions of British Soldiers during the Revolutionary period, which demonstrate the participants' perceptions of hostile and dangerous enemies who were eager to engage in violent conflict with the American colonists. As with studies on using children's drawings in Environmental Education [Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011; Horstman, et al, 2008; Bowker, 2007], here the students' 'drawings are conceptual visualizations or representations of their understandings that contain a number of individual concepts that are embodied with meaning. Thus, students' conceptions may be constructed from their graphic representations,' (Shepardson, et al., 2009: 555). Secondly, the chapter will explore the ways the students imagine and portray the American colonists who took part in the Boston Tea Party, and the ways in which the participants' drawings resemble images provided to them in material created for children's education and entertainment. Depictions of the event itself will be examined, as will their similarities to existing, culturally prevalent depictions of the Boston Tea Party. Thirdly, the chapter presents the students' representations and understandings of the diverse opinions surrounding resistance to British rule found within the population of Colonial Boston;

¹⁹ For examples, see [Kennedy, et al, 2008; Perry, et al, 2009; Stearns, 2007; Bancroft, 1966; Appleby, et al, 2009; Cullen, 2003]

²⁰ For examples, see [O'Donnel, 2002: *Liberty's Kids*; Ruegger, 1998: *Histeria!*]

the students were placed in opposition to each other during the reenactment, and this seems to have given them a better understanding of the lack of cohesion regarding rebellion among the colonists in the years leading up to the American Revolution. Lastly, the ways in which the participants combine myth and history in their understandings of the American Revolution, as well as other examples of duality will be revisited.

7.1 Participants' British Regulars

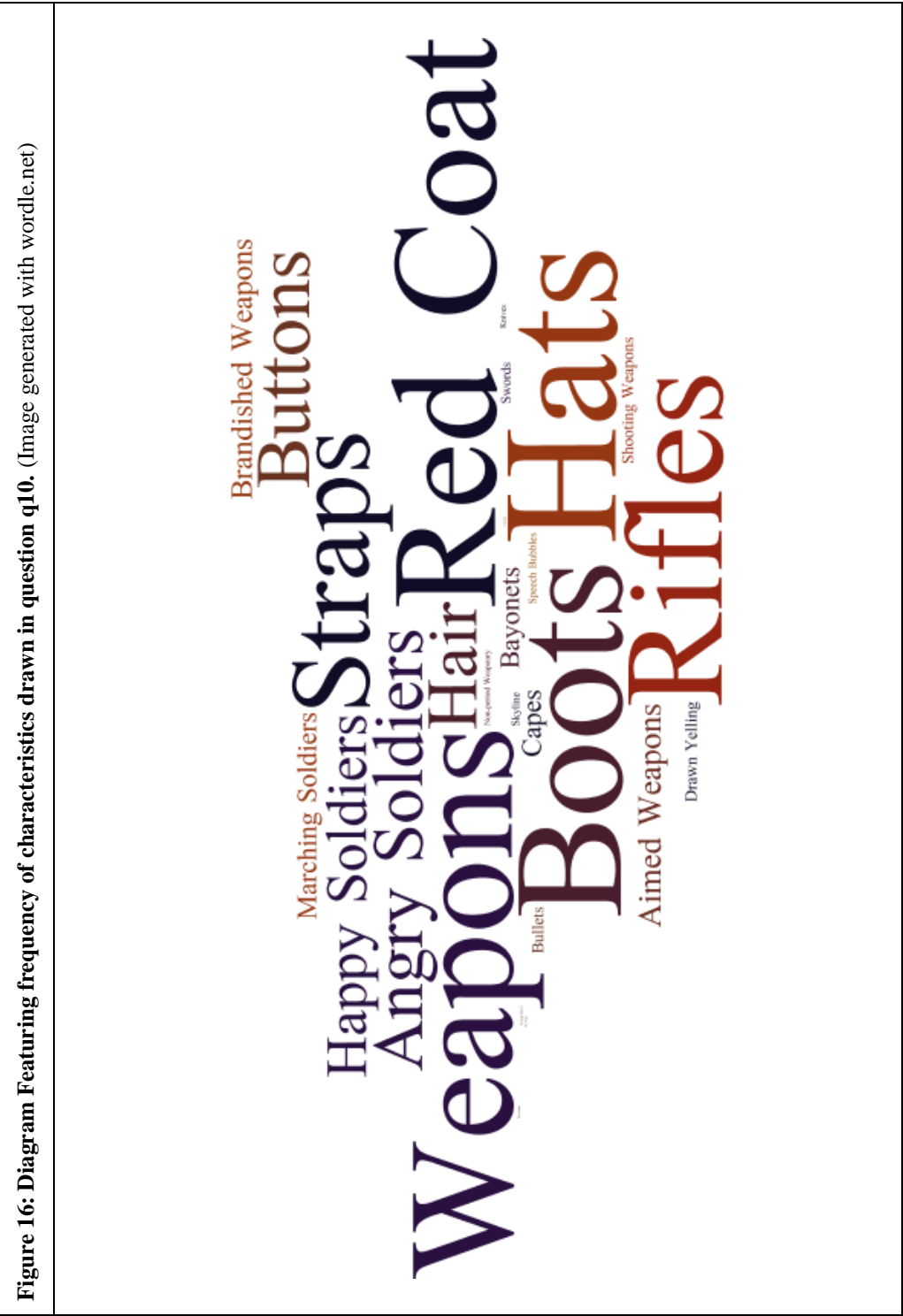
The drawings of the British Redcoats were phenomenographically categorized and recategorized, yielding combinations within the responses that displayed patterns of understandings. The initial categories of analysis included the use of colour; characteristics of the depicted uniforms; weaponry; attitude; actions; and setting. A complete list of counted characteristics and the frequency with which they appeared across the 76 images can be seen in Table 7, as well as Figure 16.

7.1.1 Red Coats

When analysing the drawings of the British Soldiers created by the students, one of the striking characteristics was participants' use of colour. Colloquially, British soldiers were referred to by a number of nicknames that were meant to be disparaging, having to do with the red colour of their uniforms. The terms 'Redcoats,' 'Lobster Backs,' and 'Bloody Backs,' were commonly used in the 1700s, and appear often in children's books and educational material for children, such as in Jones', et al, 2008 textbook *Created Equal*, in which soldiers are described as arriving in Boston, 'well-armed and dressed in their traditional red coats,' (Jones, et al, 2008: 153). 61 children's reading books on the topic of the Boston Tea Party were reviewed and analysed for commonalities for this thesis. 27 of these educational and recreational reading materials referred to the British soldiers as 'Redcoats,' 17 used the terms 'Lobsters' or 'Lobster Backs,' and 8 used the term 'Bloody Backs.' In *Horrible Histories*, for example, Dreary describes when 'Brit Redcoat soldiers march into the countryside to disarm the Americans,' (Dreary, 2010: 38). Hull explains that colonists 'called them 'lobsterbacks' because of their red coats,' (Hull, 1999: 59). And, Edwards explained how colonists

insulted ‘the red-jacketed soldiers, calling them ‘Lobsters! Bloodybacks!’ (Edwards, 2001:27).

Table 7: Analysis of Features in Drawings of Soldiers, q10	
Depicted features	Frequency of appearance
Use of Colour	
Colour	56
Black & White	20
Colour of Uniforms	
Red Uniform	54
Other colour uniform	2
Number of Soldiers drawn	
One figure	73
Multiple figures	3
Soldiers’ Uniforms	
Hats	59
Boots	56
Straps on Uniforms	41
Buttons	28
Hair	26
Capes	10
Soldiers’ Weapons	
Any weapons	54
Rifles	51
Bayonets	10
Bullets	6
Swords	5
Knives	3
Non-period weaponry	3
Soldiers’ Demeanors	
Unclear emotions	28
Angry Soldiers	26
Happy Soldiers	21
Soldiers’ Actions	
Aiming weapons	12
Brandishing weapons	11
Marching	10
Yelling	10
Shooting weapons	6
Arresting colonists	1
Saluting	1
Setting	
City background	4
Colonists	1
Tea Crates	1
Tea Ships	1



Prior to presenting students with the opportunity to depict a British soldier, the questionnaire and interview script were designed to ensure that suggestive terms – specifically, anything to do with the colour red – were not used in association with British Regulars. This way, any representations of soldiers containing the colour red would indicate that the students regularly picture red-coated soldiers when imagining British Regulars, without having been reminded of this characteristic by any of the sessions' material. Of the 76 participants who provided drawings of British soldiers, 20 did not use any colour; but, of the 56 those who did use colour, 54 of them drew figures in red uniforms, suggesting that the image of the British Red Coat as the colonists' opponent is commonly held and pervasive (see Figures 17, 18, and 19).

While each child demonstrates a unique combination of ability and imagination, the drawings showed similar traits. This is consistent with other researchers' findings; when examining drawings of human figures, Maureen Cox found that 'the way that each body part is depicted may reflect each child's individual style, but children are also influenced by the local style used by other children or adults in the community,' (Cox, 1992: 69). Likewise, Howard Gardner has written that 'children within specific cultures tend to draw in formally similar ways,' (Gardner, 1980: 160). By being influenced together in the same classroom, by the same state curriculum, or by common children's books and television, the students have very similar pools of experience from which to draw their opinions and conclusions, and the similarities across research Sessions is not surprising. For example, many of the details that students depicted in their versions of Revolutionary Era Redcoats can be found in culturally prevalent sources such as Paul Revere's engraving of the Boston Massacre (Figure 20), which was widely disseminated at the time of the Massacre and remains a popular, iconic image; it is reproduced in children's textbooks [Kennedy, et al, 2008; Perry, et al, 2009; Stearns, 2007; Appleby, et al, 2009]. As Charles Bahne explains:

Paul Revere made a famous engraving of the 'Bloody Massacre', which he copied after Henry Pelham. Revere's view was factually inaccurate, but it was great propaganda. Copies of it were sold throughout the town and carried all over the colonies as well as back to England. (Bahne, 2005: 26)

Figure 17: Drawing from participant p002

In this box, draw a picture of a British Soldier.



Figure 18: Drawing from participant p035

In this box, draw a picture of a British Soldier.



Figure 19: Drawing from participant pp12

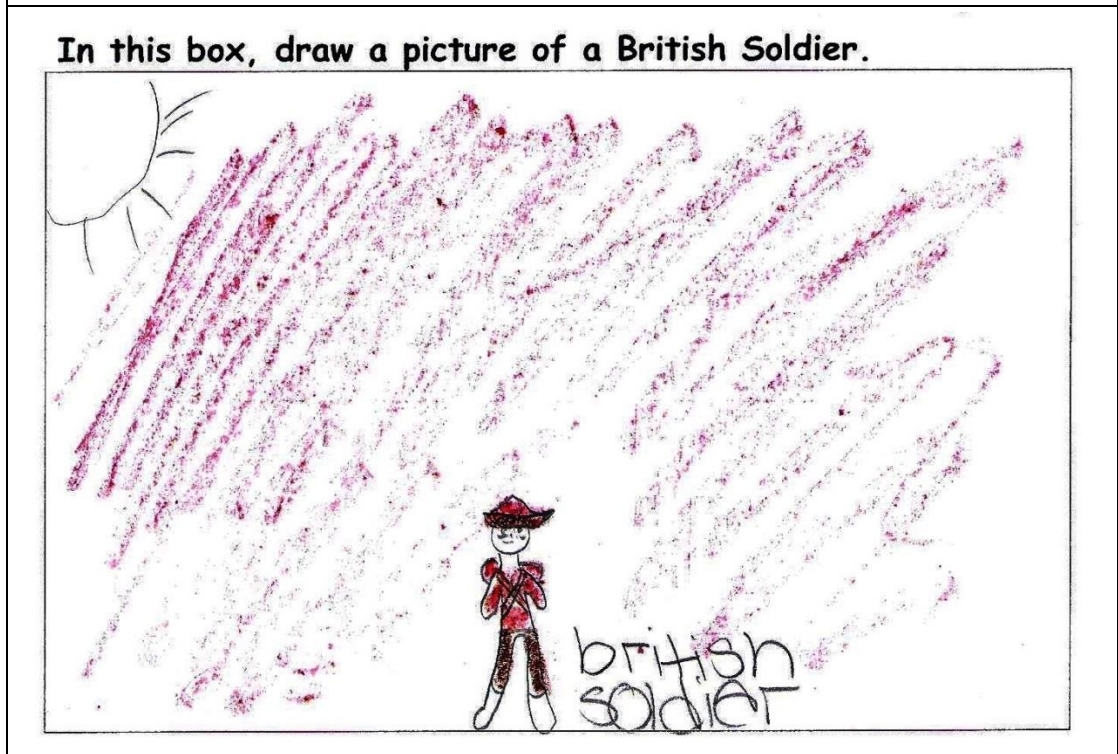


Figure 20: Paul Revere, 1770, 'The Bloody Massacre.' (colorized version of Figure 4.2; from the Library of Congress)



The students' depictions also strongly resemble drawings of the Queen's Guard, images of toy soldiers, and American Christmas decorations. In Figure 21, a black and white illustration of a member of the Queen's Guard, meant to inform tourists visiting England, is visually familiar to the participant's drawing in Figure 22. Both show high, black, bearskin hats, buttoned coats, and ceremonial weaponry. Figure 23 shows a drawing of a pile of toy soldiers from a children's book, with various accessories scattered nearby (Bradley, 1906). While likely not intended to be a drawing of toys, the participant's drawing in Figure 24 shows soldiers that look similar to the toys, with elaborate buttoning, lacing, and straps. Similarly, students evoked thoughts of Christmas with some drawings, as their soldiers resembled holiday nutcrackers, decorations, and ornaments. Figure 25 shows a common American Christmas scene, of which Figures 26 and 27 can be reminiscent, with similar straps, buttons, and facial expressions. It is possible that the students associate Revolutionary Era Soldiers, which can be somewhat mythical in nature, with more fictional but visually similar figures.

7.1.2 Weaponry and Implied Violence

59 students depicted soldiers who were ready to fight. This further supports the idea that their concepts surrounding British Soldiers come from the educational material with which they are provided; many school textbooks emphasize a tyrannical British enemy, the agents of which were Redcoats. George Bancroft, whose educational textbook – editions of which are still used in American classrooms – was first published in 1834 described King George as confident that the 'slow torture which was to be applied would constrain [Boston's] inhabitants to cry out for mercy and promise unconditional obedience,' (Bancroft, 1966: 146). The soldiers were a key aspect of this plan to bully the colonists; as Blum writes in his text *The National Experience*, the 'presence of troops would also help to restrain any possible insubordination on the part of the colonists,' following the conclusion of the French and Indian War (Blum, et al, 1973:83). Appleby quite simply states in *The American Journey* that 'the British... had sent an army to occupy, or control, colonial cities,' and that, having defeated one enemy in the French and Indian War, turned to another in the form of the colonists (Appleby, et al, 2009: 127). Blum further writes,

Figure 21: Queen's Guard (from *The British Isles: A Guide for Overseas Visitors*)



Figure 22: Drawing from participant p010

In this box, draw a picture of a British Soldier.



Figure 23: Toy Soldiers (from Will Bradley, 1906, *Peter Poodle, Toy Maker to the King*)

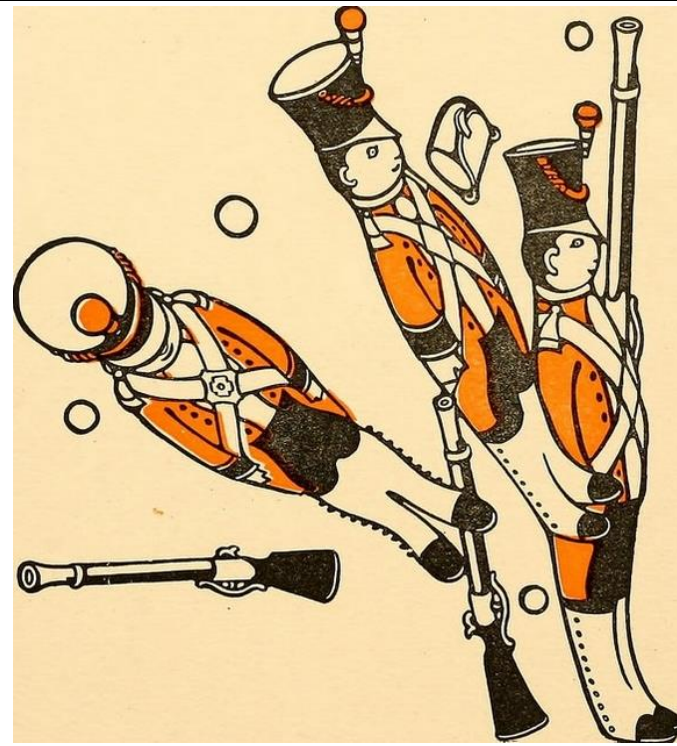


Figure 24: Drawing from participant p044

In this box, draw a picture of a British Soldier.



Figure 25: American Christmas decorations

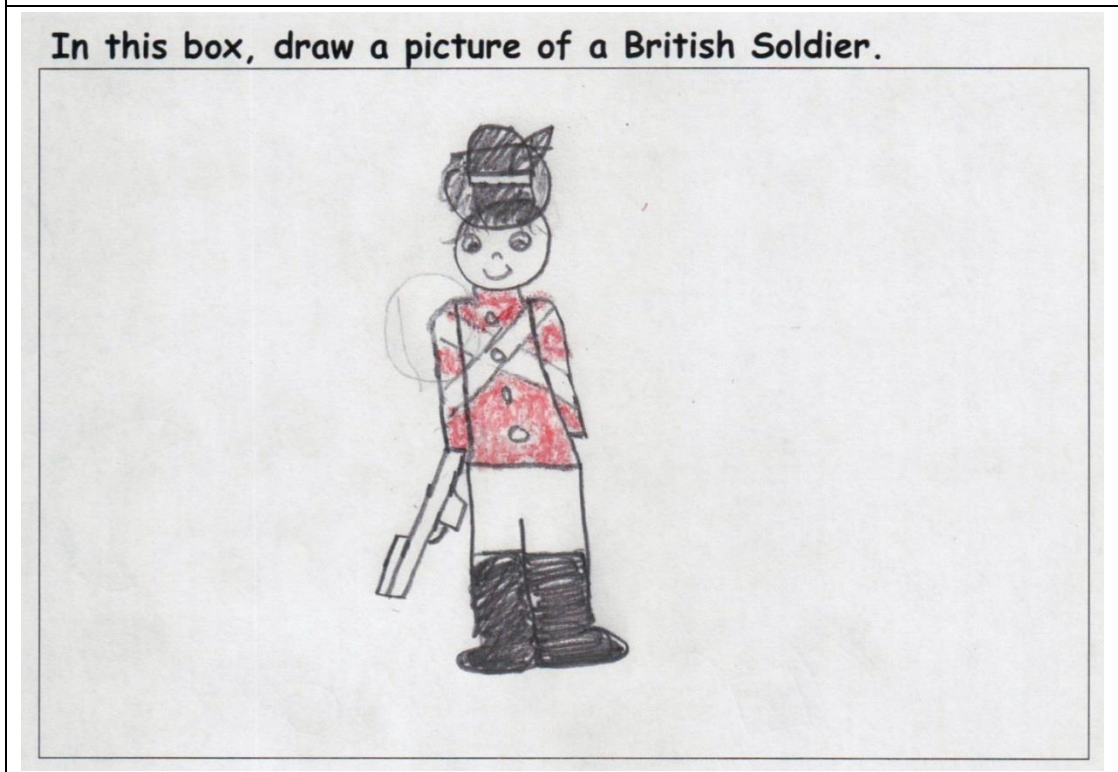


Figure 26: Drawing from participant p015

In this box, draw a picture of a British Soldier.



Figure 27: Drawing from participant p043



The presence of the soldiers in Boston...spelled tyranny to Americans everywhere and showed again that England regarded Americans as not quite Englishmen. The soldiers themselves contributed to the impression by their arrogance. (Blum, et al, 1973: 92)

Nine students chose to emphasize this British aggression by giving words to their soldiers in their drawings. The angry, red-coated soldier in Figure 28 is holding a rifle or sword, and saying 'Don't mess with me,' (pp02). This student imagined the soldiers as confrontational, but the drawing can also be seen as resembling the toy soldiers above. Similarly, the soldier in Figure 29 is also confrontational, and seems to be advancing towards an enemy with a sword drawn. His speech bubble says, 'The king rules,' and the soldier appears aggressive (pp07). The soldier in Figure 30 is saying 'I am not afraid of anything,' and he looks content in his red uniform, and with his myriad of weaponry, including a rifle, knife, and what appears to be a handgun shooting a bullet, (p046).

The violent soldiers depicted demonstrate familiarity with the myth that the Patriots were forced to react to the daily threat that the soldiers represented. When educational texts are describing British soldiers during the American Revolutionary

Figure 28: Drawing from participant pp02

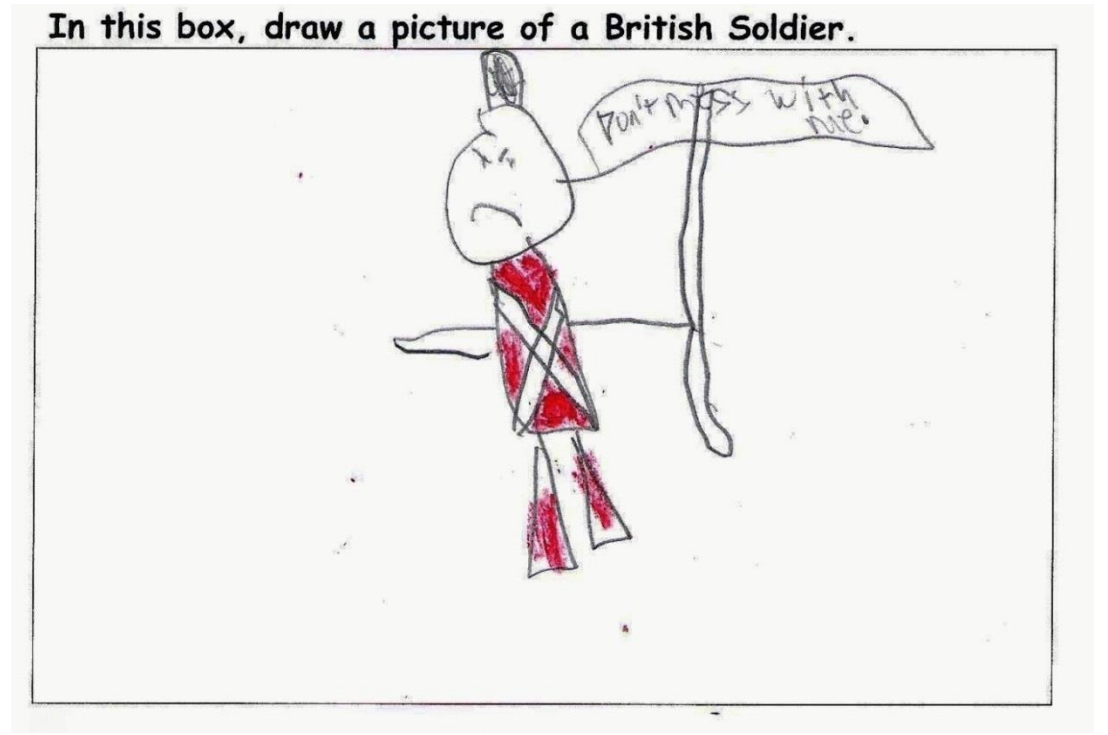


Figure 29: Drawing from participant pp07

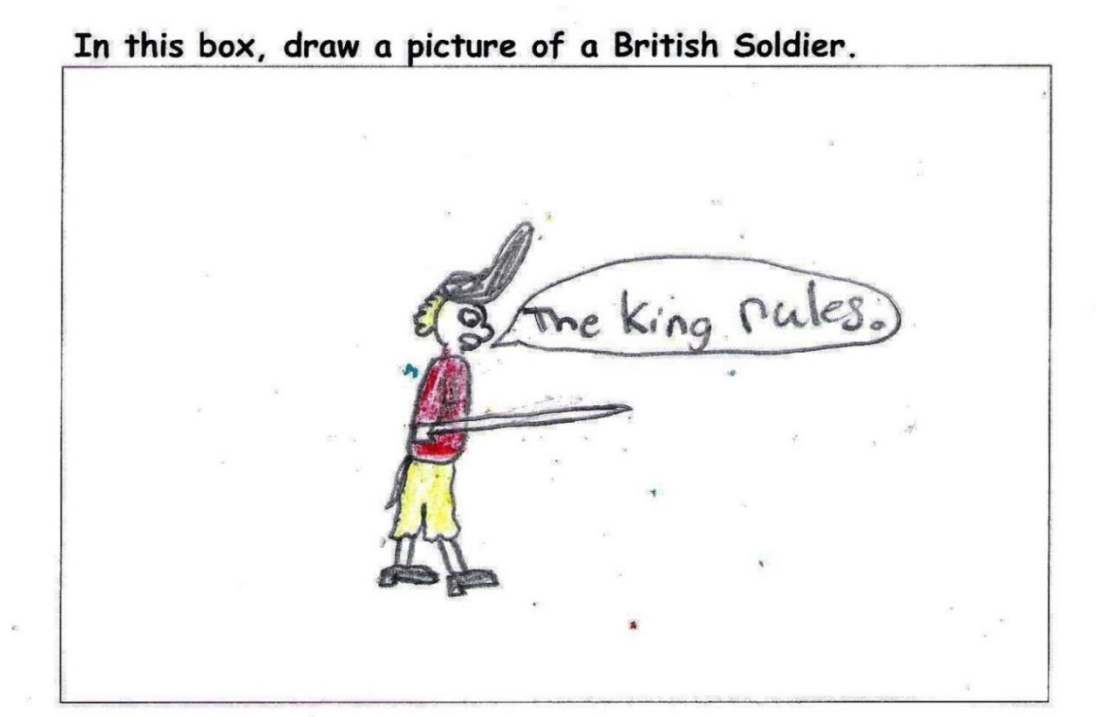


Figure 30: Drawing from participant p046



War as ‘guilty of atrocities unprecedented in the annals of war, in burning defenseless towns and in the infliction of inhuman cruelties upon their prisoners of war,’ it is unsurprising that the imagined soldiers appear to be ready to fight, and that the students depicted colonists who were reacting to British aggression, and justifiably wild in doing so (Johnston, 1908: 18).

7.2 Participants’ Colonists

The students’ depictions of the colonists who took part in the Boston Tea Party were similarly representative of images seen in children’s literature and educational material. Prior to illustrating the colonists, the students were asked in (question 4 of the post-visit questionnaire), ‘When men went down to the wharf to dump the tea into Boston Harbor, how were they dressed?’ They were then invited to draw their versions of the men who threw the tea (question 5 of the post-visit questionnaire). Culturally, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, the colonists are remembered as having disguised themselves as *Mohawk Indians*. This description is used in children’s educational material and children’s books [Walker, 2008: 9; Trueit, 2005: 27; Tucker, 2001: 25; Phelan, 1971: 73; Olesky, 1993: 9; Mortensen, 2010: 24; Krull, 2013: 52; Jeffrey,

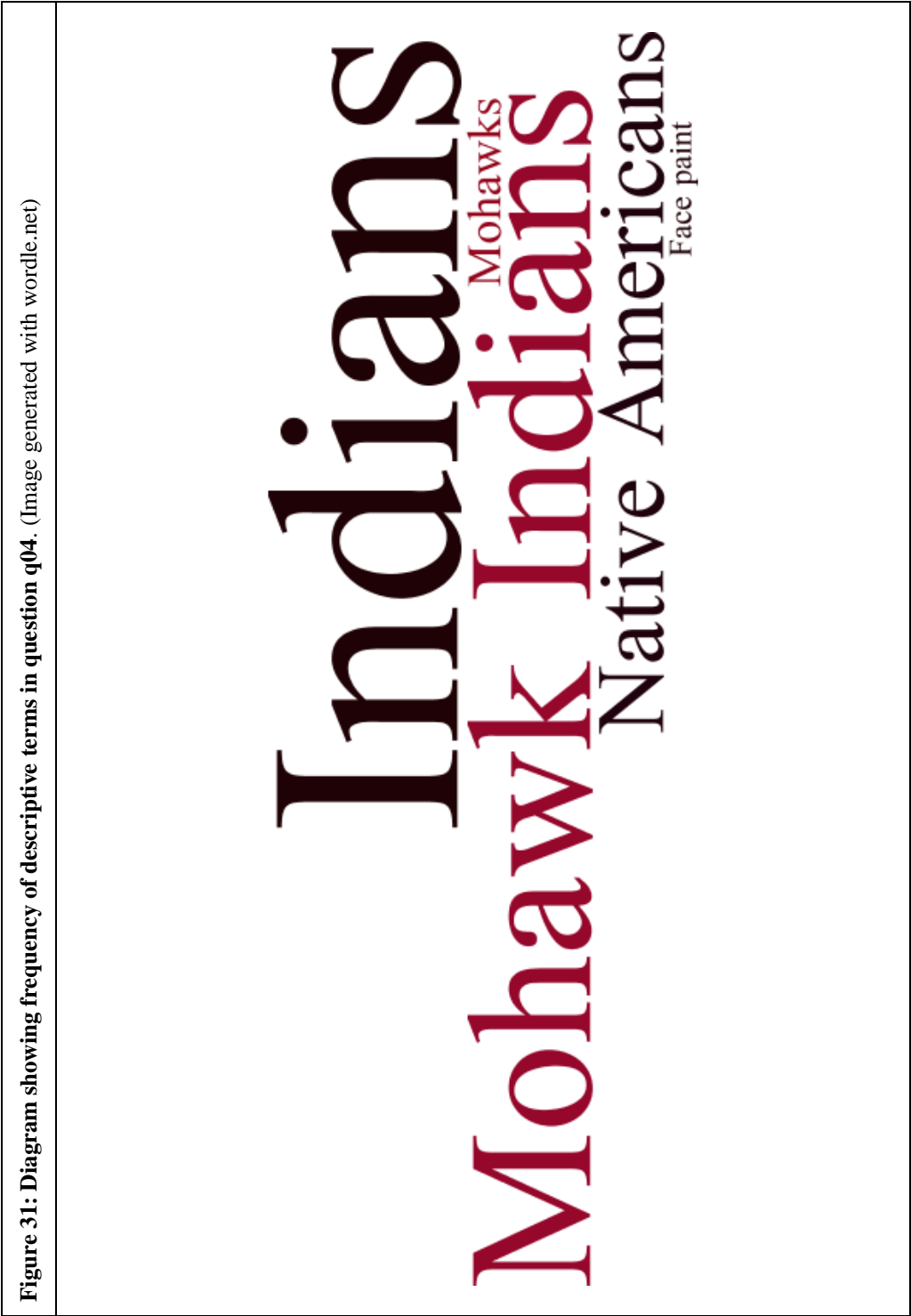
2012: 13; Furstinger, 2002: 32; Freedman, 2012: 14; Dahl, 2004: 19; Cunningham, 2013: 35; Crompton, 2011: 61; Hemphill, 1998: 59; Hull, 1999: 25; Canon, 1998: 6; Gunderson, C., 2004: 4; O'Neill, 1996: 14; Knight, 2001: 17; Kroll, 1998: 20; Stein, 1984: 25; Stanley, 2001: 21; Forbes, 1943: 124], in children's television [O'Donnel, 2002: *Liberty's Kids*; Ruegger, 1998: *Histeria!*], and in the curriculum from Old South Meeting House (Old South Meeting House, 2009: 42).

Table 8 and Figure 31 show the types of the responses received to question 4. 76 participants answered: the term 'Indians' was used 34 times; the term 'Mohawks' was used six times; 'Mohawk Indians' was written 22 times; twelve used the more politically correct 'Native Americans;' and four described the colonists' use of facial colouring, rather than an ethnic association (six students used combinations of these terms). In their accompanying drawings, the students drew images of colonists who were prepared to match the British threat mentioned above, but also often simply drew images of Mohawk Indians, rather than white colonists dressed in costumes, suggesting that the students imagine something closer to stereotypical American Indians perpetrating the event – with wild, destructive behaviour associated with pervasive early American stereotypes – even though they are aware that the men dumping the tea were British colonists.

7.2.1 Violent depictions

When discussing the behaviour of the colonists who dumped the tea during the Boston Tea Party, the students were able to explain that, due to the secretive nature of the destruction, the event took place as quietly as possible, with no harm done to the ships or the ships' crews. However, many of the same students could also describe the Boston Tea Party as a wild, violent, dangerous event, which may be due in part to images found in educational material, such as that in Figure 32. 27 students drew eager, malicious colonists, armed with hatchets and torches, as can be seen in Figure 33, Figure 34, and Figure 35. In 26 of the drawings showing the disguised colonists, as well as drawings depicting the scene on the night of the Tea Party, students revert to the more popular images of unsafe and crazy behaviour. The concept of a quiet, orderly event seems to exist alongside a more exciting, wild version, and both seem to be integrated into many of the students' understandings of the Boston Tea Party.

Table 8: Summary of answers to q04: Descriptions of the men who threw the tea.	
Indians	34
Mohawk Indians	22
Native Americans	12
Mohawks	6
Used face paint	4



Even when educational material contradicts the exciting popular version of events – teaching students that the colonists acted quickly and quietly – students may still be misled regarding behaviour at the Boston Tea Party by descriptions of other violent mob behaviour, and the overall tone often presented of the need to fight back against the British presence in Boston. As previously mentioned, descriptions of menacing British soldiers and explanations of colonists' rights being tyrannically stripped seem to justify colonial retribution. Some authors, such as Gordon Wood, do so expressly, saying that, when Bostonians fought back, they 'acted from the most rational and calculated of motives; they fought, as they said they would, simply to defend their ancient liberties against British provocation,' (Wood, 1966: 20). George Bancroft wrote that King George III created a situation in which the colonists had to react violently and destructively to effect change, saying of the king:

His heart knew no relenting; his will never wavered. Though Americans were to be drenched in blood and its towns reduced to ashes, though its people were to be driven to struggle for total independence, though he himself should find it necessary to bid high for hosts of mercenaries from the Scheldt to Moscow, and in quest of savage allies go tapping at every wigwam from Lake Huron to the Gulf of Mexico, he was resolved to coerce the thirteen colonies into submission. (Bancroft, 1966: 139)

Similarly, in *The National Experience*, Blum writes that colonists had to respond when members of Parliament adopted 'a new policy – a deliberate aim to disinherit the colonists by denying them the rights of Englishmen,' (Blum, et al, 1973: 85-6).

Descriptions of the Redcoats also serve to justify colonial rebellion, portraying loathsome soldiers who bullied colonists relentlessly. In *An American Pageant*, Kennedy describes the Redcoats in Boston as 'drunken and profane characters,' (Kennedy, et al, 2008: 133). Likewise, in *The American Journey*, Appleby describes the soldiers as undisciplined and troublesome, saying:

The soldiers in Boston acted rudely and sometimes even violently toward the colonists...Some stole goods from local shops or scuffled with boys who taunted them in the streets. (Appleby, et al, 2009: 127)

Figure 32: Boston Tea Party (from Edgar Wilson Nye, 1894, *Bill Nye's History of the United States*)



Figure 33: Drawing from participant p018

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:



Figure 34: Drawing from participant p017

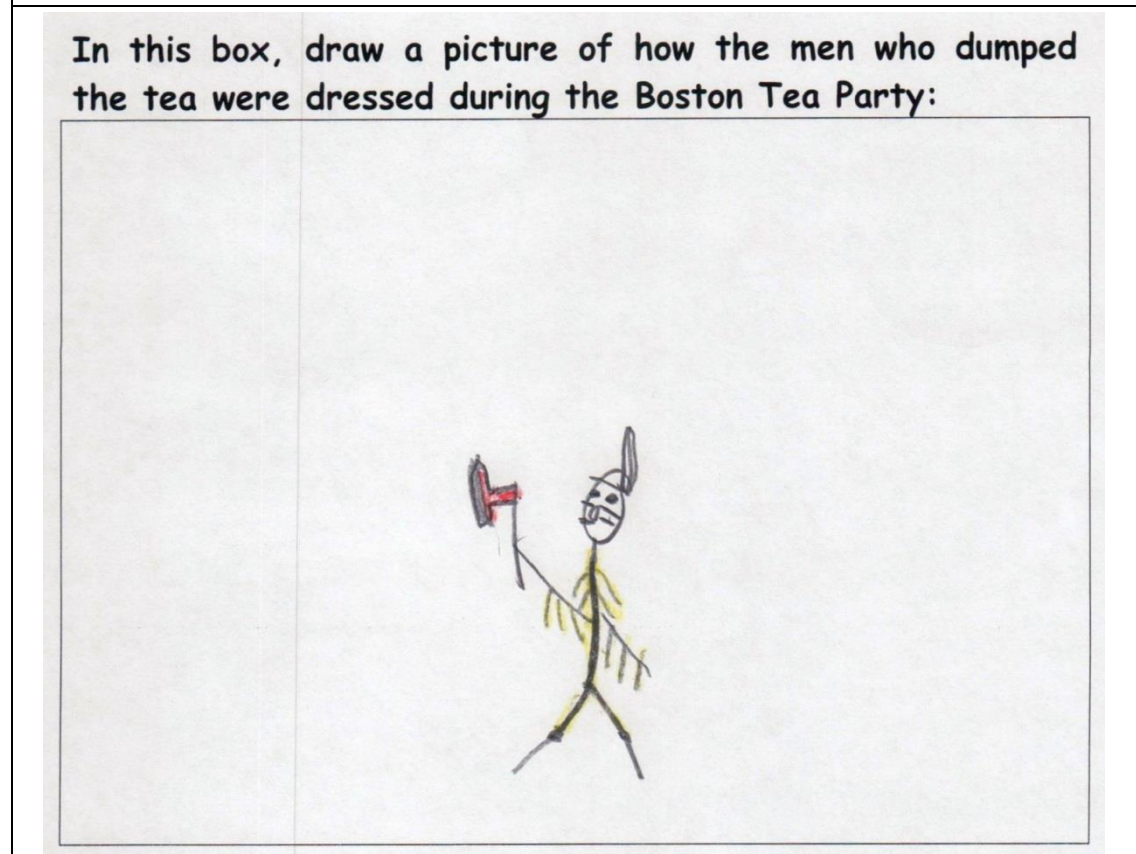
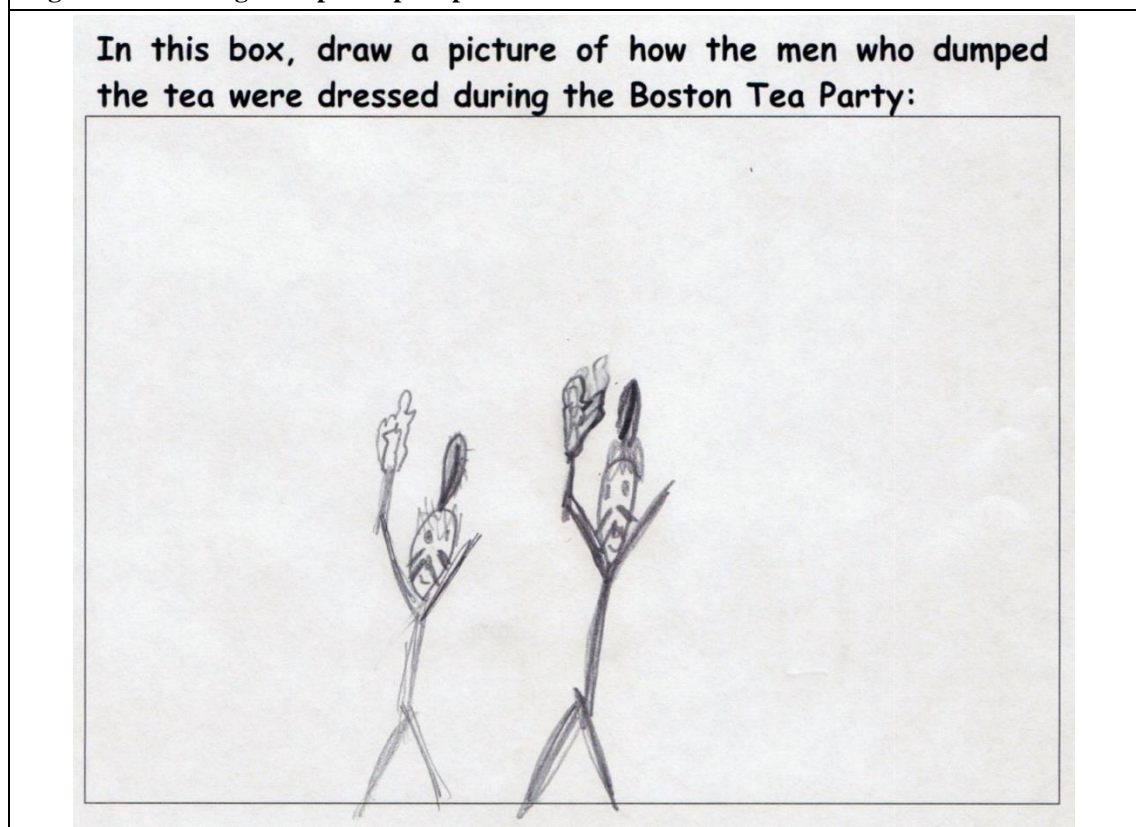


Figure 35: Drawing from participant p003



When these are the conditions with which the colonists are faced, students might be led to believe that rebellion was necessary, and that violent acts perpetrated by colonists were entirely justified.

Educational rhetoric surrounding the destruction of the tea is somewhat different, as the event was controlled and orderly, but there still persists a myth of violence and mayhem at the Boston Tea Party. Both versions have found places in the imaginations of the participants. For example, Figures 36 and 37 show more historically accurate scenes, with the colonists being encouraged to work quietly in the former, and instructed not to ‘destroy the ship’ in the latter (p036). The other, myth-influenced interpretation is present in Figures 38 and 39. In Figure 38 shows colonists clashing with a sailor, who is saying ‘stop it; ahh.’ The night of the Tea Party, the ships’ sailors were not on deck during the destruction, but this participant imagines a conflict, depicting another colonist jumping to attack the sailor, saying ‘eat this,’ while elsewhere on deck, other colonists carry on destroying the tea (q08.p007).

Conflict is also present in Figure 39, where the boisterous colonists are being watched by what appear to be British soldiers. The colonists are shown with speech bubbles, saying, ‘Boston Harbor is our pot of tea;’ ‘This is a fun way to have tea;’ and ‘Take this, king,’ while they throw tea crates overboard. The British soldiers on the dock are saying, ‘We’re in trouble,’ (q08.pp02). This drawing represents more chaos than violence, but neither were reported by colonists who were at the Boston Tea Party. So many other pre-Revolutionary events in Boston were riotous that students can easily imagine the Boston Tea Party being so as well. The confusion may, however, also be a result of associations caused by the Native American costuming.

7.2.2 ‘Mohawk Indians’

When asked to describe the clothing the colonists wore when destroying the tea, as mentioned above, the respondents answered that the colonists disguised themselves as Mohawk Indians. This is the description used in countless materials from which the students are educated, both formally and informally. In reality, the disguised colonists darkened their faces with soot, ash, and grease, and wore blankets over their clothing,

Figure 36: Drawing from participant p035

In this box, draw a picture of the what the ships looked like when the tea was being destroyed.



Figure 37: Drawing from participant p036

In this box, draw a picture of the what the ships looked like when the tea was being destroyed.

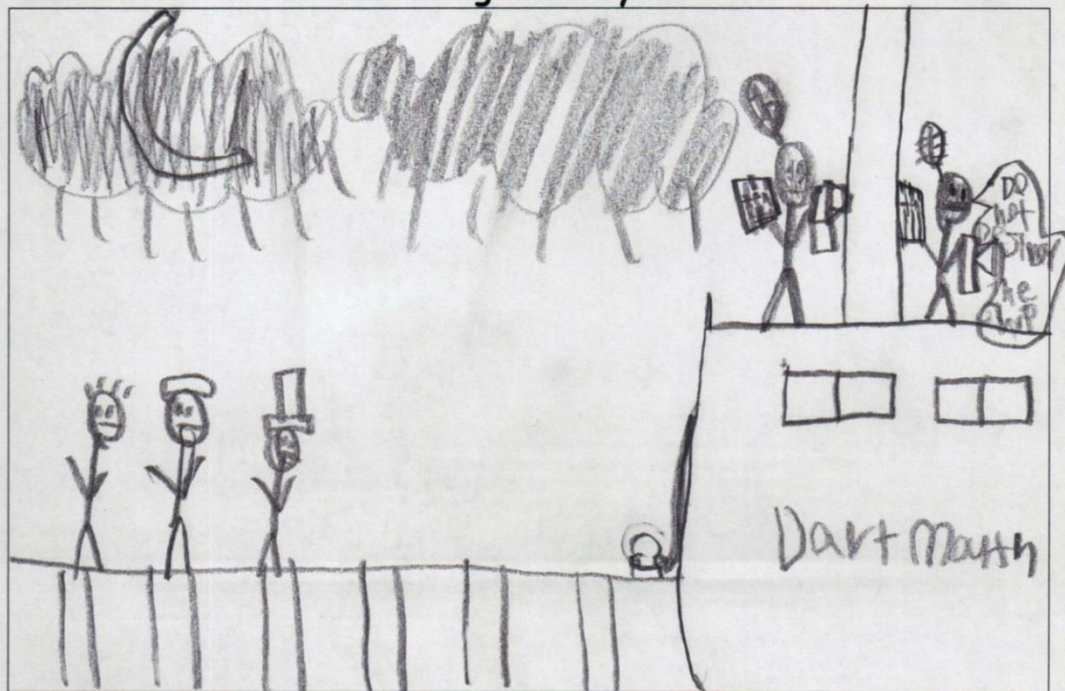


Figure 38: Drawing from participant pp07

In this box, draw a picture of the what the ships looked like when the tea was being destroyed.

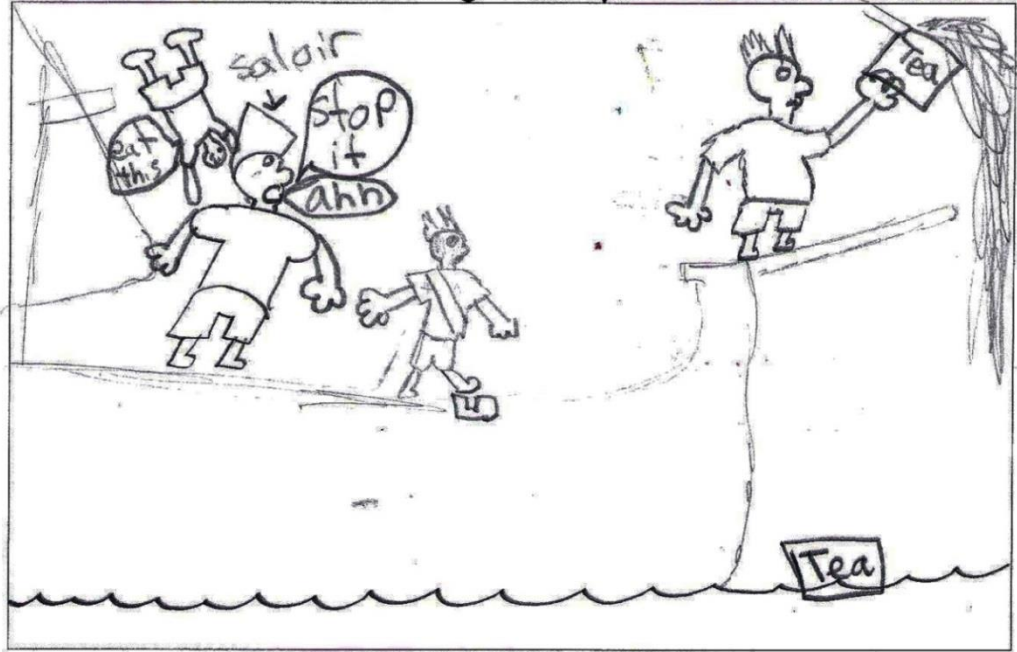
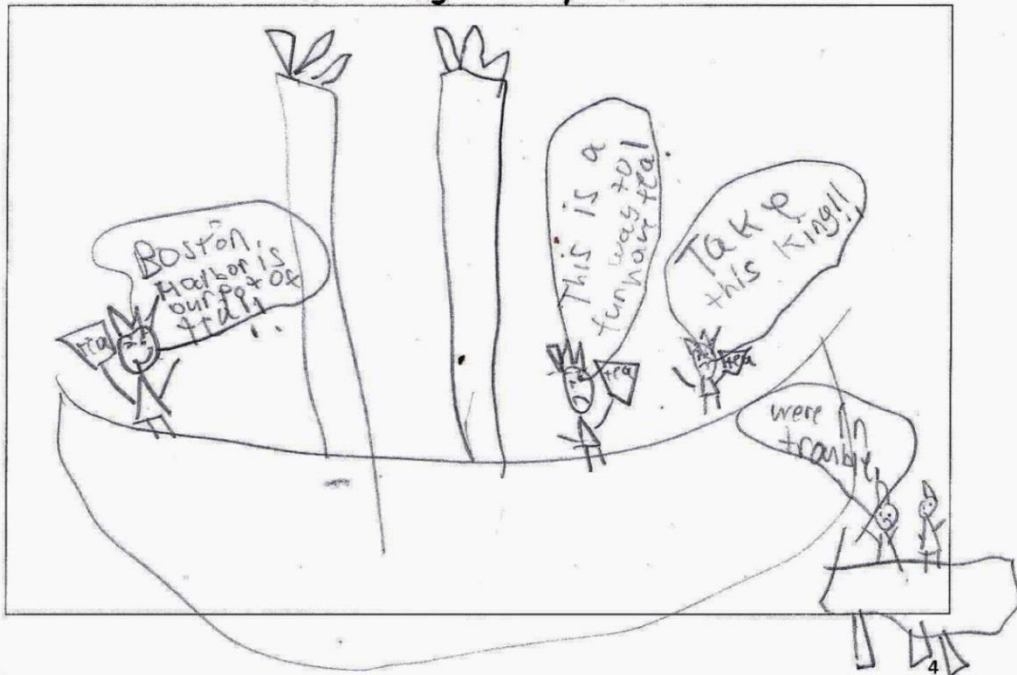


Figure 39: Drawing from participant pp02

In this box, draw a picture of the what the ships looked like when the tea was being destroyed.



or old, baggy clothing, to hide their identities in order to not be recognized and prosecuted for participating. Hull writes,

Many participants disguised themselves by daubing their faces with paint, soot, lampblack, or grease. Others darkened their faces with charcoal and burned cork in an attempt to conceal their identities. Dressed in ragged clothes, old frocks, red woolen sleeping gowns, or old blankets, they were a strange-looking crew. (Hull, 1999: 96-98)

This was the extent of the *Mohawk Indian* costumes the colonists donned [Young, 1999: 183; Drake, 1884: lxvii; Forbes, 1942: 200; Raphael, 2010: 61]. But it is possible that referring to the colonial disguises in this way confuses the event in the minds of the students, and wider American society. Referring to the event as, ‘Samuel Adams’ ‘Indian caper,’ and describing how, ‘The ‘Indians’, followed by 2,000 spectators, rushed down to Griffin’s Wharf,’ creates an illusion of an event carried out by stereotypical American Indians (Bahne, 2005: 28, 20). As stated above, when asked to draw a picture of a colonist who had helped dump the tea, 71 of the 76 students drew pictures, not of men with darkened faces and blankets covering their clothing, but of Native American Indians, with feathers, war paint, beads, headdresses, etc.

The aspects of the drawings that pertained to Mohawk Indian attire and appearances was phenomenographically analysed, with categories emerging from common themes, and then recategorized to further investigate what was being presented most frequently, and how the students make sense of the colonists and their costumes. Figure 40 depicts the frequency with which several features of the drawings were shared throughout the responses, indicating strong attachments to stereotypical versions of Native Americans. The frequency is itemized in Table 9.

Of the 76 drawings gathered, 61 students included feathers (as in Figure 41); 44 students included war paint (as in Figure 42); and 22 students showed clothing resembling buckskin (as in Figure 43). Most of the depicted features throughout the responses were historically inaccurate for the night of the Tea Party, but resemble aspects of culturally prevalent images of Native Americans. ‘Mohawk Indians,’ regardless of accurate tribal appearances or geography, seem to call to mind images that more closely resemble frontier Indians that American pioneers encountered during the United States’ Westward Expansion in the 1800s. Figure 44 depicts an artist’s

interpretation of an ‘Indian’ in the Western Frontiers in 1880, and it does not differ significantly from artists’ depictions of the ‘Mohawks’ at the Boston Tea Party, such as that in Figure 45.

This phenomenon of indiscriminately grouping Native Americans from various time periods, locations, tribes and affiliations into one category, and using images of any Native Americans to represent or illustrate all Native Americans is widespread. A prime example is a 2010 internet article on a website associated with the American magazine *Cracked* on five reasons the American Founding Fathers were less than admirable. Number 3 on their list refers to actions of American colonists that provoked the French and Indian War and, of the three accompanying images of Native Americans, only one (*Montcalm trying to stop the Massacre*, by Albert Bobbett, circa 1875) was appropriate. The other two images were photographs from the American

Table 9: Analysis of Features in Drawings of Colonists, q05	
Depicted features	Frequency of appearance
Skin colouring	
War Paint	44
Darkened Skin	6
Clothing	
Buckskin	22
Fringe on clothing	11
Ripped Clothing	8
Blankets as Clothing	4
Vests	4
Bare Chests	4
Shoes	
Moccasins	13
Boots	13
Bare Feet	7
Accessories	
Feathers	61
Tea Crates	26
Headbands	20
Hatchets	8
Hats	6
Torches	3
Weapons	2
Lanterns	1
Demeanors	
Happy Faces	32
Angry Faces	20
Yelling	8

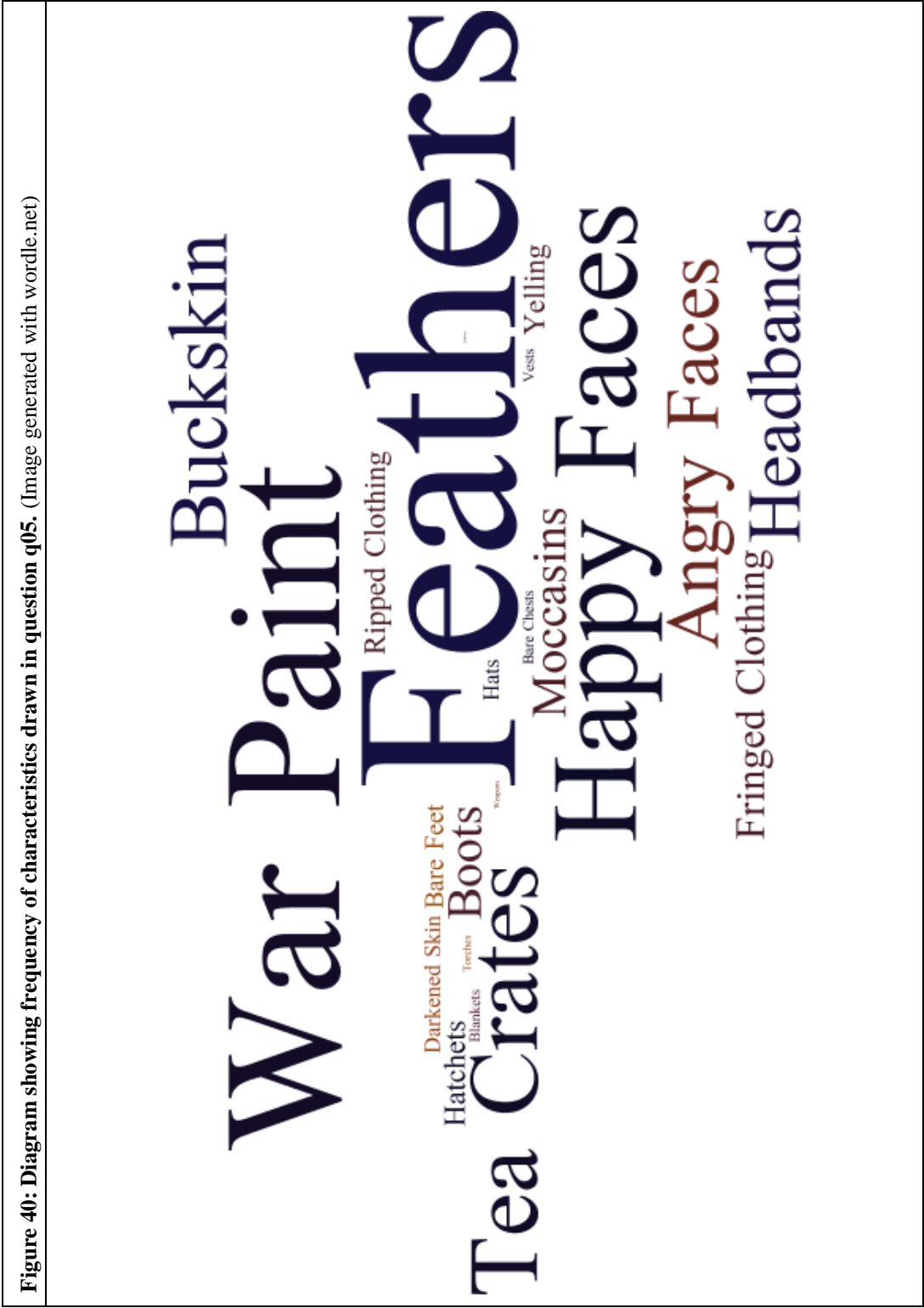


Figure 41: Drawing from participant pp07

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:



Figure 42: Drawing from participant p028

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:



Figure 4.3: Drawing from participant p009

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:

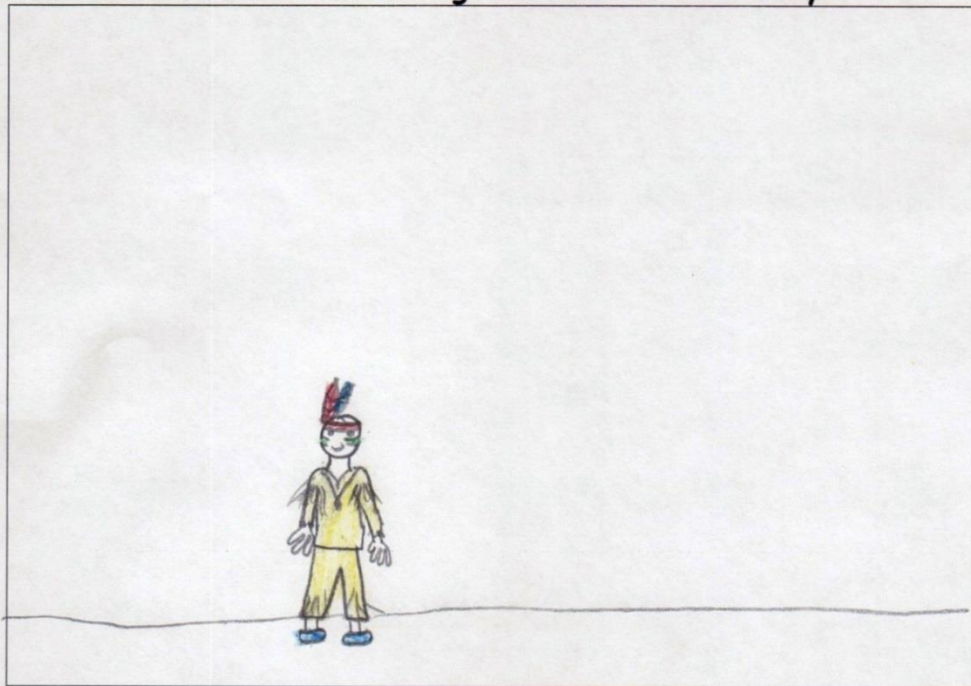
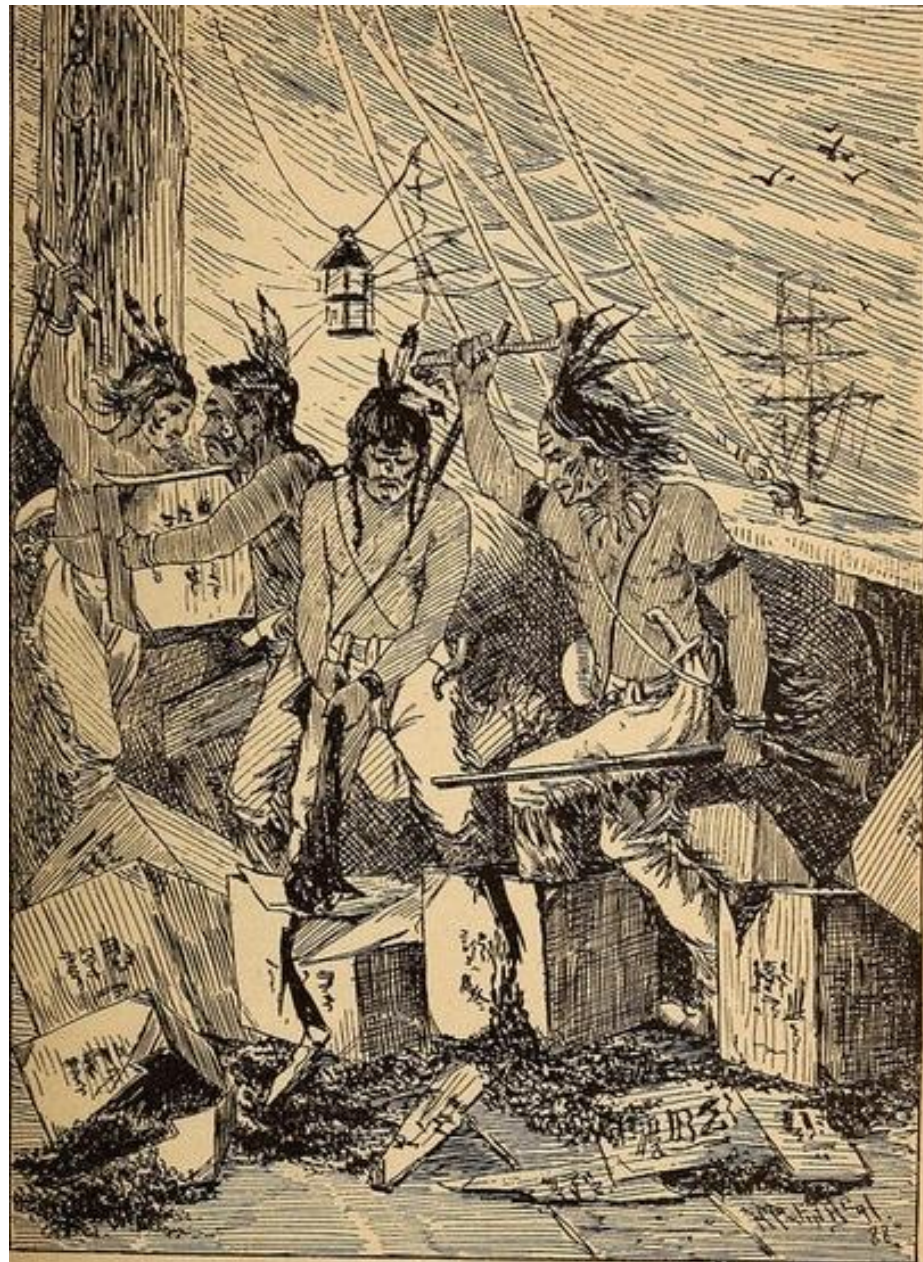


Figure 44: Indian (from Mrs. Lois L. Murray, 1880, *Incidents of Frontier Life*)



Figure 45: The Boston Tea Party (Henry Clay Watson, 1851)



frontier taken in the late 19th and early 20th century; one of Sitting Bull and his family, and the other of a Dakota Sioux in a war bonnet (Lola, 2010).

In keeping with the mimicked style, four students depicted colonists with bare chests, an example of which can be seen in Figure 46; this is not accurate, and would have been uncomfortable in the winter temperatures, but resembles the shirtless men in Figure 45. However, a few students moved away from the more easily mimicked images, with two students representing opposite extremes. The most historically accurate depiction can found in Figure 47, which shows a man wearing a blanket over

clothing. However, it still exhibits mythical association with the use of war paint and colourful feathers. The least historically accurate depiction can be found in Figure 48. This drawing features a mask, a feather hat, a combination of a blow-dart and darts, and a hunting knife; this attire would be more appropriate for stereotypical ninjas attacking the ships.

Figure 46: Drawing from participant pp13

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:

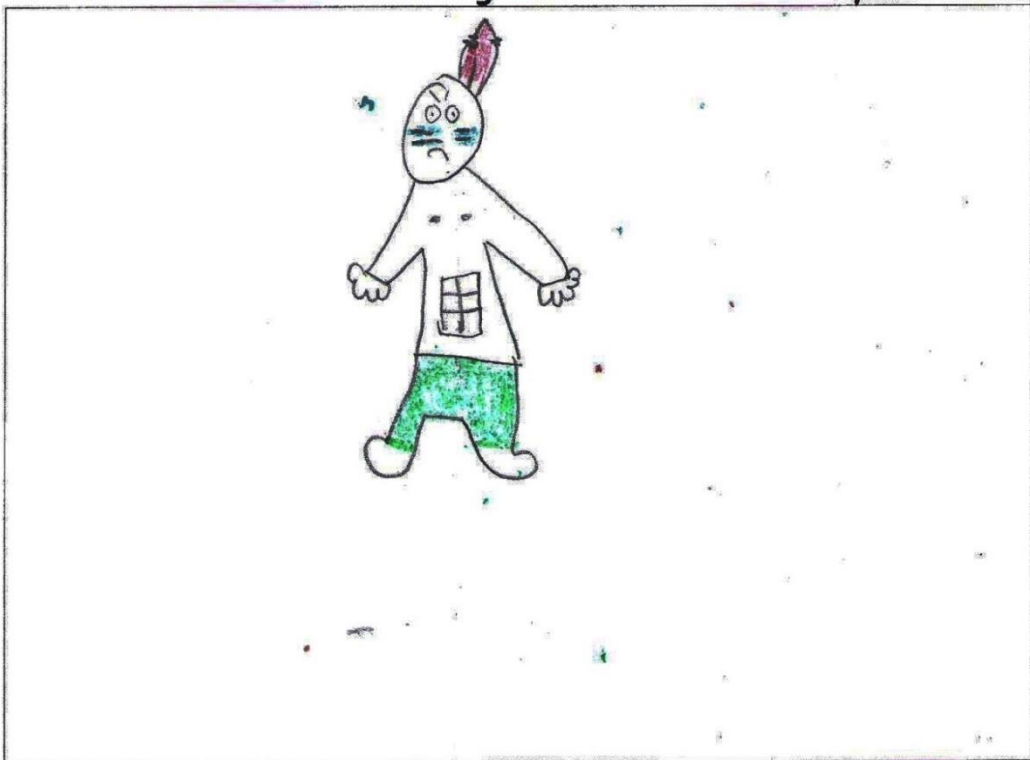


Figure 47: Drawing from participant p043

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:



Figure 48: Drawing from participant p037

In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:



The drawings suggest that the students have very exciting images on the colonists in their minds. They clearly know the colonists appeared as Mohawk Indians, but their interpretations of exactly what that means tends to be associated with mythological and stereotypical images of Native Americans, rather than rebellious Englishmen in costumes. Calling the colonists ‘Mohawks’ seems to have conjured up an imagined set of behaviours based on stereotypes and American Revolutionary mythology. Any violence or rowdy behaviour inserted into the scene in the minds of the students might well be the result of a combination of inflammatory images of the Boston Tea Party found in American culture, and of largely undeserved, savage folklore surrounding Colonial-era American Indians. As Sarah Shear explains,

Textbooks present Indigenous Peoples in negative ways. For example, Moore and Clark (2004) examined Nebraska social studies textbooks and discovered that the books told a narrative of history devoid of historical and cultural accuracy and empathy. These texts presented Indigenous Peoples as thieves, drunks, bloodthirsty savages, and lazy. (Shear, et al, 2015: 72)

These stereotypes still exist – Shear further discusses the ways in which ‘Indigenous People disappear from the curriculum across most state standards after 1900’ in American educational material, and ‘[exist] in the distant past and are thereby marginalized from the American present,’ (Shear, et al, 2015: 82, 83). The perception held by some that the Boston Tea Party was a wild event stems from many sources and, regardless of contradictory knowledge regarding the quiet, orderly way in which the protestors conducted themselves and in which the event was carried out, the perception has led to the creation of the images of the colonists that the participants have in their minds, and drew in their responses.

7.3 Demonstration of Various Colonial Perspectives

One of the primary benefits of having students participate in the reenactment of the meeting that took place prior to the Boston Tea Party is that classmates portray people who were pitted against each other during the debate. This gives the students a chance to hear both sides of the arguments over the Tea Tax and the wider arguments

on rebellion, and to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the various opinions that existed in Boston before the Revolution than can be gathered simply from educational texts. For example, Blum's textbook, *The National Experience*, describes the colonists as 'remarkably unanimous,' saying that, after the Stamp Act was passed, 'people in every colony were discussing the limits of Parliament's authority, and...colonial assemblies passed resolutions setting forth those limits,' (Blum, et al, 1973: 87). Likewise, in Cullen's *The American Dream*, the colonists are described as 'virtually unanimous' in their opposition, though opinions over waging war 'remained varied and murky for a very long time – even after war was actually under way,' (Cullen, 2003: 43).

In reality, not all American colonists wanted to break away from Great Britain, as seen in Chapters 3 and 4. Fortunately, not all educational sources claim that they were. In *George Washington: Spymaster*, Thomas Allen explains that it wasn't until after years of work by the Committees of Correspondence, who 'kept the Colonies in touch with each other through secret correspondence,' that the colonies were able to find a strong foundation of commonality, which 'would help make united action possible,' (Allen, 2004: 23-4). The dialogue within the reenactment exercise further demonstrated to the students the absence of total unanimity.

In more language-oriented data, participants in each session explained finding the exercise valuable because it displayed both the Loyalist and Patriot perspectives, creating a more accurate picture of the intense, personal conflicts with which the colonists were dealing; the reenactment exercise showed both sides:

'It kind of brought people's opinions together, for the Patriots and the Loyalists.' (pS, [00:42:45])

'There were more people at that meeting than there were at any other, and it, that was the one that decided whether or not we would be a free country or we would still be part of Britain.' (S1, [00:49:15])

'You understand how both of them feel about everything.' (S2, [00:21:30])

The students' abilities to understand Loyalist perspectives, and their awareness of the multiple opinions of the townspeople of Boston were also evidenced in their drawings. A question that was meant to assess participants' understandings of the behaviour of those gathered as spectators on the docks during the Boston Tea Party also yielded insight into the students' understandings of the disagreements over the tax, as well as the protest.

During their visit to the Old South Meeting House (as well as in educational material and children's books) the students are taught that, after Samuel Adams gave the signal to the Sons of Liberty to begin what became known as the Boston Tea Party, townspeople followed the 'Mohawks' to the wharf, and watched from the docks as the tea was destroyed. As the focus of the lesson is usually on the events taking place on the ships, the spectators can be overlooked. But the students displayed impressive cognizance of the tensions that would have existed on the docks. Much like the exaggeratedly violent depictions of protestors' behaviour during the destruction of the tea, the onlookers – if they are mentioned at all – are often shown to be cheering on the 'Mohawks.' The crowd, however, included those on both sides of tea and rebellion arguments; the men, women and children feared being interrupted and held accountable by British officials, soldiers, and sailors in the harbour. Thousands of people gathered, but they are reported to have stayed eerily quiet to avoid drawing attention to the area [Forbes, 1942; Drake, 1884; Watson, 1851; Johnston, 1908]. Again, however, culturally popular depictions favor more exciting displays, as is seen in Figure 49, where the crowd appears to be cheering. The students' drawings of the spectators varied in accuracy, but 34 out of 38 participants depicted more than one figure, displaying mixed emotions and reactions to the destruction. 29 of the 38 responses depicted the colonists' surroundings, and 32 out of the 38 students drew conflict within the spectators, between the spectators and the men on the ships, or the colonists and the British. The participants who drew their versions of the spectators had fewer cultural images to rely on, but showed diverse groupings and intelligent assumptions. The features they depicted can be seen in Table 10.

The spectators in Figure 50 include a woman and two male figures who might be children. They observe the destruction from a wooden dock, seemingly surprised, with the moon overhead. Figure 51 also shows different kinds of people; there are men, women, and children, all showing different emotions through their postures and facial expressions. These drawings are insightful and accurate. Some of the various people

Table 10: Analysis of Features in Drawings of Spectators, q13	
Depicted features	Frequency of appearance
Use of Colour	
Black & White	26
Colour	12
People	
Figures	
Multiple Figures	37
Single figures	3
Demographics	
Men	34
Women	6
Children	4
British Regulars	3
Behaviour	
Demeanors	
Happy Spectators	23
Shocked Spectators	13
Angry Spectators	9
Actions	
Speech bubbles	16
Drawn yelling	7
Attitudes	
Encouraging	15
Discouraging	6
Setting and Accessories	
Vantage Points	
Docks	27
City background / Skyline	3
Ships	
Drawn ship	14
Mast / Sail	8
Flag flying	5
Carried items	
Tea Crates	11
Hatchets	2
Torches / Lanterns	1

gathered were supportive and others discouraging. The various perspectives are also shown in Figure 52, where four spectators stand on the dock. While the figures' yelling is less accurate, the sentiments are valid. The first says, 'Woohoo!' The second encourages, 'go go!' The third is labelled as a Loyalist and says, 'this is not fair for the king!' The last is labelled as a Patriot and is telling the Loyalist, 'shut your mouth!' The spectators in Figure 53 are also exhibiting various emotions. The first seems shocked, yelling 'AHHHH!' The second is cheering. The third, an armed Redcoat, yells 'NOO!' The students seem to understand how divided the people of Boston were, and the reenactment aided in this understanding.

Figure 49: *The Destruction of Tea at Boston Harbor* (Sarony & Major, 1846)

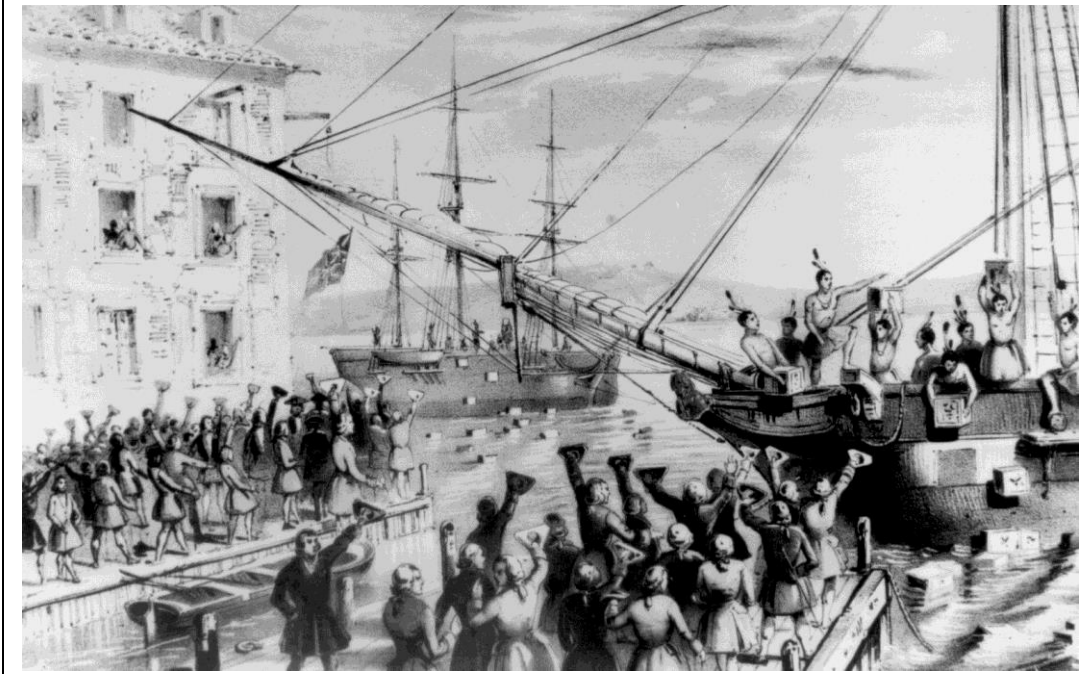


Figure 50: Drawing from participant p047

In this box, draw a picture of the people who watched from the docks.



Figure 51: Drawing from participant p043

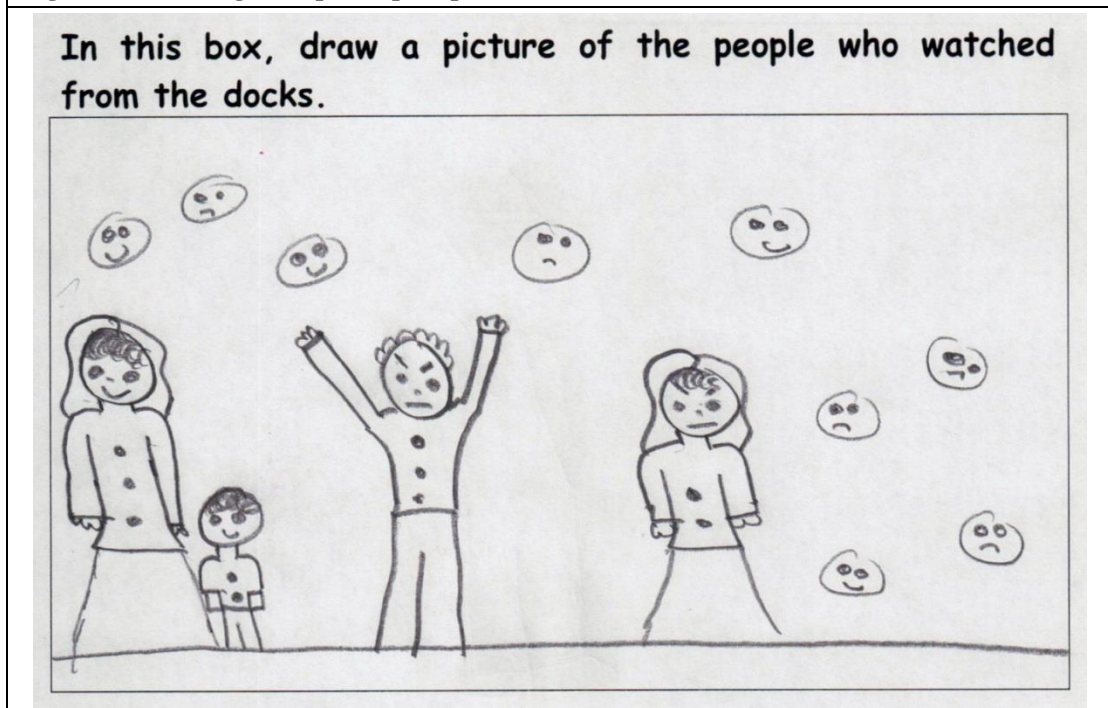


Figure 52: Drawing from participant pp02

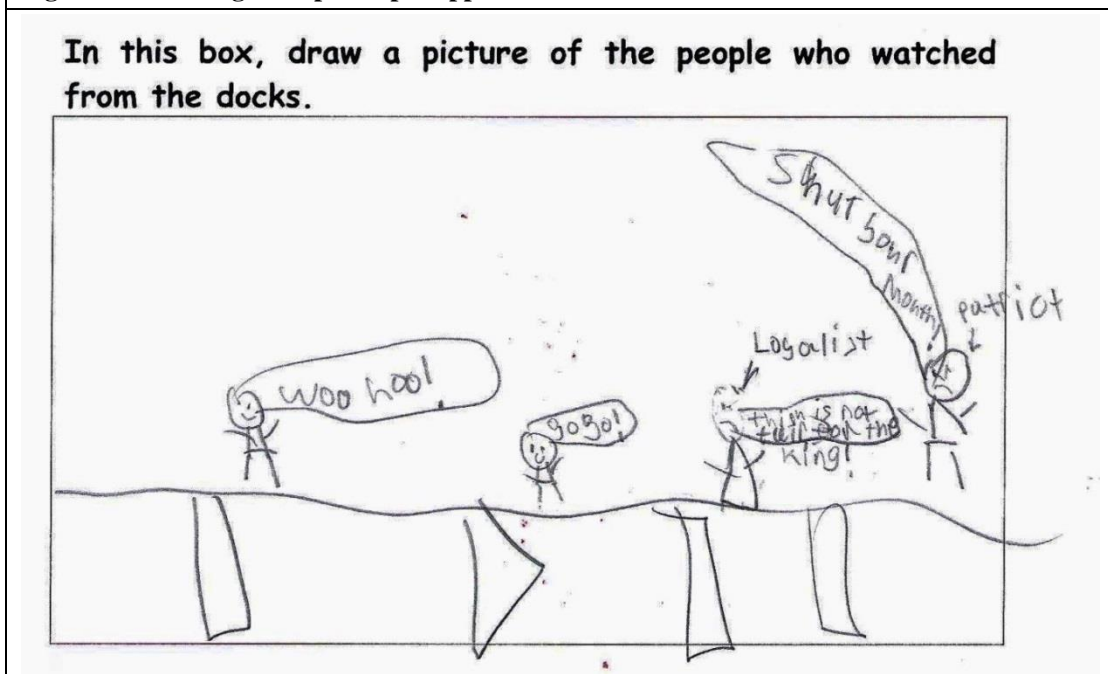
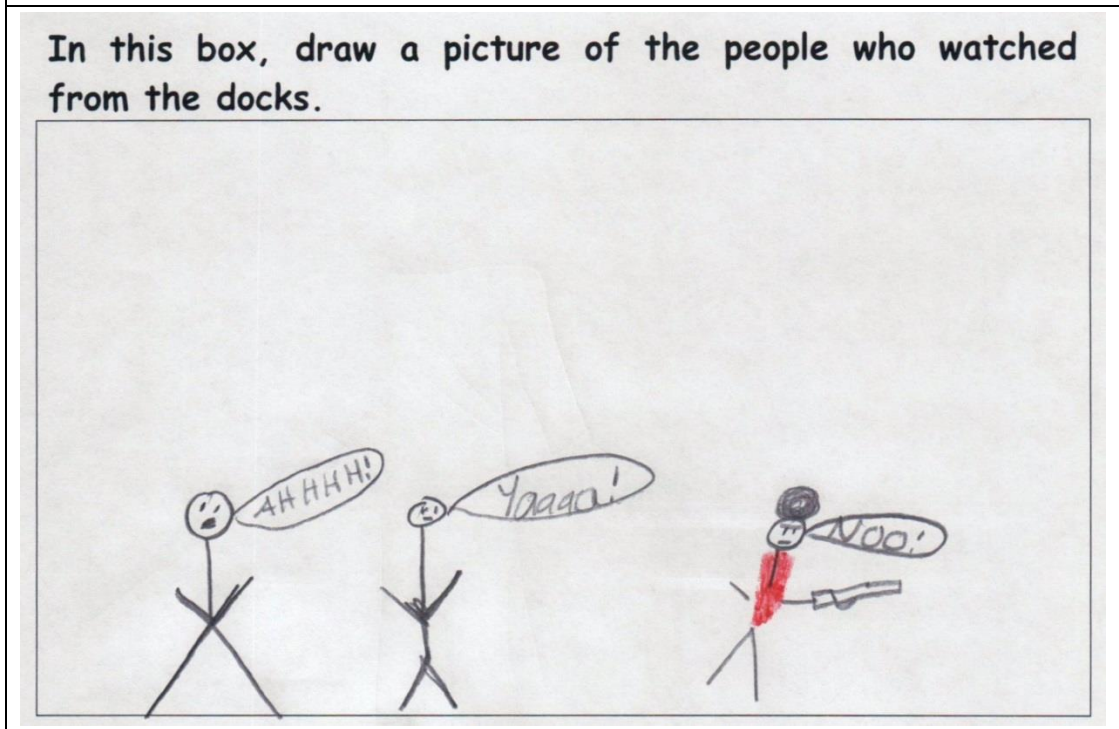


Figure 53: Drawing from participant p055



The students' adoption of characters with differing perspectives, and their time spent observing their classmates performances, also seems to have also helped the students empathize with those who were against American Independence, and their verbal responses echoed their drawings on this topic. When asked why some colonists might have stayed loyal to Great Britain and King George III, even after events like the Boston Massacre, and the repeated impositions of new taxes, the students were able to explain Loyalists' possible perspectives. The students were divided in their responses. Some students felt that Loyalists stayed loyal out of fear of punishment.

'Some people were, like, scared of what King George could do to us.'
(pS, [01:04:00])

'They didn't want to get in trouble.' (S1, [01:02:52])

'They were afraid of the British soldiers.' (S2, [00:28:05])

'So they wouldn't get in trouble,' (S3, [00:57:40])

Others believed that people stayed loyal because they felt there was no reason to rebel. One student explained,

‘Some people could have thought it was fair. Because, um, well I can kind of see where the loyalists and King George are coming from, even though I was a Patriot. Cause, like, they were kind of nice enough to lower it to three pence, and they did cancel all your taxes. That makes it easier just to pay for one.’ (pS, [01:05:00])

Students in each session remarked that people may have remained loyal out of a love for Great Britain. Their responses included statements such as,

‘They had good memories.’ (S1, [01:02:40])

‘They respected the king.’ (S1, [00:02:50])

‘They had families there.’ (S1, [01:02:55])

‘Maybe, like, they just think that they’re loyal to them, like, they just believe it.’ (S3, [00:57:45])

Lastly, some students believed that people stayed loyal because they simply did not want things to change.

‘Some people maybe didn’t want to go to all those protests and stuff. It was too hard... Like what John Singleton Copley said. He said that, um, he doesn’t... he’s not really into politics, and he didn’t want to go into a lot of trouble with Great Britain. He just wants to enjoy the tea.’ (pS, [01:04:15])

‘They really, like, didn’t have a problem with being taxed.’ (S2, [00:28:20])

‘Maybe they just thought that the king was taking care of them, and he wasn’t really doing anything wrong.’ (S2, [00:28:15])

The students generally seemed able to separate themselves from their own patriotic biases, and empathize with those who made different decisions than their American ancestors.

Being able to understand the varying perspectives that existed in the years leading up to the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution is extremely important because, as shown above, educational sources can paint a picture of a united group of colonies, where everyone was ready to rebel. The reality, as demonstrated during the reenacted meeting, is different. As Kennedy explains in *An American Pageant*, even reactions to the Boston Tea Party in its aftermath were contentious:

Reactions varied. All up and down the eastern seaboard, sympathetic colonists applauded. Referring to tea as ‘a badge of slavery,’ they burned the hated leaves in solidarity with Boston. But conservatives complained that the destruction of private property violated the law and threatened anarchy and the breakdown of civil decorum. Hutchinson, chastened and disgusted with the colonies, retreated to Britain, never to return. (Kennedy, et al, 2008: 136)

The Boston Tea Party was as divisive as it was inspiring; many see it and the colonial rallying following the imposition of the Intolerable Acts as the first steps in a glorious journey towards freedom, while others were unwillingly ripped away from a strong empire and caught up in a fight that would sever them without their consent. The participating students developed the ability to see how hard that must have been for Loyalists, and to sympathize with them – another demonstration of the dual understandings highlighted throughout these findings.

7.4 Resulting Duality

Alongside the themes found in the drawn data collected from the students, as well as in their navigations of the history of the Boston Tea Party as demonstrated in their language-oriented data, a pattern of combined and overlapping understandings

emerged. This indicates a duality of understanding among the participants when it comes to the story of the Boston Tea Party: the ways they imagine the event versus how they explain it in factual details; their abilities to maintain patriotic enthusiasm while empathetically engaging with differing and at times competing historical viewpoints; and their simultaneous roles as performers and audience members.

7.4.1 History & Myth

The reason for the duality the students exhibited in their understandings of the Story of the Boston Tea Party – the combinations of things that have been recorded as history mixed with popular stories that survive in public memory – is likely the result of the inherent overlapping of history and myth in the recording and relating of what becomes taught and remembered History, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Ceri Jones explains that ‘both memory and history are ways of creating knowledge about, and understanding, the past but may be difficult to reconcile,’ (Jones, 2011: 52). But, in this case, the participants’ understanding of the history and affinity for the myths seem to be able to coexist, with both being incorporated into their understandings of the Boston Tea Party and the Revolutionary Period. As Cohen explains,

Once assertions about the past enter deeply into people’s minds (and hearts), it is arguable that they acquire a truth of their own, even if this truth does not at all coincide with what actually happened at some point in past time. (Cohen, 1997: 212)

An affinity for mythologized versions leads to their perpetuation, with students remembering histories that contain myths.

When the students remember the ways in which the men who dumped the tea were dressed, describing men ‘dressed like Mohawk Indians with war paint and feathers,’ they are recalling a fact they have been taught (the men were dressed like Mohawk Indians) along with an accompanying myth (an *Indian* disguise means they wore war paint and feathers) (p018). It becomes acceptable for these inaccuracies to go uncorrected, because the event is remembered incorrectly on a cultural level, as can be seen in educational images that portray bare-chested men with war paint and feathers, breaking open tea crates (see Figure 45). The myth is too resilient, and it is unstoppable

because, as Wallace explains, ‘myths can’t be refuted by facts,’ (Wallace, 1996: 176). No amount of telling students that they are remembering an event incorrectly will change how they want to remember it.

But this is not simply an American phenomenon, or relegated to instances in the education of children. Lowenthal writes that, ‘historical knowledge however communal and verifiable is also invariably subjective, biased both by its narrator and by its audience,’ (Lowenthal, 1985: 216). Universally, events will be remembered differently by the different groups involved, and as time progresses, memories alter, regimes change, and people forget. The students exhibit a mixed understanding partly because it is how they make sense of the American Revolution, but also because it is how historians make sense of the American Revolution. In *Myth, History, and Theory*, Heehs discusses how historians approach the study of history when faced with differing accounts and strong cultural attachments:

Formerly historians believed they were in a position to decide which ‘truth’ was true and which was ‘myth.’ But this is not possible in the postmodern age. The best historians can do it to try to ‘attain a better historiographical balance between Truth, truths and myth. When historians exert themselves to produce a presentation of ‘truths’ (not Truth) that is credible and intelligible to a given audience, the result is what might best be called mythistory. (Heehs, 1994: 4)

Any history that is taught can be subject to scrutiny as it cannot possibly be entirely accurate; one cohesive *accuracy* cannot even exist. Therefore, finding evidence of overlapping narratives in the participants’ responses is not only natural, it is to be expected.

7.4.2 Words & Pictures

The understandings the students showed – including myths and histories – were exhibited in the language-oriented data and in the drawn data, especially in a few instances where a student’s words contradicted the images student produced, as will be seen below. In Bowker’s study in the field of environmental education, when using children’s drawings to analyse systems of knowledge, he found that, ‘children can

reveal what they know and understand through drawings,' (Bowker, 2007: 94). The participants here did this, at times revealing different aspects of their understandings than found in their words.

For example, as explored previously in this chapter, the students used language to indicate that colonists were disguised as Indians when destroying the tea, but then proceeded to draw images of Indians destroying tea, rather than disguised British men, mimicking culturally prevalent and educationally provided images. The three students who most clearly demonstrated the duality within their responses gave written descriptions that reflected taught information regarding the colonists' behaviour, but contradicted this either with other descriptions in the same answer, or in their accompanying drawings. Providing a contradiction, one participant wrote that the colonists who dumped the tea, 'were wild, dangerous, and silent,' (p007). This student describes them as 'wild,' implying an element of sound, and 'silent,' which suggests that there are competing interpretations in this student's mind. Likewise, participant p029 wrote, 'They were kind of quiet but aggressive,' (p029). Though not necessarily mutually exclusive, 'quiet' and 'aggressive' might normally describe different instances of behaviour. But, while other participants used the accompanying drawing exercise to depict aggression, this participant did not, simply showing a figure happily tossing a tea crate off a ship (see Figure 54). The last example here comes from a participant whose drawing has already been featured in Figure 38. Participant pp07 described the colonists' behaviour as 'dangerous but quiet,' but drew a boisterous scene with clashing colonists and sailors that does look 'dangerous,' but could not be described as 'quiet,' (pp07).

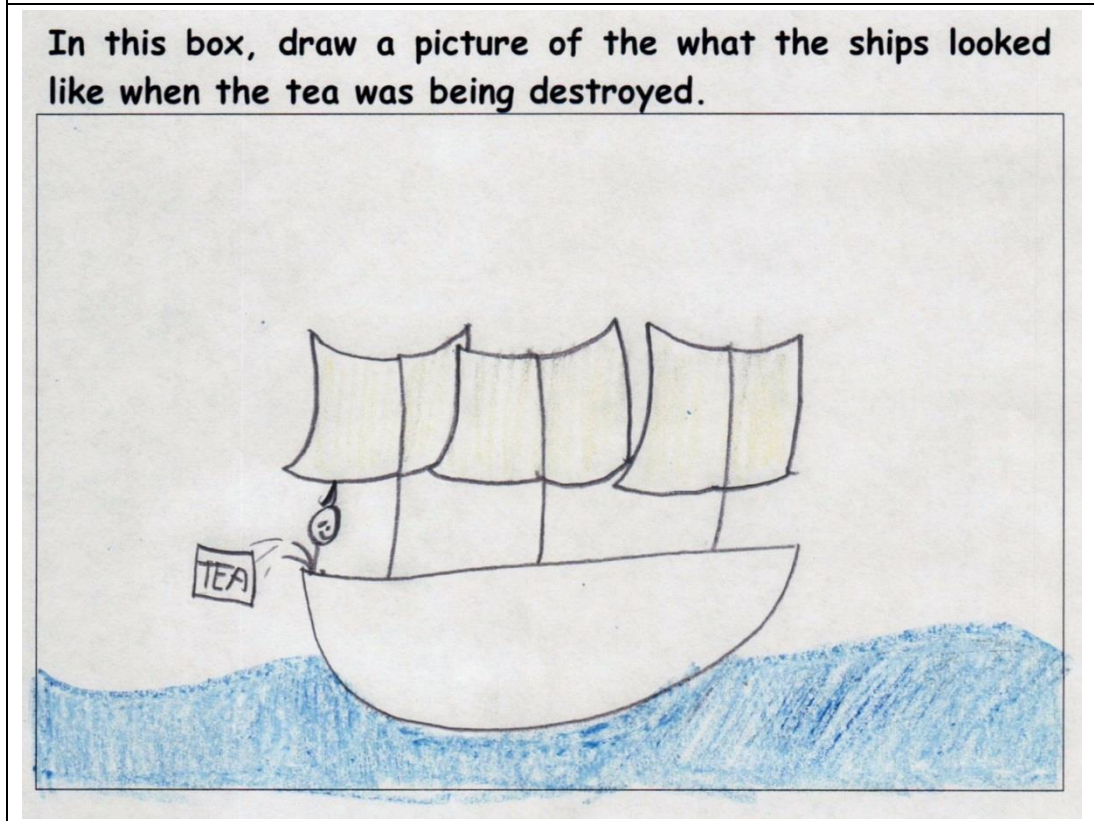
Another way in which one student exhibited duality in a drawing was by using the drawing along with words to specifically display their knowledge of mythical anecdotes from the Boston Tea Party. In writing responses about the colonists' behaviour three students recalled the colonists ensuring that the ships were not harmed; two recalled a story about a broken lock being replaced:

'They just [destroyed] all the tea and if there was a mess they fixed it up and cleaned the ship,' (p028).

'They made sure to only harm the tea and they were quiet even when they accidentally broke a ship part they gave repair money,' (p037)

‘They didn’t wreck anything. All they did was throw the tea off the ship.
They broke a lock and replaced it,’ (p055).

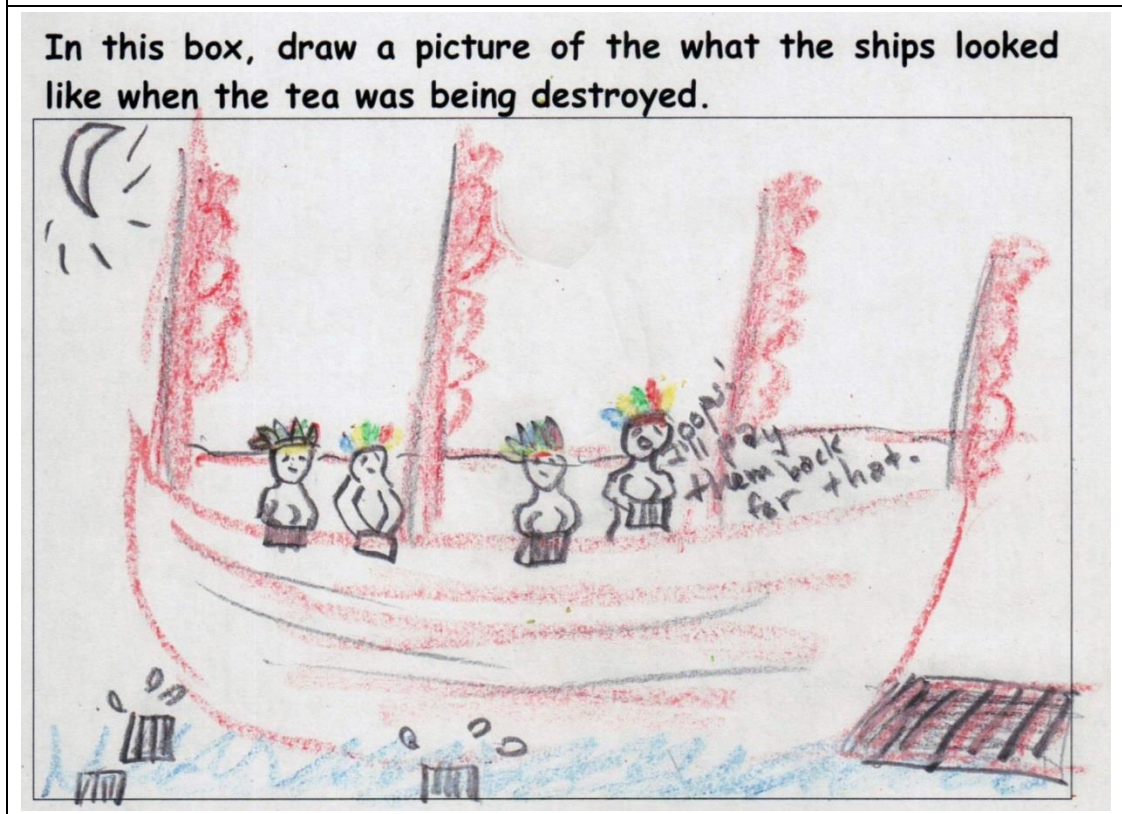
Figure 54: Drawing from participant p029



One student (p047) who did not mention this anecdote in writing, conveyed it in the drawing (see Figure 55). This student described the men in words, writing, ‘The men who were on the ships were acting tediously, politely. They did not want to destroy anything but the tea.’ This student then drew four men with colourful headdresses, one of whom is saying ‘Oops! I’ll pay them back for that,’ alluding to the broken lock story (p047).

Recalling the story about the colonists replacing the broken lock allowed the participants who included it in their responses to illustrate a responsible, considerate, conscientious side to the colonists’ behaviour that can be overshadowed by interpretations that emphasize wild and violent behaviour. These students add a perspective that makes the colonists more relatable and sympathetic, adding an element of their humanity to the story. As Butler explains, the use of ‘drawing [can enable] children to ‘tell a better story,’ and it can allow ‘children to describe what would seem

Figure 55: Drawing from participant p047



to be routine aspects of the event, not normally included in conversation,' (Butler, et al., 1995: 606). Using the drawings in this way, the students were able to add to their written words, and express their understandings differently while, at times, expressing their different understandings.

7.4.3 Patriotism & Empathy

The participants' exhibitions of duality extended to their abilities to empathetically understand the men of the colonial period, even when it meant understanding the viewpoints of those who would become opponents in the fight for American Independence. At times, their responses could be almost blindly patriotic; when asked if the colonists would have been afraid in the Post-Visit Questionnaire, 54 out of 76 participants answered in the negative. One participant wrote, 'The men were not afraid because they were willing to do anything for independence and no tax,' (pp14). Another wrote that the men 'were not scared of the British - they were so mad at the British [because] they were acting like bad people and they were doing [whatever] they wanted to do,' expressing the opinion that the British had behaved so

terribly towards the colonists that they needed to be confronted (p059). 19 students seem to have considered the risks and danger that the colonists faced and responded that the colonists might have been afraid in the questionnaire. But, in their verbal interviews, students in each session expressed that the colonists could have been quite fearful of British retaliation. It seems that patriotic ideals – that the Loyalists were terrible people and the Patriots were fearless – are at odds with the impressions the students were left with when considering the personalities they portrayed and watched their classmates portray.

Their understandings of the various opinions held by the colonists were, however, evident in the Post-Visit Questionnaire, when the students were asked to describe the crowd of spectators. This awareness has been discussed above in terms of the drawings that demonstrated differing opinions within the crowd. The participants' written answers likewise show the colonial conflict within the crowd of onlookers when asked to describe them:

'I think they were cheering and some people might say stop,' (pp10).

'Loyalists: Telling them to stop throwing the tea. Patriots: Telling them to keep on going,' (p045).

'Patriots were probably excited and loyalists were probably nervous,' (p055).

'Happy for the people who wanted war. Loyalists = scared. Others = shocked, surprised,' (p057).

'Happy if patriots, mad if loyalists,' (p049).

This cognizance of the various standpoints from which early Americans stepped into the fight for Independence might resonate with the pride Americans are taught to feel for democratic ideals and rights to disagree and protest. The reenactment helped the students see the various opinions of average people in Boston, allowing the students to see multiple perspectives, and incorporate these into their own understandings, which

seems to have enabled the participants to relate to those they might have disagreed with, while still feeling confident in their own, young American identities.

7.4.4 Audiences & Performers

Perhaps the most obvious duality the students faced was the one they were assigned by nature of the reenactment exercise; to function simultaneously as performers and audience members. As a performative method, reenactment is often inherently two-sided; reenacted battles, like the meeting the students portrayed, show opponents meeting and clashing. And, as McCalman and Pickering explain, reenactment can be ‘crucial to the creation and contestation of public memory,’ (McCalman & Pickering, 2010: 12). Often, in the United States, where reenactments of Civil War and Revolutionary War battles are held annually, and performed with a great degree of pride and attention to detail on the parts of the reenactors, reenactment is a key agent of education in the shared, public memories of those events.

But for the participants, this was largely their first experience with reenactment as performers. One student in the Pilot Session recalled reenacting a Revolutionary War battle on a previous field-trip during the verbal interview (pS: 00:37:10), and one student in Session 4 recounted a story from a summer camp he attended where he reenacted a Civil War battle (S4: 00:42:30). Out of the 76 participants, these were the only two who mentioned previous experiences. The students spent time in their classrooms and on their own learning their parts and preparing with their teachers, which seems to have prepared them well for their experiences. The students’ enthusiasm for their characters and their classmates’ roles seem to have aided in their adapting to this unusual educational experience.

And, as an experience, the reenactment, and the adoption of their historical characters and willingness to engage with their classmates’ characters, was intended to be a departure point for additional reflection and discussion, the success of which was evident during this research. Tessa Bridal explains:

Theatre is a catalyst, a motivator, a means of encouraging audiences to want to encounter and wrestle with ideas. Theatre fosters an imaginative, creative, and culturally diverse understanding of the objects we choose to display – and sometimes of those we don’t choose to display. It

achieves this by adding the personal – a sense of time, a sense of space, and a story. (Bridal, 2004: 6)

In the *Tea is Brewing* program at the Old South Meeting House, the students create this for themselves, finding the courage to speak and listen to each other, and to teach and be taught by each other.

Both the language-oriented data and the drawn data point to instances of dual understandings, but overall the data points to greater understandings being achieved in the minds of the students through the use of the reenactment exercise as a feature in their wider educational experiences in American History. Lowenthal writes that, ‘just as memory validates personal identity, history perpetuates collective self-awareness,’ (Lowenthal, 1985: 213). In learning to navigate their understandings of American History, the students encounter differing and competing narratives, stories, and perspectives. The reenactment experience explored here seems to have been a beneficial and educational tool for these participants.

Chapter 8

Conclusions

The final chapter of this thesis revisits the Research Questions set out in the first chapter, focusing on the reenactment experiences of the participants, their opinions of reenactment as a source of enjoyment, and their navigations of understandings regarding the overlapping presences of history and myth in American memory considered in subsequent chapters. It goes on to discuss the value of the employed literature, to evaluate the usefulness of the methodology employed, and to acknowledge the original contribution of this thesis to the fields of Museum Education and Museum Theater, and to existing dialogues on Mythologies in American History. Finally, avenues for possible future research are considered.

8.1 Revisiting the Research Questions

This thesis explored Emotional Learning in Museum Education, using as a case study the technique of Reenactment as a form of Museum Theater in the Old South Meeting House's *Tea Is Brewing* educational program. The previous chapters have explored the analysis of the data gathered during this research, which responded to the topics presented in the original research questions, but reactions resulting from the analysis of data will be discussed here. The collected data provided responses to all the research questions, and has the potential to allow for further utilization in future research.

8.1.1 Experiences

The first research question presented in Chapter 1 considers how the visiting children *experienced* performance-based approaches to education at the Old South Meeting House, and to what extent, if at all the experience was educational. Education and learning can be difficult to measure arbitrarily, so the question is best responded to in terms of how the participants' understandings were altered or augmented as a result of their participation. The question also considers how participating in a reenactment

might compare to other forms of museum education the students may have encountered.

The experiences had by the students during their time at the Old South Meeting House can be broken down into three categories, as explained in Chapter 6: experiences as students; experiences as visitors; and experiences as reenactors. While these categories of experience overlapped at times, the adoption of various roles during museum visits is common [Pekarik, et al, 1999; Falk, et al, 1998]. The research was less aimed at exploring the participants' experiences as students, but it was necessary to explore these to understand their museum and museum theater experiences.

As students, the participants were first prepared to undertake their reenactments by their teachers, in their classrooms, and later experienced the reenactment as learners. They were given educational material that reflected provably historically accurate accounts as well as more myth-oriented interpretations, and built their understandings of their characters (or the historical figures they would portray) on this information, all of which was intended to be historically educational. The students learned about the people that would speak during the reenactment and, as a result of their participation, recalled far more information about the various personalities than their teachers anticipated (q15; q16; Table 4). Furthermore, upon reflection during the data gathering sessions, the students displayed a deep understanding of the varying and competing viewpoints of the Loyalists and the Patriots that was likely gained as a result of their reenacting the conflict. As discussed in Chapter 6, some students were assigned roles with which they did not necessarily sympathize at first, but found ways of adopting the viewpoints and presenting the characters when called upon to do so during their reenactments (pS, [00:58:05]; S2, [00:29:25]; S3, [00:58:45]; S3, [00:58:55]; S3, [00:59:00]; S4, [00:48:10]; S4, [00:48:20]).

As visitors, the students expressed having valued their time in the historic site for the immediacy and intimacy it brought to their understandings; they were in the same room the colonists had been in, and were saying the same words the colonists had said. They compared what they imagined the colonists felt like in 1773 to how they felt during their field-trips, and demonstrated an awareness of how cramped the colonists would have been, with so many people having attended the meeting the students were there to reenact. The reenactment program at the site is described by teachers and museum staff as an educational experience, as it is intended to increase the students' understandings, and this was accomplished with the aid of the historic site where the

meeting took place; they were influenced by their abilities to physically be in contact with a piece of the past (pS, [00:49:30]; q21: pp01, pp02, pp07, pp12, p004, p011, p023, p030, p031, p054).

As reenactors, the students participated as collaborators, both with each other and their teachers (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 311-312). They functioned as the audience and as the performers; as the educators and the students. When asked to consider how they felt about reenactment, the students largely acknowledged its educational function and theatrical nature, but also eagerly discussed other instances of reenactment, exhibiting their awareness of it as a cultural, educational, and recreational practice. They enthusiastically discussed exploring exhibited artefacts and textual material but not as frequently as they discussed their performances (pS, [00:49:30]; q21).

The students displayed a great deal of pride in representing historical personalities, even if they would have chosen to portray someone other than whom they were assigned. They demonstrated their patriotism in the words they chose to describe the colonists, and in their responses to questions about whether the colonists felt fear or vulnerability when standing up to the British government (q09; q11). They also showed that they were proud of the legacy of Massachusetts' role in the beginning of the Revolution, as discussed in Chapter 6 (pS, [00:47:30]; S1, [00:54:00]; pS, [00:48:05]).

Lastly, the students' experiences led them to engage empathetically with the content and with the people of pre-Revolutionary Boston. Without access to the reenactment exercise, the students would not have gained the insight they were able to find by adopting the roles of historical personalities; classroom education, and even other forms of museum education, could not have instigated the personal investments the students developed with the historical material. For the reenactors, the historical figures left the page and became living people with words, lives, fears, and motivations to which the students could relate. Participants recounted their experiences when asked how they felt when performing their roles:

I don't think you're being untruthful... when, like, a character is being truthful. Like, they were just saying what they thought. (pS, [00:59:15])

You can *feel* like it. (S1, [00:48:20])

You understand how both of [the sides] feel about everything. (S2, [00:21:30])

People will understand why [the colonists] were doing it. (S3, [00:52:45])

She was my brother. And I don't like getting interrupted when I'm talking. And I didn't want to be [gesturing to student who played the brother] your brother. (S4, [00:49:00])

Hughes, Jackson and Kidd discuss this phenomenon:

It is as if one is temporarily inhabiting someone else's space or story; moving *through* as opposed to temporarily inhabiting someone else's space or story; moving *through* as opposed to moving *in*. (Hughes, et al, 2007: 690)

The students were able to feel connected to the past by relating personally to the material through both the setting of the Old South Meeting House, their portrayals, and the relationships they already had with each other. Adopting the historical characters enabled the students to think differently – to consider how others thought – and to expand their own understandings of the past.

Further, by interacting with each other from behind their facades, the reenactment allowed the students to experience not just the meeting, but also the intensity of the event and why the people who took part behaved as they did, as well as the events' legacy (Heathcote, 1984a-d). The participants explain,

It was a meeting that led to something that was very important, to the, it was the Boston Tea Party. (pS, [00:42:40])

We wouldn't, like, America wouldn't be America if that hadn't happened. (S1, [00:48:45])

It kind of started the Revolutionary War. (S3. [00:53:50])

It was an important part of time. (S3, [00:51:50])

The people who did it should be honored and not forgotten for all the things they did, how they risked their lives and they could have died. (S4, [00:41:00])

The students seemed to find the reenactment to be educational in terms of broadening their understandings, and seemed able to find personal connections to the past.

8.1.2 Enjoyment

The second question concerns the students' enjoyment of reenactment as an educational medium. It considers whether any experienced enjoyment hindered or encouraged learning, and how their enjoyment of reenactment compares to their enjoyment of other museum experiences. As the students clearly demonstrated having added to their understandings of the American Revolution and the Boston Tea Party as a result of their participations in the reenactments, I conclude that any enjoyment the participants experienced did not detract from learning. And, as evidenced by the participants' responses, they did find the reenactment experience to be enjoyable (S4, [00:52:40]; S4, [00:52:50]; S4, [00:53:20] q21: p052; q21: p047; q21: p026; q21: p015; q21: p004).

As discussed in Chapter 6, more than half (39 out of 72) of the participants expressed having specifically found satisfaction in their performing of their roles, often identifying strongly with the characters they were assigned to portray. The only student who did not enjoy acting or watching classmates act was uncomfortable because she, as she described, preferred quieter settings than a hall filled with fellow students yelling, 'Huzzah!' and 'Fie!' after each recitation of a line, (q21: p003).

The students' active participation as collaborators (again, with each other and with their educators in this exercise) likely aided in their feelings of satisfaction, as did their presence in the historical hall which, as a setting outside the classroom, was recreational in nature, as most field-trip destinations are. However an enjoyed aspect that was remarked upon in each research session was the social element of the reenactment which, in addition to being enjoyable, likely aided in the retention of learned information (Packer, 2006). As explored in Chapter 6, the social nature of the

reenactment helped students find greater understandings of the historical conflict because of the interactions written into the reenactment script. Other students expressed an increased level of comfort when performing in front of participating classmates, because none of the students had to feel awkward or uncomfortable – they were all participating together (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994: 21; pS, [00:59:15]; S4, [00:49:00]; S4, [00:52:40]; S4, [00:52:50]; S4, [00:53:20]).

It is noteworthy that, even when other sites were discussed, all museum experiences mentioned were done so in a positive manner, expressing enjoyment generally with being able to visit museums and historic sites. Thus in the light of this evidence the thesis argues that these participants enjoyed being able to get out of their classrooms and experience different avenues of formal and informal education.

8.1.3 Navigation of Understandings

The final research question addresses the students' ways of navigating between the body of mythologized material surrounding the American Revolutionary War and the educational material with which they are presented during the reenactment program and in the classroom, as well as what role was played by pre-visit knowledge and perceptions about the American Revolution in influencing the students' experiences. As discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, the participants' navigations through these two distinct yet overlapping bodies of information were presented repeatedly in demonstrations of dual understandings and combined understandings.

The dualities concerned various aspects of their concepts of the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution. This was evidenced in the ways verifiable history existed alongside myth; in the ways they expressed empathy for diverging colonial perspectives while maintaining enthusiastic American patriotism; and in their two-sided participations in the reenactments, as actors and spectators.

Firstly, the incorporation of historical facts and mythologized stories of the past into a cohesive understanding of the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution is possible because of the inherent overlapping of history and myth in educational and cultural settings [Cohen, 1997; Lowenthal, 1985; Black, 2005]. The dual understandings evidenced by the students are also present in adult Americans, as much of the educational and cultural material presented to students has been repeated and reiterated over several generations of American learners. American adults, with their

preferred versions of the past, become educators who teach students the histories they believe, as discussed in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 7 explored how the students recall that the protesting colonists were disguised as Mohawk Indians with war paint and feathers, but that this recollection presents both fact and myth; the men disguised themselves, but did not use war paint and feathers (q05). War paint and feathers are seen in popular cultural depictions of the Boston Tea Party, and the term 'Indian' often calls these images to mind, meaning that it is very easy for the students to mistakenly imagine colonists who were dressed like stereotypical Native Americans (Shear, et al, 2015).

The students' two-sided understandings were exhibited in their language-oriented data as well as in their drawn data, which were contradictory in a few instances, as shown in Chapter 7. Again, in understandings of the colonists' Indian disguises, students indicated that colonists were disguised as Indians when they wrote or said their responses, but drew images of Indians destroying tea (q05). Four students also demonstrated knowledge of a mythical anecdote about a broken lock on one of the ships, which contradicts others accounts of wild, dangerous, violent protestors (q08: p028, p037, p055; q09: p047). The students exhibit a mixed understanding partly because it is how they make sense of the American Revolution, but also because it is how historians make sense of the American Revolution [Bancroft, 1966; Appleby, et al, 1994; Appleby, et al, 2009; Blum, et al, 1973; Channing, 1919; Cullen, 2003; Johnston, 1908; Jones, et al, 2008; Kennedy, et al, 2008; Perry, et al, 2009; Watson, 1851].

Secondly, the students demonstrated an ability to maintain strong American patriotic stances while empathetically engaging with the characters and viewpoints they encountered. They found ways of relating to the Patriots of the Revolutionary period, as well as to the concerns and positions of the British and the Loyalists. At times, the students seemed to respond with patriotic sentiments almost instinctually, as when they were asked in the questionnaires if the colonists would have feared the British soldiers, and overwhelmingly (54 out of 76) responded that the colonists would not have felt fear. However, in the verbal interviews, those students who responded expressed that the colonists would likely have feared British reprisal (pS, [01:04:00]; S1, [01:02:52]; S3, [00:57:40]; S2, [00:28:05]).

Thirdly, the participants faced an inherent duality in the reenactment as they functioned both as performers and spectators for their classmates. As a performative method, reenactment is often fundamentally two-sided; reenacted battles, like the

meeting the students portrayed, show opponents meeting and clashing. And, as discussed in Chapter 7, reenactment is a widely used educational agent in terms of shared and public memories of events like American Civil War and American Revolutionary War battles. Interactions between opponents better illustrates historical conflicts, and the students seemed to have gained a greater understanding of the event, the people, and the time-period through participation in the reenactment activity [Pickering, 2010; Walker, 2010; Bridal, 2004; Brewer, 2010; Jones, 2011; Kitamura, 2010].

Lastly, as discussed in Chapter 6, in an example of combined understandings, the students navigated the various opponents that faced the early American Patriots by labelling them all as ‘British.’ The term was often used interchangeably by participants to refer to any combination of King George III, Parliament, British people in England, British officials in the colonies, and/or Loyalists (S1, [00:49:45]; S3, [00:54:15]; pS, [00:43:30]). Whether this was due to a need to identify one cohesive foe to be the opponent for the Patriots, or due to confusion about the parties responsible for various acts against the Patriots influenced by unspecific educational material, the combined understanding creates an illusion of one united force against American Independence though, in reality, there were several parties with different perspectives and motivations for opposing American Independence [Said, 2003; Bancroft, 1966].

8.2 Revisiting Theoretical Underpinnings

The theoretical underpinnings of this thesis encompassed elements of Experience-based Learning, Museum Education, and Museum Theater, all of which bore relevance to the exploration of this reenactment exercise. As previously discussed fully in Chapter 2, preceding studies on the nature of learning, the use of Museum Theater, and learning in museum atmospheres were important considerations that ultimately informed the ways in which the results of this study were interpreted.

In reconsidering the literature employed in Chapter 2 to explore experience-based learning, Classen’s and Stewart’s explorations of Aristotle’s ordering of the senses were illuminating as they point to the ways in which the acceptance of basic sensory stimulation as a feature of primitive-versus-advanced forms of human reaction has evolved throughout Western history, [Classen, 1993; Stewart, 1999; Aristotle, 2004]. From this, a discussion of the usefulness of triggering various sensory pathways

during museum visits, and ultimately the triggering of emotions as a sensory response, was logical and informed. Explorations of previous researchers' work on the uses of senses in museum education were valuable, especially Falk & Dierking, as they explored museums' use of 'visual, tactile, aural, and, increasingly, olfactory sensation,' as well as emotion connection (Falk & Dierking, 2000: 127, 113). These became particularly relevant in the analysis of the collected data, as 19 students gave tactile responses in their reactions to being in the historical hall at the Old South Meeting House. Likewise, Golding's observations of the evolving meanings of objects applied to the relationships students demonstrated and expressed having felt between themselves and the historic hall (Golding, 2010).

Other useful research employed in the consideration of the role that empathy and emotional learning can play in Museum Education and Museum Theater included studies conducted by Jensen, Hein, Hooper-Greenhill, and Pekarik, Doering, and Karns, (Jensen, 1994; Hein, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 2007; Pekarik, et al, 1999). Sheila Watson also explored the phenomenon of emotional engagement in terms of the potential for emotions to be replicated in museums when triggered by memories in exhibits (Watson, 2010). As so much of the students' experiences related to their awareness and navigation of shared and public memory, this was of particular value, as was de Groot's exploration of the nature of 'physical linkage' between people and the past (de Groot, 2009: 112).

In order to be able to more fully explore the nature of learning in museums, it was also necessary to explore how learning in museums differs from learning in other environments, and how this may benefit visitors and students. Gardner's Theory of Multiple Intelligences was of value, as it demonstrates the different ways in which people may be able to respond to educational materials, and the necessity of presenting information that appeals to a wide variety of intelligences, as people of varying intelligences visit museums (Gardner, 1993). All responding students indicated that they responded intellectually to the reenactment in their own ways, suggesting that the reenactment exercise appealed to students with differing or multiple intelligences. Researchers in Museum Education have shown that museums are capable of appealing to a number of different learning styles and capabilities [Falk & Dierking, 1992; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994].

However, in order to engage, the visitors must feel safe enough to do so, as discussed in Chapter 2. Sixteen participants specifically expressed having been

comfortable and less embarrassed because the *Tea Is Brewing* program allowed them reenact the meeting in front of each other and together. Jackson, Rees Leahy, and Kidd provided the context for understanding comfort within Museum Theater [Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005; Jackson, 2000; Jackson & Kidd, 2008], and Falk, Dierking, and Hein aided in the establishment of the importance of social comfort in the facilitation of Museum Learning [Falk & Dierking, 2000; Hein, 1998; Falk & Dierking, 1992].

Finally, the context in which Museum Theater would need to be examined was established through the consultation of studies conducted by Hughes, Bridal, Alsford and Parry, Jackson, Rees Leahy, and Kidd [Hughes, 1998; Bridal, 2004; Alsford & Parry, 1991]. Specifically of value were studies conducted by Jackson, Rees Leahy, and Kidd on the use of reenactment, its emotional effects, and its educational potential. Their research, though primarily conducted in the UK, and consisting of examinations of various instances of reenactment (including programming at Llancaiach Fawr Manor, the National Maritime Museum, Triangle Theatre Company and the Herbert Art Gallery and Museum, The Manchester Museum, The Imperial War Museum, and the People's History Museum) was certainly applicable to this US-based study, was incredibly illuminating, and provided the basis for much of the theoretical framework found herein [Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005; Jackson & Kidd, 2008]. Also of value were studies regarding reenactment conducted by Jackson in the US at Plimoth Plantation; by Kitamura in the UK at Orgreave; and by Pickering in Australia at Old Melbourne Gaol [Jackson, 2000; Kitamura, 2010; Pickering, 2010].

8.3 Effectiveness of Research Methods

The methodology for this research was primarily qualitative in nature and, in relying on interpretivist, constructivist, and relativist theories, and with the use of a Grounded Theory approach, was effective in generating and analysing the gathered data [Bryant & Charmaz, 2007; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Harrison, 2004; Denzin & Lincoln, 2008; Molyneaux, 1994; Tzibazi, 2006; Charmaz, 2000; Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011; Bowker, 2007; Callahan, 2006]. The data gathering exercises, including use of the Pre-Visit Questionnaire, the Post-Visit Questionnaire, and the Verbal Group Interview, were successful in generating useful and navigable data. The combination of questions with preset fields of responses, open-ended questions, opportunities to draw, and opportunities to speak encouraged the

participants to share in a variety of ways, yielding valuable responses to each type of question; additionally, if a participant was uncomfortable responding to one type of question, there were other options from which to choose in order to respond. The exercises were mainly directed at encouraging students to relate empathetically with the people of the Revolutionary Era, while considering how the reenactment helped them to do this, and how the experience influenced their knowledge.

By inviting students to reply to close-ended questions, they were given a set of responses and told they could choose whatever they thought was best; no answer could be incorrect. This allowed them to safely respond as they saw fit. The open-ended questions gave them the chance to tell me their thoughts in their own words, and the verbal exercise allowed them to do this without the added pressure or depersonalization of written responses. In asking the participants to draw how they imagined various figures and aspects of pre-Revolutionary Boston, the research was able to explore the ways in which students visualized and imagined the ways things, places, and people looked. The drawings by themselves demonstrated a wide array of understandings, and were immensely valuable in seeing what the students considered important. Analysed together, the emergent themes were noteworthy.

Along with the duality of understandings presented throughout the participants' responses, and discussed previously, the drawings showed a very clear perception of the danger the colonists faced in the vicious appearances of the British Soldiers and the justifiably wild presentations of the colonists (q05). And while these images often resembled those found in popular culture and children's literature, the participants had made them their own. Their depictions of the scene of the Boston Tea Party and the spectators were also quite revealing in terms of their understandings of the complicated political and social atmosphere at the time (q13). In this way, the drawings were an incredibly successful device in researching the participants' understandings, as the students were able to show me their personal interpretations through their drawings, and it was possible to contrast these with their more factually accurate interpretations.

In terms of analysis, the phenomenographic approach (developed on the model of researchers who made use of similar drawing techniques for data generation [Shepardson, 2005; Shepardson, et al, 2009; Shepardson, et al, 2011; Horstman, et al, 2008; Bowker, 2007]) also yielded significant information. The drawings of the Redcoats were analysed for their demonstrations of uniform depiction, weaponry, attitudes, actions, and environments, showing that students gained understandings of

soldiers' appearances from culturally prevalent images, as well as educational material. Likewise, the colonists were depicted as Mohawk Indians, rather than as costumed, with characteristics consistent with the Plains Indians that Americans encountered during Westward Expansion in the 1830s, when the Boston Tea Party began to be written about [Young, 1999; Shear, et al, 2015]. The wild appearances of the colonists seem to have been justified in the minds of the students because of the imminent threat of British attack, and the competing viewpoints of the time period were evidenced in both the language-oriented and drawn data that the students provided. The methodology produced data that was insightful, meaningful to the students, and incredibly valuable in terms of demonstrating the ways in which the students made sense of the Boston Tea Party and the American Revolution.

8.4 Contribution and Potential Future Research

This thesis makes a valuable contribution to the field of Museum Studies, not simply for the original research conducted, the insight provided into the understandings of the preadolescent participants, but also for its applications to surrounding dialogues and related disciplines. Crossing boundaries between several fields, as Golding has outlined, has allowed this study to be applicable to various areas of inquiry, and to be able to be adapted for further study (Golding, 2009).

8.4.1 Contribution

This research is original in its contribution to the fields of Museum Education and Museum Theater Education in its exploration of reenactments performed by children, and the ways in which types of American cultural and social education can interact with Museum Education. It fits into larger discussions on Museum Theater by providing an example of benefits to schoolchildren who participate in reenactment as a teaching tool, and provides an analysis of how exposure to culturally prevalent images and material about the American Revolution can affect how students interpret subsequent educational information.

In this way, this thesis adds to discussions in the fields from which it was built, including Museum Education [Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Hooper Greenhill, 2007; Anderson, et al, 2003; Classen & Howes, 2006; Bennet, 2001; Kavanagh, 2002; Falk,

2006; Falk & Dierking, 1992; Falk & Dierking, 2000; Falk, et al, 1998; Hein, 1998; O'Doherty, 1986; Molyneaux, 1994; Silverman, 1995; Watson, 2007], Emotional Education [Golding, 2010; Gorton, 2007; Classen, 1993; Courtney, 1995; Seremetakis, 1994; Gardner, 1993; Ticineto Clough, 2007; Hardt, 2007], Theater Education [Allen, et al, 1999; Boal, 1985; Heathcote, 1984a-d; Jackson, 1993; Tzibazi, 2006; Vine, 1993; Williams, 1993; Samuel, 2012], and Museum Theater [Hughes, 1998; Hughes, Jackson, & Kidd, 2007; Jackson, 1993; Jackson & Kidd, 2007; Jackson & Kidd, 2008; Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005; Kitamura, 2010; Roth, 1998; Schwartz, 2010; Sternberg, 1989; Tivers, 2002; Gapps, 2010; Alsford & Parry, 191, Bagnall, 2003; Brewer, 2010], and the overlapping nature of history and myth within American concepts of the American Revolution. It examines the ways in which reenactment, by triggering and using emotional responses, contributes to understandings of Emotional Learning, in line with researchers in the wider field of Educational Theory and Emotional Learning. Eilean Hooper-Greenhill writes,

When we talk about learning, and particularly learning in museums, we are not talking about learning facts only. Learning includes facts, but also experiences and the emotions. It requires individual effort, but is also a social experience. In museums, it is the social experience that is frequently best remembered. (Hooper-Greenhill, 1994: 21)

This research has found that the program presented at the Old South Meeting House represents an excellent example of the effectiveness of the social aspect of reenactment in encouraging students to engage emotionally and learn together.

Likewise, this research demonstrates the value of the beneficial relationship between Theater and Museum Education, showing the success of using Museum Theater at the Old South Meeting House. In terms of exploring relationships between students' understandings of myth and history, and overlapping patterns of knowledge, the existence of mythology in American History has been considered insofar as demonstrating how pre-existing knowledge can influence the effectiveness of future education, including educational exercises taking place at museums.

This research has effectively explored students' experiences with reenactment, and how the students navigate their understandings of American history as a result of incorporating both imagined realities and factual information. Jackson and Rees Leahy

have explained that ‘children’s *active* participation in [events contributes] to a strong sense of engagement with the content of their visit and, equally, their ability to recall it,’ (Jackson & Rees Leahy, 2005: 311). This thesis has likewise explored how the element of imagination involved in performing the reenactment activity impacts the meaning-making process in the participants, in ways similar to the contributions of Vasiliki Tzibazi and Ceri Jones, who also researched the educational value of Museum Theater for schoolchildren. Tzibazi’s research proved an ‘interrelationship between [a] theatrical event’s educational content and performativity,’ (Tzibazi, 2006: 299). And, Jones likewise found that experiencing living history can impact students’ ideas about the past, (Jones, 2011). The findings here are in line with the discussions raised by Tzibazi and Jones, and contribute to discourse on museum education, emotional and empathetic learning in museums, and the use of Museum Theater in the education of children.

8.4.2 Potential for Future Research

The potential avenues of future research stemming from this thesis are numerous, as this research drew from and ultimately contributed to several fields of academic discourse. As a resource, it can be applied to studies in the fields of Museum Education, Emotional Education, Theater Education, Museum Theater, and the use of children’s drawings in developing theories regarding how students imagine historical events.

In the field of Museum Education, further research can be conducted on the usefulness of the *Tea is Brewing* program when compared to the conventional museum exhibition also housed in the hall of the Old South Meeting House. While many visiting school-groups take part in the reenactment exercise, some simply pass through, giving students a chance to see the hall and the exhibits before moving on to another Boston historical site. It may be of interest to see how students who did not participate in the reenactment interpreted the exhibited material, and how their understandings differed from those who performed the reenactment.

In terms of Emotional Education, the empathetic connections created through the use of reenactment could be more fully explored. The existence of these connections was evident in this research, but more investigation behind exactly what the students connected with might be valuable in knowing how to better design

curriculum to appeal to students empathetically. For example, would programming that explored the roles of 9- and 10-year-olds in the events leading up to the Boston Tea Party affect the understandings of 9- and 10-year-old students? Would looking at the impacts of taxes and British occupation on individual families – mothers, fathers, children, etc – help students to imagine how their own families would react? The students exhibited an understanding, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, of the colonists having lived differently than people live now, but attributed these differences to technological advancements. They had difficulty imagining what they or their families would do if presented with the prospect of Revolution and the dangers of domestic war, even in the aftermath of the Boston Marathon attacks. They seemed to see the Patriots as uniquely suited to the task of American Independence, rather than people who stepped into their roles as a result of the circumstances. It would be interesting to discover how the students would be able to more fully empathize with all colonists from the 1770s, and not simply the more popular figures, such as Samuel Adams and Paul Revere, who are far more remembered than their wives and families.

The possibilities for further research in the field of Theater Education might explore the ways in which the programming differs from class to class, based on teachers' assignments of roles and preparation. This is the biggest factor in determining how the reenactment will unfold at the Old South Meeting House. The museum staff has no contact with the students prior to their performance, and the casting and preparation are put solely in the hands of teachers who are not theater or museum professionals; this undoubtedly influences how students in different classes experience the exercise differently. Additionally, investigating the students' experiences with the *Tea is Brewing* exercise from a purely theatrical perspective – focusing less on the transfer of historical information, and more on emotional engagements that can create understandings of the people from the past by using their words and some details about their identities – might aid in the development of similar theater programs for other sites and venues. For example, providing a student with some lines and a few brief sentences about a historical person allowed the participants here to create a personal understanding of their characters and perform as they felt appropriate. Similar approaches in Theater Education could likewise use basic prompts and a few lines to give students a platform from which to build, finding ways to create empathetic connections and understandings in a variety of applications, including simple character

development exercises, explorations of current events and social conflict, and historical education.

In the field of Museum Theater, further investigation and research could build from this thesis in terms of its relationship to other studies of the use of reenactment in educating pre-adolescent students, and in contrast to less participatory forms of Museum Theater. When students were permitted and invited to participate in a reenactment, their adoption of roles seems to have aided in developing wider understandings of their portrayed characters, their allies, and their adversaries. It is possible that less participatory modes of Museum Theater, while presenting engaging material and illustrating conflicts for students to observe, may be differently effective in their abilities to engage the students imaginations.

Further research could also be conducted concerning the roles of American popular culture in the developments of students' understandings of historical events. For this thesis alone, extensive cultural material was investigated in order to anticipate what students may have encountered prior to their engagement in the reenactment and programming at the Old South Meeting House. Depictions of this one historical event – the Boston Tea Party – required extensive cultural research due to the overwhelming amount of material developed about the Boston Tea Party for children's education and entertainment. As discussed, the accuracy of the material was often flawed due to the incorporations of myths and public memories into casual histories presented to children. Using this as a method for investigation, other events in American History could be likewise examined for instances of the infiltration of children's understandings by culturally prevalent but inaccurate images; how do these cultural images impact students' abilities to accept more historically accurate accounts when presented with exciting but erroneous mythology?

Further, the sheer volume of collected data generated during this study exceeded that which could be presented for analysis here. Separate studies could be conducted on the individual responses resulting from the drawing exercises and the students' use of language. Specific and deep analyses of each drawing exercise would yield further insight into the ways the participants imagined the Revolutionary period. The drawings of the Red Coats could be dissected further to locate trends between the use of violent imagery and its correlation to age and gender. Likewise, a more comprehensive cultural study could be conducted wherein additional culturally prevalent depictions of Red Coats, British Soldiers, and British officials are compared to the drawings created by

the participants. The same could be done for the images of colonists disguised as Mohawk Indians, considering deeper questions of the appropriation of Native American imagery and personification in American society that began with uses of Native Americans as symbols of resistance to British rule, but continue to dominate popular culture with, for example, major American football and baseball teams – such as the Washington Redskins, the Cleveland Indians, and the Kansas City Chiefs – making use of the stereotypically violent and savage behaviour associated with colonial contact with Native Americans to intimidate opponents [Young, 1999; Shear, et al, 2015].

Likewise, the participants' use of language could be explored more deeply, investigating the students' use of terms such as 'we' or 'them' when discussing the Patriots and the Loyalists. Their abilities to identify with the Patriots as predecessors to present-day Americans could be analysed, as could their expressions of patriotism in terms of the ways in which patriotic feelings and nationalism develop in pre-adolescent American students. The current research suggests that taking part in the reenactment exercise was valuable to the participants in contributing to their understandings of the American Revolution, in engaging their emotions to create empathetic connections to the educational material, in creating a beneficial social atmosphere that was carried back into the classrooms, and in giving the students an experience that they enjoyed. The data that was gathered can be used for further exploration of these areas of study, or to inspire future inquiries in related fields.

Finally, the existing methodology could easily be adapted to explore reenactments at sites representing other time periods and directed towards the education of visiting school groups. Various degrees of scripting and direction likely impact the experiences had during fieldtrips. How do other sites with reenactment programs invite students to participate? To what other degrees are students permitted to develop their own characterisations of reenacted personalities, and how much freedom for improvisation exists at other museums and sites? Further, varying levels of interest in the subject matter based on the reenacted event and the represented time-period are likely. Are students as interested in reenactments if they are reenacting day-to-day activities like planting crops or dipping candles as they are when there is conflict involved? Would they be bored reenacting something that did not include conflict, or of a lesser known event? If the reenacted event relates differently to national identity, do

students react differently? This is a rich subject area to explore, and deserves further investigation.

8.5 Concluding Remarks

To conclude, on the basis of this research, reenactment can be seen to be a worthwhile tool available to educators in the Historical (and, in the United States, Social Studies) Education of preadolescent children. When done appropriately, as I have argued that it is with the Old South Meeting House's *Tea Is Brewing* program, the form can inform, entertain, and intrigue students, encouraging them to take pride in the activity as well as the information being conveyed; the participating students valued the exercise because they were given the opportunity to participate, acting as both the propagators and recipients of information. Furthermore, the use of the medium in triggering and using the imaginations of the students illuminated avenues of study that might have otherwise gone unnoticed, such as the tendency towards patriotism and the dualities of understanding discussed above. Here, reenactment has been shown to be an effective educational medium in terms of its application of empathetic engagement in forming connections between students and educational material, and the communication of information within that established connection, under the careful direction and facilitation of museum professionals and classrooms teachers.

Appendix 1

List of media featuring Historical Reenactment

The following is list of some television and films featuring references to Historical Reenactment, arranged by reenacted event. This list is by no means comprehensive, but serves to illustrate the prevalence of references to the form in American popular culture.

Colonial Period and American Revolutionary War Reenactment

- *Always Sunny in Philadelphia* (television): McElhenney, R., G. Howerton, & D. Hornsby, 'The Gang Cracks the Liberty Bell,' Season 4; Episode 11, FX, 6 Nov 2008.
- *Family Guy* (television): Bernstein, J. & M. Shipley, 'One if by Clam, Two if by Sea,' Season 3; Episode 4, Fox, 1 Aug 2001.
- *Gilmore Girls* (television): Binder Weiss, J., 'Love and War and Snow,' Season 1; Episode 8, CW, 14 Dec 2000.
- *King of the Hill* (television): Abrams, A. & G. Thompson, 'Harlottown,' Season 10; Episode 4, Fox, 20 Nov 2005.
- *King of the Hill* (television): Stratton, C., 'How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Alamo,' Season 8; Episode 17, Fox, 18 Apr 2004.
- *Parks and Recreation* (television): Goor, D., 'Harvest Festival,' Season 3; Episode 7, NBC, 17 Mar 2011.
- *Sleepy Hollow* (television): Kurtzman, A. & M. Goffman, 'Bad Blood,' Season 1; Episode 13, Fox, 20 Jan, 2014.

American Civil War Reenactment

- *Bob's Burgers* (television): Bouchard, L. & N. Smith, 'Topsy,' Season 3; Episode 16, Fox, 10 Mar 2013.
- *Bob's Burgers* (television): Davis, S. & K. Yu, 'The Moodie Foodie,' Season 2; Episode 7, Fox, 6 May 2012.
- *Bones* (television): Charles, P. & J. Berman, 'The Dentist in the Ditch,' Season 5; Episode 13, Fox, 28 Jan 2010.

- *Cougar Town* (television): Biegel, K., 'Full Grown Boy,' Season 6; Episode 2, TBS, 13 Jan, 2015
- *CSI* (television): Stahl, J., 'Way To Go,' Season 6; Episode 24, CBS, 18 May 2006.
- *Ellen* (television): Larsen, M., 'G.I. Ellen,' Season 5; Episode 6, ABC, 5 Nov 1997.
- *Everybody Loves Raymond* (television): Skorvan, S., 'The Family Bed,' Season 2; Episode 18, CBS, 2 Mar 1998.
- *Family Guy* (television): Callaghan, S., 'To Live and Die in Dixie,' Season 3; Episode 12, Fox, 15 Nov 2001.
- *House of Cards* (television): Lin, K., 'Chapter 18,' Season 2; Episode 5, Netflix, 14 Feb 2014.
- *Key & Peele* (television): Drysdale, R., C. Dunn, K.M. Key, J. Martel, J. Peele, I. Roberts, A. Rubens, C. Sanders, R. Talarico, 'Obama College Years,' Season 2; Episode 1, Comedy Central, 26 Sep 2012.
- *Law & Order: Criminal Intent* (television): Norman, M., 'Albatross,' Season 6; Episode 13, NBC, 6 Feb 2007.
- *My Name is Earl* (television): Kaestle, E. & P. McCarthy, 'Buried Treasure,' Season 2; Episode 13, NBC, 11 Jan 2007.
- *Psych* (television): Steinberg, D., 'Weekend Warriors,' Season 1; Episode 6, USA Network, 11 Aug 2006.
- *South Park* (television): Parker, T., 'The Red Badge of Gayness,' Season 3; Episode 14, Comedy Central, 24 Nov 1999.
- *Sullivan & Son* (television): Safchik, B. & M. Platt, 'The Big O,' Season 3; Episode 1, TBS, 24 Jun 2014.
- *Sweet Home Alabama* (film): Tennant, A. (dir), Cox, C.J., Buena Vista Pictures, 27 Sep 2002.
- *The Cleveland Show* (television): Green, J. & G. Miller, 'The Blue, The Gray and The Brown,' Season 2; Episode 15, Fox, 6 Mar 2011.
- *The Eric Andre Show* (television): Andre, E., 'George Clooney,' Season 1; Episode 1, Cartoon Network, 20 May 2012.
- *The Simpsons* (television): Swartzwelder, J., 'The Sweetest Apu,' Season 13; Episode 19, Fox, 5 May 2002.

Appendix 1

- *Twin Peaks* (television): Peyton, H., 'Checkmate,' Season 2; Episode 13, ABC, 19 Jan 1991.
- *Warehouse 13* (television): Harold, H., 'Queen for a Day,' Season 3; Episode 4, SyFy, 1 Aug 2011.

Vietnam War Reenactment

- *American Dad!* (television): Miller, J. & M. Miller, 'In Country...Club,' Season 6; Episode 1, Fox, 27 Sep 2009.
- *King of the Hill* (television): Gregory, A. & P. Huyck, 'Unfortunate Son,' Season 6; Episode 11, Fox, 10 Mar 2002.

Reenactments of imaginary conflicts

- *Futurama* (television): Horsted, E., 'Lethal Inspection,' Season 6; Episode 6, Comedy Central, 22 Jul 2010.
 - Parody of Reenactments of the American Civil War
- *SpongeBob SquarePants* (television): Brookshier, L., N. Cash, & E. Shaw, 'The Battle of Bikini Bottom,' Season 5; Episode 17b, Nickelodeon, 23 Nov 2007.
 - Parody of Reenactments of the American Revolutionary War

Appendix 2

Longfellow's *Paul Revere's Ride*

Paul Revere's Ride

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, 1907

Listen my children and you shall hear
Of the midnight ride of Paul Revere,
On the eighteenth of April, in Seventy-five;
Hardly a man is now alive
Who remembers that famous day and year.
He said to his friend, 'If the British march
By land or sea from the town to-night,
Hang a lantern aloft in the belfry arch
Of the North Church tower as a signal light,--
One if by land, and two if by sea;
And I on the opposite shore will be,
Ready to ride and spread the alarm
Through every Middlesex village and farm,
For the country folk to be up and to arm.'

Then he said 'Good-night!' and with muffled oar
Silently rowed to the Charlestown shore,
Just as the moon rose over the bay,
Where swinging wide at her moorings lay
The Somerset, British man-of-war;
A phantom ship, with each mast and spar
Across the moon like a prison bar,
And a huge black hulk, that was magnified
By its own reflection in the tide.

Meanwhile, his friend through alley and street
Wanders and watches, with eager ears,
Till in the silence around him he hears
The muster of men at the barrack door,
The sound of arms, and the tramp of feet,
And the measured tread of the grenadiers,
Marching down to their boats on the shore.

Then he climbed the tower of the Old North Church,
By the wooden stairs, with stealthy tread,
To the belfry chamber overhead,
And startled the pigeons from their perch
On the sombre rafters, that round him made
Masses and moving shapes of shade,--
By the trembling ladder, steep and tall,
To the highest window in the wall,
Where he paused to listen and look down

A moment on the roofs of the town
And the moonlight flowing over all.

Beneath, in the churchyard, lay the dead,
In their night encampment on the hill,
Wrapped in silence so deep and still
That he could hear, like a sentinel's tread,
The watchful night-wind, as it went
Creeping along from tent to tent,
And seeming to whisper, 'All is well!'
A moment only he feels the spell
Of the place and the hour, and the secret dread
Of the lonely belfry and the dead;
For suddenly all his thoughts are bent
On a shadowy something far away,
Where the river widens to meet the bay,--
A line of black that bends and floats
On the rising tide like a bridge of boats.

Meanwhile, impatient to mount and ride,
Booted and spurred, with a heavy stride
On the opposite shore walked Paul Revere.
Now he patted his horse's side,
Now he gazed at the landscape far and near,
Then, impetuous, stamped the earth,
And turned and tightened his saddle girth;
But mostly he watched with eager search
The belfry tower of the Old North Church,
As it rose above the graves on the hill,
Lonely and spectral and sombre and still.
And lo! as he looks, on the belfry's height
A glimmer, and then a gleam of light!
He springs to the saddle, the bridle he turns,
But lingers and gazes, till full on his sight
A second lamp in the belfry burns.

A hurry of hoofs in a village street,
A shape in the moonlight, a bulk in the dark,
And beneath, from the pebbles, in passing, a spark
Struck out by a steed flying fearless and fleet;
That was all! And yet, through the gloom and the light,
The fate of a nation was riding that night;
And the spark struck out by that steed, in his flight,
Kindled the land into flame with its heat.
He has left the village and mounted the steep,
And beneath him, tranquil and broad and deep,
Is the Mystic, meeting the ocean tides;
And under the alders that skirt its edge,
Now soft on the sand, now loud on the ledge,
Is heard the tramp of his steed as he rides.

It was twelve by the village clock
When he crossed the bridge into Medford town.
He heard the crowing of the cock,
And the barking of the farmer's dog,
And felt the damp of the river fog,
That rises after the sun goes down.

It was one by the village clock,
When he galloped into Lexington.
He saw the gilded weathercock
Swim in the moonlight as he passed,
And the meeting-house windows, black and bare,
Gaze at him with a spectral glare,
As if they already stood aghast
At the bloody work they would look upon.

It was two by the village clock,
When he came to the bridge in Concord town.
He heard the bleating of the flock,
And the twitter of birds among the trees,
And felt the breath of the morning breeze
Blowing over the meadow brown.
And one was safe and asleep in his bed
Who at the bridge would be first to fall,
Who that day would be lying dead,
Pierced by a British musket ball.

You know the rest. In the books you have read
How the British Regulars fired and fled,---
How the farmers gave them ball for ball,
>From behind each fence and farmyard wall,
Chasing the redcoats down the lane,
Then crossing the fields to emerge again
Under the trees at the turn of the road,
And only pausing to fire and load.

So through the night rode Paul Revere;
And so through the night went his cry of alarm
To every Middlesex village and farm,---
A cry of defiance, and not of fear,
A voice in the darkness, a knock at the door,
And a word that shall echo for evermore!
For, borne on the night-wind of the Past,
Through all our history, to the last,
In the hour of darkness and peril and need,
The people will waken and listen to hear
The hurrying hoof-beats of that steed,
And the midnight message of Paul Revere.

Appendix 3

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Appendix 4

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Appendix 5

Biographical Summary of Historical Figures

The following is a list of historical figures from the American Revolution and a brief summary of their roles. This figures listed here are the most frequently mentioned men and women in the surveyed children's books on the subject of the Boston Tea Party.

Abigail Adams: Wife of John Adams. Particularly active in politics and a confidant to her husband, who eventually became the second President of the United States.

John Adams: Boston lawyer who became more active in Revolutionary Politics at the urging of his second cousin, Samuel Adams. Along with Josiah Quincy, he defended the British soldiers accused of murder in the Boston Massacre.

Samuel Adams: Well educated Bostonian and influential politician. Considered by many to be the father of the Revolution. Leader in the Sons of Liberty. Creator of the Committees of Correspondence. Credited with having planned the Boston Tea Party in 1773, and beginning the event with a prearranged signal given during a public meeting at the Old South Meeting House.

Crispus Attucks: First victim of the Boston Massacre in 1770. Of African and Native American ancestry. Sometimes described as a runaway slave. Worked as a sailor/dockhand in Boston.

Richard Clarke: A Bostonian merchant who was chosen by the British East India Company to be one of its consignees. He was loyal to Britain and victimized because of his refusal to resign his position and return the tea to England.

Benjamin Edes: Publisher of the *Boston Gazette*, with his partner, John Gill.

Benjamin Franklin: Leading figure in American colonial history. At the time of the Boston Tea Party, he was in England, speaking on behalf of the colonies. He did not

approve of the actions taken by the Sons of Liberty, but was arrested in England under suspicion of having planned the event from across the ocean.

General Thomas Gage: Commander of British Regulars in the American colonies. Many Regulars remained in the colonies in the years immediately following the French and Indian (or Seven Years) War between the British and French in North America. After the conflict, these troops were relocated to more populated areas, like Boston, often causing friction, as colonists came to suspect they were not to be trusted. After the Boston Tea Party, Gage replaced Thomas Hutchinson as the Governor of Massachusetts, imposing a degree of martial law within Boston.

Edward Garrick: A barber's apprentice who, on the direction of his master, began hounding a British soldier regarding an unpaid bill. Garrick was struck in the head by another soldier, and his cries and appearance led to a gathering of people outside the State House on King Street in Boston, leading to the Boston Massacre.

John Gill: Publisher of the *Boston Gazette*, with his partner, Benjamin Edes.

George Grenville: British Prime Minister who initiated the Stamp Tax in the American colonies.

Captain Hall: Captain of the *Dartmouth*, a tea carrying ship owned by the Rotch family.

John Hancock: Wealthy Bostonian merchant who became involved with the Sons of Liberty, eventually providing financial backing for the organization. He encouraged townspeople to form militias and begin training for the possibility of military conflict with Great Britain. He eventually became a signer of the Declaration of Independence and a governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts after the Revolutionary War.

George Robert Twelves Hewes: One of the only people to ever have come forward and share a personal account of having participated in the Boston Tea Party. His memoirs were published twice (Thatcher, 1835; Hawkes, 1834), and he was honoured

during many Independence Day celebrations in the 1830s, as Americans were beginning to use the Revolution as a bonding tool (Young, 1999).

Thomas Hutchinson: Governor of Massachusetts Colony in the early 1770s. Hutchinson had been born and raised in Massachusetts, but remained loyal to the British and struggled to find ways to enforce British laws while managing the resistance he encountered from Samuel Adams and the Sons of Liberty. After the Boston Tea Party, Hutchinson left America for England and never returned. Many Loyalists would follow in the next several years, as the conflict grew into full Revolution. He was replaced as governor by General Thomas Gage.

Ebenezer Mackintosh: A leader in North Boston who was responsible for a number of mob events targeting tax collectors and British officials in the late 1760s.

Admiral John Montague: Admiral in the British navy. Responsible for the *Kingfisher* and the *Active*, both of which were present in Boston Harbor during the Boston Tea Party. Montague watched the event from a friend's home near the wharf, and legend has it that he opened a window to yell down to the disguised men as they left the ships after the destruction of the tea, telling them they would have to 'pay the fiddler, yet,' (O'Neill, 1996; Watson, 1851; Young, 1999).

William Molineaux: Colonial Patriot who was a close friend of Samuel Adams and a member of the Sons of Liberty. He died in 1774, and is therefore a lesser known figure of the American Revolution; he did not live to see the outbreak of the war.

Frederick (Lord) North: British Prime Minister during the Boston Tea Party and most of the American Revolution.

Andrew Oliver: A Stamp Agent. Victimized for his role as a tax collector in the colony. His effigy was hanged and his home destroyed in the Stamp Act Riots in Boston in 1765. He resigned his post.

James Otis: Early proponent of self-government in Massachusetts. At the time of the Boston Tea Party, he was an aging statesman.

William Pitt: British political leader during the French and Indian (Seven Years) War. He was often sympathetic to colonial patriots' opinions.

Captain Thomas Preston: British officer present at the Boston Massacre. He was in charge of a small squad of armed soldiers who fired into a crowd of angry but unarmed civilians in a confusing, loud, and charged encounter. He was defended in court by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, who were determined to prove that British officials could receive fair trials in Massachusetts; he was acquitted.

Josiah Quincy: A successful Boston lawyer and member of the Sons of Liberty.

Paul Revere: A north Boston silversmith and member of the Sons of Liberty. He is immortalized in a poem by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow that, while widely known and believed to be true, is historically inaccurate. Paul Revere is believed to have been disguised and participating in the Boston Tea Party.

Francis Rotch: One of the owners of the *Dartmouth*, the first ship carrying tea to arrive in Boston Harbor after the passage of the Tea Act in 1773. Fearing for the safety of his vessel, he tirelessly negotiated with both the Sons of Liberty – who wanted the tea taken back to England – and Governor Hutchinson – who had ordered the cannons at Castle William in Boston Harbor to fire on any ship trying to leave before it had been unloaded. Ultimately, the Boston Tea Party prevented Rotch from disobeying the government and protected his ship.

Christopher Seider: A twelve-year-old boy killed days before the Boston Massacre. His funeral was used as an opportunity by Samuel Adams to show resistance to the British; thousands attended and marched in the streets. Anger over his death was still strong on the evening of March 5, fuelling the civilians who witnessed Edward Garrick's injury as they taunted British soldiers, leading to the Boston Massacre.

Charles Townshend: British politician. Responsible for the Townshend Acts.

Doctor Joseph Warren: A respected Bostonian physician. A prominent member of the Sons of Liberty.

Mercy Otis Warren: A sister of James Otis. She wrote plays and satirical articles that were published, often under a pseudonym, in the *Boston Gazette*.

Phillis Wheatley: A freed slave and poet, living in Boston and inspiring resistance to a system that enslaved her. Many thought that, in fighting for freedom, all peoples in the colonies would receive it. Unfortunately, though it was considered in the writing of the Constitution, the issue of Emancipation was left unsettled in order to maintain the loyalty of the Southern States after the American Revolution.

King George III: King of Great Britain in the period leading up to the American Revolution.

Appendix 6

Lyrics to 'No More Kings,' from *Schoolhouse Rock!*

Schoolhouse Rock!

Lyrics to 'No More Kings,' by Lynn Ahrens

Season 4, Episode 1

20 Sep 1975

ABC

Rockin' and a-rollin', splishin' and a-splashin', over the horizon, what can it be?

The pilgrims sailed the sea to find a place to call their own. In their ship, Mayflower, they hoped to find a better home. They finally knocked on Plymouth Rock. And someone said, 'We're there.' It may not look like home but at this point I don't care.

Oh they were missing Mother England, they swore their loyalty until the very end. Anything you say, King, it's OK, King, you know it's kinda scary on your own. Gonna build a new land the way we planned. Could you help us run it 'till it's grown?

They planted corn, you know they built their houses one by one, and bit by bit they worked until the colonies were done. They looked around, yeah up and down, and someone said, 'Hurray!' If the king could see us now he would be proud of us today.

They knew they run their own land, but George the Third still vowed he'd rule them 'till the end. Anything I say, do it my way now. Anything I say, do it my way. Don't you get to feelin' independent 'cause I'm gonna force you to obey.

Hey taxed their property, he didn't give them any choice, and back in England, he didn't give them any voice. (That's called taxation without representation, and it's not fair!) But when the colonies complained the king said: 'I don't care!'

He even has the nerve to tax our cup of tea. To put it kindly, King, we really don't agree.

Gonna show you how we feel. We're gonna dump this tea, and make this harbor into the biggest cup of tea in history!

They wanted no more Mother England. They knew the time had come for them to take command. It's very clear you're being unfair, King, no matter what you say, we won't obey. Gonna hold a revolution now, King, and we're gonna run it all our way with no more kings....

We're gonna elect a president! (No more kings!)
He's gonna do what the people want! (No more kings!)
We're gonna run things our way! (No more kings!)
Nobody's gonna tell us what to do!

Rockin' and a-rollin', splishin' and a-splashin', over the horizon, what can
it be? Looks like it's going to be a free country.

Appendix 7

Introduction Letter to the Old South Meeting House



Information Sheet for the Old South Meeting House



Project Title: *Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Understand the Boston Tea Party through Theater*

Researcher: Laurel L. Brierly
PhD Candidate
School of Museum Studies
University of Leicester
llb10@le.ac.uk
(631) 278-0249

To whom it may concern,

I am writing to propose the possibility of conducting research at the Old South Meeting House, exploring the ways in which participatory reenactments during school field-trip visits affect preadolescent students. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you more about the nature of my research project, *Recreating Revolutionary Roles*, who I am, and what I would need from you.

This Study: *Recreating Revolutionary Roles*

This project is being undertaken towards completion of my PhD Dissertation. The main questions addressed in my research are the ways in which reenactment impacts the learning experience of preadolescent people in museum settings. Also of interest are the ways preadolescents incorporate their experiences with reenactment into their wider understanding of American Revolutionary History and national identity.

I would like to be able to describe the participatory reenactment techniques used by the Old South Meeting House during school field-trip visits. By giving students roles to play, and directing them through the reenactment, students are given a window through time into the minds of American Colonists in 1773. I would like to work with some of the classes that experience your field-trips, exploring the students' thoughts about and reactions to the exercise, their understandings of the people of the Boston Tea Party, and their feelings about reenactment in general.

Researcher Details

I am a PhD Candidate with the University of Leicester in the UK. I have a Bachelors of Science in Social and Cultural History from Carnegie Mellon University, and a Masters of the Arts in History from Northeastern University. My academic focus is American History, and my professional focus is the use of theater as an educational tool in museums.

Your Role

Firstly, I am asking for permission to visit the Old South Meeting House with the intention of gathering more information about your field-trip programs, and to be allowed to use the name of, and general information about, the Old South Meeting House contextually in my dissertation. As a former Museum Assistant at the Old South Meeting House, I have a familiarity with the field-trip curriculum, but would like to refresh my knowledge, and observe the process more pointedly.

Secondly, I am asking for your assistance in reaching out to a few of the school groups that will be visiting your museum in the future. In order to study how students interpret and respond to reenactment, I will need to interview several classes. The process for interviewing school groups will consist of me visiting their schools after their time at Old South, gathering some written answers and drawn pictures showing their thoughts, and conducting a verbal group interview with the class as a whole. The ideal age range for this study will be students aged 9-12, or fourth, fifth, and sixth graders. I will need your help in identifying some classes within this age range; I am happy to explain myself to teachers, principals, parents, and students, but would be uncomfortable contacting them without your consent, and incapable of doing so without your assistance.

Laurel L. Brierly

Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

1



Information Sheet for the Old South Meeting House



Once the class has left your building after their field trip, your job would be done. Other than agreeing to allow me to conduct this research, allowing me to review your curriculum for my own familiarity, and facilitating contact between me and future visitors, I would require no action from you. The information I gather from students after their visits will help me illustrate the ways in which preadolescents experience reenactments. Additionally, I believe that the Old South Meeting House's technique and curriculum are outstanding among field-trip destinations, and I would like the opportunity to show your unique and effective methods to the wider Museological community.

Thank you for considering participation. Feel free to contact me with any questions or concerns, and let me know if there is anything I can do to facilitate your participation. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Laurel Louise Brierly".

Laurel L Brierly
PhD Candidate, University of Leicester

Ethics and Confidentiality

This project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics, which can be viewed at:

<http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>

Additionally, if you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research, you can contact the School Research Ethics Officer, Dr. Giasemi Vavoula, at gv18@le.ac.uk.

Laurel L Brierly

Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

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Appendix 8

Information Sheets and Consent Forms

Information Sheets and Consent Forms for School Principals, Classroom Teachers, Parents (English), Parents (Spanish), and Students

Information Sheet for School Principals (Head Teachers)



Information Sheet for Principals



Project Title: *Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater*

Researcher: Laurel L. Brierly
PhD Candidate
University of Leicester
llb10@le.ac.uk
(631) 278-0249

Dear <Insert Principal's Name>,

I am very grateful that you are willing to take the time to participate in my research project, *Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater*. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you more about the nature of the project, who I am, and why I am undertaking this research. I would also like to inform you about how the data you (and your students) supply to me will be used, and the protections of your (and your students') privacy and confidentiality that are in place.

Who is doing this study?

I am a PhD Candidate with the University of Leicester in the UK. I have a Bachelors of Science in Social and Cultural History from Carnegie Mellon University, and a Masters of the Arts in History from Northeastern University. My academic focus is American History, and my professional focus is the use of theater as an educational tool in museums.

What is this project for?

This project is being undertaken as part of my PhD Dissertation. The main questions addressed in my research are the ways in which reenactment impacts the learning experience of pre-adolescent people in museum settings. Also of interest are the ways pre-adolescents incorporate their experiences with reenactment into their wider understanding of American Revolutionary History and national identity.

What is your role in participating in this research?

As the Principal at <Insert School's Name>, I am sure you are aware that <Insert Teacher's Name>'s class will be taking a field trip to the Old South Meeting House, where the students will participate in a reenactment of the meeting that took place prior to the Boston Tea Party. I would like to be able to interview <Insert Teacher's Name>'s students, asking them to answer a few questions before their visit establishing what the students think about the Boston Tea Party and reenactments; and then, after their visit, having them answer some written questions and draw some pictures showing their experiences (in order to create a 'meaning map' of their thoughts), and answer some verbal questions as a group. In order to do this, I will require a small window of time in the days before their fieldtrip during which I or <Insert Teacher's Name> will distribute my initial questionnaire. Then, at a convenient time following their visit, I will require between 1 and 1.5 hours of class-time (my meeting with them does not need to occur the same day as their trip, but can if it is more convenient for the class). I will be distributing appropriate Information Sheets (similar to the one you are reading now) and Consent Forms to the parents/guardians of each student, and to the students themselves. I have also prepared an appropriate Information Sheet and Consent Form for <Insert Teachers Name>; these can all be made available to you upon request. Assuming that I receive the consent of all parents and children, I would also like to make an audio recording of the interviews. Allowances and alterations for students' differing capabilities can be made for every activity.

It will be necessary for me to distribute these consent forms to the students and their parents with enough time before my visit for you, <Insert Teacher's Name>, your students, and

Laurel L. Brierly

Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

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Information Sheet for Principals



their parents to become familiar with the idea of the session, contact me with any questions, and complete the forms. I would like to be able to supply these forms to <Insert Teacher's Name> at least two weeks before my interaction with the students.

This process will be repeated with several other school groups who also participated in a field-trip to the Old South Meeting House. The information gathered from your students, along with these responses from other schools, will help me illustrate the ways pre-adolescents experience reenactments.

Rights

It is important for you to understand that your students' participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Any student (or any student's parent) may withdraw from the project at any point before <Insert Date>, as withdrawal after this point will be impossible due to submission of the study. As the adult most often responsible for the students in their classroom setting, <Insert Teacher's Name> will also be free to end the interview at any point if [he/she] feels that it is detrimental or harmful to the students. If you are uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of your participation, your class's participation, or the participation of any of your students, please contact me by the methods listed above. I am available at any point during this process – both before and after the class's interview – to discuss your concerns or provide clarification on any aspect of the study. Your students, their parents, and <Insert Teacher's Name> are also invited to contact me with any questions, at any point.

Confidentiality

Any information you, <Insert Teacher's Name>, or your students supply will be treated confidentially. Students' identifying information will never be published, and will be kept no longer than five (5) years, at which point this information will be destroyed in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act of 1998. None of the students names will be used in publication, and your name, <Insert Teacher's Name>'s name, and the name of your institution will only be used with your consent. This project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics, and the UK Data Protection Act of 1998, which can be viewed using the following links:

- <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>
- <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>

Additionally, if you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research, you can contact the School Research Ethics Officer, Dr. Giasemi Vavoula, at gv18@le.ac.uk.

Again, thank you for your participation. Feel free to contact me with any questions or concerns. Let me know if there is anything I can do to facilitate your participation.


Sincerely,

Laurel L Brierly
PhD Candidate, University of Leicester

Laurel L Brierly


Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

Consent Form for School Principals (Head Teachers)



**University of
Leicester**

Consent Form for Principals



I agree to allow the students from <Insert Teacher's Name>'s class to take part in Laurel L Brierly's study of the use of reenactment in historical education, *Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater*, which is research towards a PhD with the University of Leicester in the UK.

I have had the project explained to me and I have read the attached Information Sheet about the project, which I may keep for my records.

I understand that this project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics.

I understand that class-time will be used for this interview session, which will consist of a spoken group interview and a written and drawn survey. I understand that an audio recording of the session will be made. I understand that <Insert Teacher's Name>, each student, and a parent/guardian of each student have also been given Information Sheets and Consent Forms explaining this study. Any child (or any child's parent/guardian) may decide at any time to stop participating or to retroactively remove him-/herself (or his/her child) from the study at any time before <Insert Date>. <Insert Teacher's Name> may stop the session if [he/she] feels it is detrimental or harmful.

Please check the appropriate boxes below:

I have read and understand the accompanying Information Sheet.

☐ Yes ☐ No

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction.

☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that the students (or their parents) can withdraw from this study at any time before <Insert Date>.

☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that <Insert Teacher's Name> may stop the interview is [he/she] feels that it is detrimental or harmful to the students.

☐ Yes ☐ No

I understand that the interview will be recorded for use in this PhD project, and potentially in future academic publications regarding this study.


☐ Yes ☐ No


<Insert Teacher's Name>'s name may be used in connection with any words [he/she] has said or information [he/she] has passed on, BUT ONLY with <Insert Teacher's Name>'s consent.

☐ Yes, this is fine with me. ☐ No, you may not use this employee's personal information.

Laurel L Brierly
Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

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**University of
Leicester**



Consent Form for Principals

<Insert Teacher's Name>'s institutional affiliation (the name of your school, [his/her] role at the school, etc.) may be used in connection with any words [he/she] has said or information [he/she] has passed on, BUT ONLY with <Insert Teacher's Name>'s consent.

☐ Yes, this is fine with me. ☐ No, you may not use this institution's information.

My name and institutional affiliation may be used contextually, or mentioned in conjunction with my awareness of this study.

(check any/all that apply)

☐ You may identify me.

☐ You may identify my institutional affiliation.

☐ No, please keep this information anonymous.

Your Name (please print): _____

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Laurel L Brierly
Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

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Information Sheet for Classroom Teachers



Information Sheet for Teachers; for Classroom Participation

Project Title: *Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater*

Researcher: Laurel L. Brierly
PhD Candidate
University of Leicester
llb10@le.ac.uk
(631) 278-0249

Dear <Insert Teacher's Name>,

I am very grateful that you are willing to take the time with your class to participate in my research project, *Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater*. I would like to take this opportunity to tell you more about the nature of the project, who I am, and why I am undertaking this research. I would also like to inform you about how the data your students supply to me will be used, and the protections of your students' privacy and confidentiality that are in place.

Who is doing this study?

I am a PhD Candidate with the University of Leicester in the UK. I have a Bachelors of Science in Social and Cultural History from Carnegie Mellon University, and a Masters of the Arts in History from Northeastern University. My academic focus is American History, and my professional focus is the use of theater as an educational tool in museums.

What is this project for?

This project is being undertaken as part of my PhD Dissertation. The main questions addressed in my research are the ways in which reenactment impacts the learning experience of pre-adolescent people in museum settings. Also of interest are the ways pre-adolescents incorporate their experiences with reenactment into their wider understanding of American Revolutionary History and national identity.

What are your students' roles in participating in this research?

As an educator of students who participated in a reenactment at the Old South Meeting House, your cooperation is integral in gathering information about their experiences. I will require your help in explaining this project to your students and their guardians, as well as your assistance in having your students complete a question packet a few days prior to the visit (I can make a quick visit to conduct this preliminary research, or you can do it with them – it is up to you). Then, following your visit to Old South, I will need approximately 1-1.5 hours of class-time, during which I will conduct a group interview with the class as a whole (my visit does not need to occur on the same day as your trip to Old South, but can if that is more convenient for you). Assuming that I receive the consent of all parents and children, I will be making an audio recording of the interviews. I will also ask the students to answer a few written questions and draw some pictures of their experiences and perceptions. Allowances and alterations for students' differing capabilities can be made for every activity. I would also like to arrange to speak with you privately to discuss your experiences and your impressions of the students' experiences. (There is an Information Sheet and Consent Form specifically for you enclosed. If you are willing to allow me to interview you, you can indicate your willingness on the enclosed form.)

Before I can gather information from the students, each student and a parent/guardian of each student will need to receive an Information Sheet (similar to this one you are reading now) and to complete a Consent Form (similar to the ones enclosed). I can supply these to you at your convenience, but will need to rely on you to distribute them to the students and their parents. I would like to be able to get them to you at least two weeks before my interaction with the students,

Laurel L Brierly

Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater



Information Sheet for Teachers; for Classroom Participation

giving you, their parents, and the students a chance to become familiar with the idea of the session, contact me with any questions, and complete the forms.

This process will be repeated with several other school groups who also participated in a field-trip to the Old South Meeting House. The information gathered from your class, along with these responses from other schools, will help me illustrate the ways pre-adolescents experience reenactments.

Your students' rights

Once you agree to allow me to work with your class, your students' participation in this research is entirely voluntary. Any student (or any student's parent) may withdraw from the project at any point before <Insert Date>, as withdrawal after this point will be impossible due to submission of the study. As the adult most often responsible for the students in their classroom setting, you are also free to end the interview at any point if you feel that it is detrimental or harmful to the students. If you are uncertain or uncomfortable about any aspect of your participation, your class's participation, or the participation of any of your students, please contact me by the methods listed above. I am available at any point during this process – both before and after the class's interview – to discuss your concerns or provide clarification on any aspect of the study. Your students and their parents are also invited to contact me with any questions, at any point.

Your students' confidentiality

Any information you or your students supply will be treated confidentially. Students' identifying information will never be published, and will be kept no longer than five (5) years, at which point this information will be destroyed in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act of 1998. None of the students names will be used in publication, and your name and the name of your institution will only be used with your (and your school principal's) consent. This project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics, and the UK Data Protection Act of 1998, which can be viewed using the following links:

- <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>
- <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>

Additionally, if you have any questions about the ethical conduct of the research, you can contact the School Research Ethics Officer, Dr. Giasemi Vavoula, at gv18@le.ac.uk.

Again, thank you for your participation. Feel free to contact me with any questions or concerns. Let me know if there is anything I can do to facilitate your participation.



Sincerely,

Laurel L Brierly
PhD Candidate, University of Leicester

Laurel L Brierly

Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

Consent Form for Classroom Teachers

 <p>Consent Form for Teachers; for Classroom Participation</p> <p>I agree to allow my students to take part in Laurel L Brierly's study of the use of reenactment in historical education, <i>Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater</i>, which is research towards a PhD with the University of Leicester in the UK.</p> <p>I have had the project explained to me and I have read the attached Information Sheet about the project, which I may keep for my records.</p> <p>I understand that this project will be carried out in accordance with the University of Leicester's Code of Research Ethics, and the UK Data Protection Act of 1998.</p> <p>I understand that class-time will be used for the pre-visit questionnaire and the interview session, which will consist of a spoken group interview and a written and drawn survey. I understand that an audio recording of the session will be made. I understand that each student (and a parent/guardian of each student) has also been given Information Sheets and Consent Forms explaining this study. Any child (or any child's parent/guardian) may decide at any time to stop participating or to retroactively remove him-/herself (or his/her child) from the study before <Insert Date>. I may stop the session if I feel it is detrimental or harmful.</p> <p>Please check the appropriate boxes below:</p> <p>I have read and understand the accompanying Information Sheet.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and they were answered to my satisfaction.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>I understand that my students (or my students' parents) can withdraw from this study at any time.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>I understand that the interview will be recorded for use in this PhD project.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>I understand that the information gathered will be used in the publication of this PhD project, and potentially in future academic publication regarding this study.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No</p> <p>My name may be used in connection with any words I have said or information I have passed on (for example, if your students reference something they were taught in class).</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes, you may use my name. <input type="checkbox"/> No, please keep this information anonymous.</p> <p>My institutional affiliation (the name of the school where you teach, or your role at the school, etc.) may be used in connection with any words I have said or information I have passed on.</p> <p style="text-align: center;"><input type="checkbox"/> Yes, you may identify my affiliation. <input type="checkbox"/> No, please keep this information anonymous.</p> <p>Your Name (please print): _____</p> <p>Your Position: _____</p> <p>Signature: _____ Date: _____</p> <p>Laurel L Brierly <i>Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater</i></p>	
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Information Sheet for Parents (English)



Information Sheet for Parents



Recreating Revolutionary Roles: How Preadolescent Students Explore the Boston Tea Party through Theater

Dear Parent or Guardian,

You are receiving this Information Sheet in the hopes that you will give your consent for your child to be interviewed as part of a study on the impact of reenactments in the study of American history.

I am PhD Candidate with the University of Leicester in the United Kingdom. Your child's class will be visiting the Old South Meeting House, where the class will participate in a reenactment of the meeting that took place just before the Boston Tea Party. I would like to ask your child about his/her experiences and understanding of the event.

Your child would first be asked to answer some simple questions prior to the fieldtrip, establishing what he/she thinks about the Boston Tea Party and reenactments. Then, after the class's fieldtrip, your child will be asked to complete a written exercise outlining his/her reactions, and then interviewed as part of a group in his/her normal classroom setting so that I can get some extra details. In the written exercise, I will provide some written questions, and ask the class to draw some pictures, detailing their experiences for me. Questions will be asked concerning the roles the students adopted during the reenactment, their perceptions of the people of the 1770s, their knowledge of the event, their attitudes about participating in reenactment, and whether or not it was an enjoyable experience. There are no correct or incorrect answers, and participation is completely voluntary; if you consent, but your child is uncomfortable with the exercise, your child can decide not to participate. Likewise, if you or your child wish to stop participating at any time, you may; there will be no repercussions. And, if after your child has participated, he/she or you no longer wants his/her responses included, you may notify me before <Insert Date> and I will eliminate your child's responses from my data collection.

I would also like to have your permission to make an audio recording of the interview session so that I can use your child's words to formulate and illustrate my findings in my PhD thesis. If I use your child's words, I will not use his/her name or any information that would lead readers to identify your child.

Again, all of your child's identifying information will be kept confidential, and it is within your rights to withdraw your child from participating in this study at any time before <Insert Date>, as withdrawal after this point will be impossible due to submission of the study. Your child's identifying information will never be published, and will be kept no longer than five (5) years, at which point this information will be destroyed in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act of 1998. For more information on the University of Leicester's Code of Ethics, or the UK Data Protection Act of 1998, you may consult these resources:

- <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>
- <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>



Thank you for considering allowing your child to participate in my study. Please feel free to contact me, **Laurel Brierly**, if you have any questions about the project. You may also use these details to contact me if you no longer wish for me to use your child's responses. I can be reached by phone at **(631) 278-0249**, and by email at llb10@le.ac.uk.

Sincerely,

Laurel L Brierly
PhD Candidate
University of Leicester
(631) 278-0249
llb10@le.ac.uk

Laurel L Brierly
Recreating Revolutionary Roles

Consent Form for Parents (English)

 Consent Form for Parents	
<p>I agree that my child, _____, can take part in this interview process with Laurel Brierly, a PhD Candidate with the University of Leicester.</p> <p>I have read the attached information sheet, which I may keep for future reference; the project has been explained to me. I understand that by agreeing to allow my child to take part, I am willing to allow Miss Brierly to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Interview my child in a group setting with his/her classmates• Make an audio recording of my child's answers• Gather written and drawn responses from my child• Quote my child directly, without using any identifiable information about my child <p>I understand that the information gathered will be processed by Miss Brierly for the following purposes:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• To conduct research on the uses of Museum Theater in Museums, specifically reenactment at the Old South Meeting House• For publication as a PhD thesis, which may be available through the University of Leicester's website• Potentially, for future academic publication regarding this study <p>I understand that any information provided to Miss Brierly is confidential and that no information that could lead to the identification of any individual will be disclosed in any reports or to any third parties without consent. Identifiable information will be kept private by Miss Brierly.</p> <p>I agree to Miss Brierly recording and processing this information about my child. I understand that this information will only be used for the purposes explained here and in the accompanying Information Sheet.</p> <p>I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that I or my child can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that my child can withdraw (or be withdrawn by me) at any stage of the project before <Insert Date> without prejudice.</p> <p>Parent/Guardian's Name (please print): _____</p> <p>Signature: _____ Date: _____</p> <p>Laurel L Brierly <i>Recreating Revolutionary Roles</i></p>	

Information Sheet for Parents (Spanish)



Information Sheet for Parents


Recreando Jóvenes Revolucionarios: Cómo los Estudiantes Preadolescentes Exploran el "Boston Tea Party" a Través del Teatro

Estimado Padre o Guardián:

Usted está recibiendo esta Página de Información con la esperanza de que usted acepte que su hijo/a sea entrevistado como parte de una investigación académica sobre el impacto de las recreaciones en el estudio de la historia americana.

Soy una candidata de PhD de la Universidad de Leicester en el Reino Unido. La clase de su hijo/a visitará el Old South Meeting House, dónde la clase participará en una recreación de la reunión que se llevó a cabo justo antes del Boston Tea Party. Yo quisiera entrevistar a su hijo/a sobre su experiencia y su comprensión del evento.

Su hijo/a primero responderá unas preguntas simples antes del paseo, estableciendo lo que él o ella piensa sobre el Boston Tea Party y las recreaciones. Después del paseo de la clase, le daremos a su hijo/a un ejercicio escrito delineando sus reacciones, y también será entrevistado como parte del grupo normal de su clase, donde yo recobraré más detalles de su experiencia. En el ejercicio escrito, yo presentaré unas preguntas adicionales, y solicitaré dibujos de todos sus compañeros detallando sus experiencias. Daré preguntas sobre los papeles que los estudiantes adoptaron durante la recreación, sus percepciones de las personas que vivieron en los años 1770, su sabiduría sobre el acontecimiento, sus opiniones sobre la participación en la recreación, y si disfrutaron la experiencia. No hay respuestas correctas o incorrectas, y la participación de los estudiantes es absolutamente voluntaria; si obtengo su consentimiento, pero su hijo/a se siente incómodo con el ejercicio, su hijo/a puede decidir no participar. Así mismo, si usted o su hijo/a quiere dejar de participar en cualquier momento, usted puede informarme y no habrá ninguna repercusión negativa para su hijo/a. Y, si después de que su hijo/a haya participado, él o ella no desea incluir sus respuestas, usted puede notificarme antes de <Insert Date> y yo eliminaré las respuestas de su hijo/a de mi recopilación de datos.

Quisiera también pedir su permiso para grabar en audio la entrevista para que yo pueda utilizar las palabras de su hijo/a en formular e ilustrar lo que he descubierto en mi tesis. Si utilizo las palabras de su hijo/a en ninguna manera utilizaré su nombre ni datos que identifiquen a su hijo/a.

Repito: Toda la información que identifique a su hijo/a se mantendrá confidencial, y usted tiene el derecho de renegar en la participación de su hijo/a en esta investigación académica en cualquier momento antes de <Insert Date>, pues a partir de esa fecha será imposible la retracción como habré sometido los resultados para la investigación de mi tesis. La información que identifica a su hijo/a jamás será publicada, y no la mantendré más de cinco (5) años, a cual punto ésta información será destruida de acuerdo con las leyes dictadas por el UK Data Protection Act de 1998. Para más información sobre el código de ética de la Universidad de Leicester o el UK Data Protection Act de 1998, puede consultar estos recursos:

- <http://www2.le.ac.uk/institution/committees/research-ethics/code-of-practice>
- <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>



Gracias por su consideración en permitir que su hijo/a participe en mi investigación académica. Por favor contácteme, **Laurel Brierly**, si tiene alguna pregunta sobre mi proyecto. Usted también puede utilizar estos detalles para contactarme si no desea que yo utilice las respuestas de su hijo/a. Puede encontrarme por teléfono al (631) 278-0249 y por correo electrónico a llb10@le.ac.uk.

Atentamente,

Laurel L Brierly
Candidata a PhD
Universidad de Leicester
(631) 278-0249
llb10@le.ac.uk

Laurel L Brierly
Recreating Revolutionary Roles

Consent Form for Parents (Spanish)

 <p>University of Leicester</p> <p>Consent Form for Parents</p>	
<p>Yo permito que mi hijo/a, _____, participe en el proceso de entrevista con Laurel Brierly, candidata a PhD con la Universidad de Leicester.</p> <p>He leído la Página de Información aquí adjunta, a la cual puedo referir en el futuro; éste proyecto me ha sido explicado. Yo entiendo que permitir que mi hijo/a participe significa que doy permiso que la Señorita Brierly:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Entreviste a mi hijo/a en un grupo con sus compañeros de clase• Grabe en audio las respuestas de mi hijo/a• Reciba información escrita y dibujada por mi hijo/a• Cite a mi hijo/a directamente, sin utilizar ninguna información que lo identifique personalmente <p>Entiendo que la información reunida será procesada por la Señorita Brierly para los siguientes propósitos:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Conducir una investigación sobre el uso del teatro en los museos, específicamente la recreación histórica en el Old South Meeting House• Publicación como una tesis de PhD, la cual será disponible por medio del sitio web de la Universidad de Leicester• Potencialmente para publicación académica en el futuro con respecto a esta investigación <p>Entiendo que toda la información proporcionada a la Señorita Brierly es confidencial y que ninguna información que pudiera identificar a cualquier persona individualmente será divulgada en ningún reporte ni a ninguna persona tercera sin mi permiso. La Señorita Brierly mantendrá privada toda información que pueda identificar a los participantes.</p> <p>Permito que la Señorita Brierly registre y procese ésta información sobre mi hijo/a. Entiendo que ésta información será utilizada solamente para los propósitos expuestos aquí y en la Página de Información adjunta.</p> <p>Entiendo que la participación de mi hijo/a es voluntaria y que yo o mi hijo/a podemos elegir no participar en el proyecto en parte o por completo, y que mi hijo/a puede retirarse (o ser retirado por mí) en cualquier parte del proceso antes de <Insert Date> sin repercusiones negativas.</p> <p>Nombre del Padre/Guardián: _____</p> <p>Firma: _____ Fecha: _____</p> <p>Laurel L Brierly <i>Recreating Revolutionary Roles</i></p>	

Information Sheet for Students



Information Sheet for Students



This is a sheet that will explain why a researcher is coming to talk to me and my class about our field-trip to the Old South Meeting House.

Laurel Brierly (Miss Laurel) is a PhD Student from the University of Leicester. Miss Laurel is researching the experiences students have at the Old South Meeting House, and how these experiences help students learn. She will use the information we help her gather to write a report that explores the ways students feel about reenacting the meeting that took place before the Boston Tea Party.

Miss Laurel would like to ask me and my classmates some questions. There are no right or wrong answers to the questions, and if I don't want to answer some or any of them, that's okay. I don't have to participate if I don't want to, and I won't get into trouble if I don't.

Any information that I give to Miss Laurel will be used when she writes her report. My information will be included with information from lots of other students who also visited the Old South Meeting House. After Miss Laurel submits her report, it will be available to the public, and also available on the Internet through the University of Leicester's website.

My voice will be recorded, unless I do not want that. My written answers and drawings may be included, if I agree. My words might be included in Miss Laurel's report, but Miss Laurel will not use my real name, and all of my details will be kept completely private.

If I think of any other questions after Miss Laurel (Laurel Brierly) leaves, or if I change my mind and no longer want her to use my answers, I can contact her. This is her email address and phone number:



llb10@le.ac.uk

(631) 278-0249

Thanks!!

Laurel L Brierly
Recreating Revolutionary Roles

Consent Form for Students

	University of Leicester	
Consent Form for Students		
<p>Miss Laurel (Laurel Brierly) has explained this project to me. I understand that:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">• She will be asking me and my class about the Boston Tea Party and about reenactments.• She will be asking me and my class about our experiences at the Old South Meeting House.• She will be recording my answers so she can remember what we talked about.• Miss Laurel also has some questions she would like me to write and draw answers for.• If I don't want to talk to her today, that's ok. I won't be in trouble.• If I start to answer questions, but decide I don't want to keep going, that's okay, too. I won't be in trouble.• If I decide I don't want to keep talking, that's ok and Miss Laurel will turn the recorders off.• There are no right or wrong answers, and I can decide to answer some questions but not others, if I want.• Miss Laurel is writing a report for her PhD project for the University of Leicester.• She will write about some of the things we talk about, but she will not use my name.• The recordings of the things I say, and the answers I write and draw will only be used by Miss Laurel to write this report, and everything will be kept private.• If I am worried about anything while we are talking or afterwards, I can talk to Miss Laurel about it.		
<p>I agree that it is okay for Miss Laurel to talk to me today. (circle one of these choices)</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;">YES, It is okay.NO, It is not okay.</div>		
<p>I agree that it is okay for Miss Laurel to record what I'm saying today. (circle one of these choices)</p> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-around;">YES, It is okay.NO, It is not okay.</div>		
<p>Your name: _____</p>		
<p>Today's date: _____</p>		
<p>Laurel L Brierly <i>Recreating Revolutionary Roles</i></p>		

Appendix 9

Research Material

Pre-Visit Questionnaire, Post-Visit Questionnaire, and Verbal Interview Script

Hil

Thank you for helping me with my project!

Soon, you will be visiting the **Old South Meeting House**, where you'll get to act out parts of the meeting that led up to the **Boston Tea Party**.

I hope that you are very excited about your fieldtrip. You are going to have a great time!

But, before you visit, I would like you to take a few minutes to look at this packet. The packet asks some questions, and I would like you to circle your answers for me. There are no "right" or "wrong" answers, so just pick the answers **you** feel are best.

And, thank you again! You are being a **BIG HELP** to me.

Thanks!

Miss Laurel

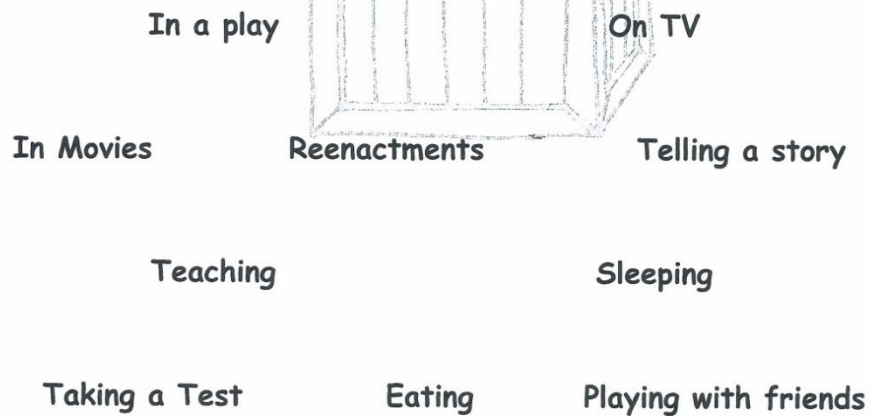
Packet Number <#>

Directions: For these questions, please circle the answers you think are the best. **YOU CAN CIRCLE MORE THAN ONE ANSWER** on any question you want to. But, please, think carefully before you circle your choices.

Question Number 1:

When you visit the Old South Meeting House, your class will be acting out parts from the meeting that happened just before the Boston Tea Party.

What are some other kinds of activities where people read or act out parts, or pretend to be someone else? (Circle as many answers as you want.)



Question Number 2:

Do you know what a Reenactment is?

Yes

No

If you just circled "Yes," circle all the words below that can describe a Reenactment.

History

Acting

Fun

Boring

Educational

Pretend

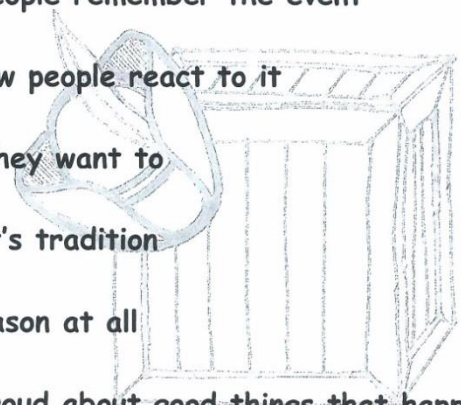
Silly

Helpful

Question Number 3:

Why might people try to recreate events that happened in the past? (Circle as many answers as you want.)

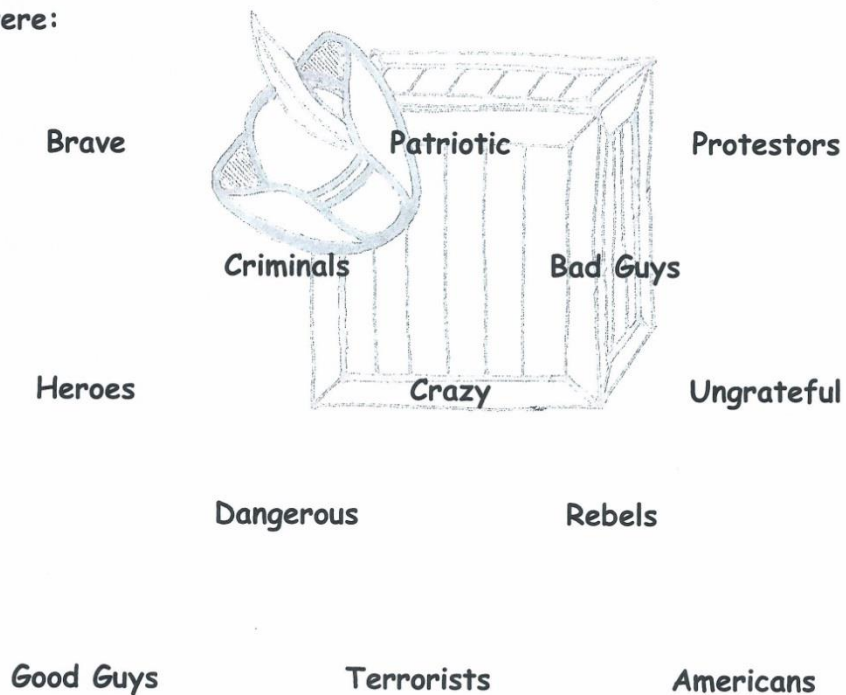
- Because the event was important
- To help people remember the event
- To see how people react to it
- Because they want to
- Because it's tradition
- For no reason at all
- To feel proud about good things that happened
- To remember bad things that happened
- To teach people



Question Number 4:

Circle all of the words that YOU think describe the men who participated in the Boston Tea Party. Remember, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. (And you can circle as many answers as you need to.)

Circle your answers from the following choices.
The men who threw the tea overboard in Boston Harbor were:

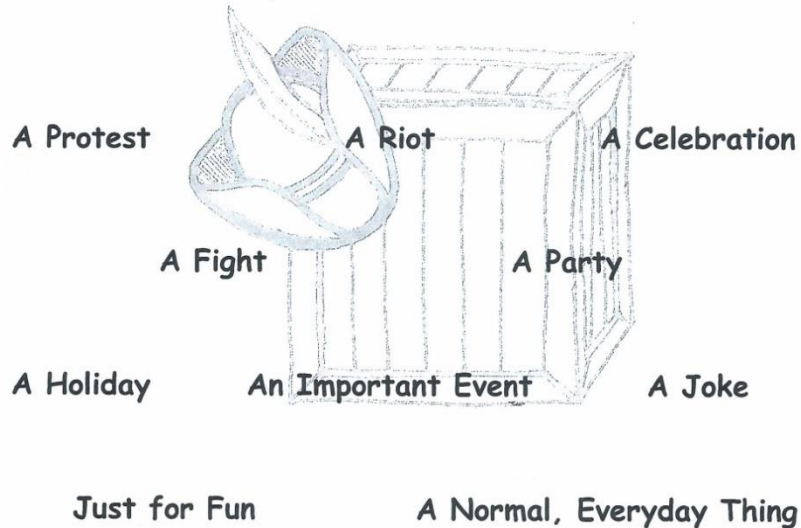


Question Number 5:

Circle all of the words that YOU think describe the Boston Tea Party. Remember, there are no "right" or "wrong" answers. (And you can circle as many answers as you need to.)

Circle your answers from the following choices.

The Boston Tea Party was:



Thanks for your help! Have a great time on your fieldtrip!

Hi!

Thank you for helping me with my project!

In a few minutes, I will talk to you and your classmates about your experiences at the Old South Meeting House. But **FIRST, I would like you to work on this packet with me.**

There are some questions that ask you to **write** your answer. And there are some questions that ask you to **draw pictures** about your ideas. If you want, you can use the crayons I have given you to draw your pictures and write your answers.

Your answers are such a big help to me, and I really appreciate it!

I'll let you know when to turn the page and get started.

Thanks!

Miss Laurel

Packet Number <#>

First of all, what was the weather like on the day YOU visited the Old South Meeting House?

Did you learn what kind of weather there was on the day of the Boston Tea Party in 1773? Was it pleasant and warm, or rainy and chilly?

When you were at the Old South Meeting House, do you think you were more comfortable than the colonists were in 1773? For example, do you think you were warmer than they would have been?

We'll talk more about the Meeting you Reenacted in a few minutes, but right now I'd like to ask you about the people at the Boston Tea Party.

When men went down to the wharf to dump the tea into Boston Harbor, how were they dressed?

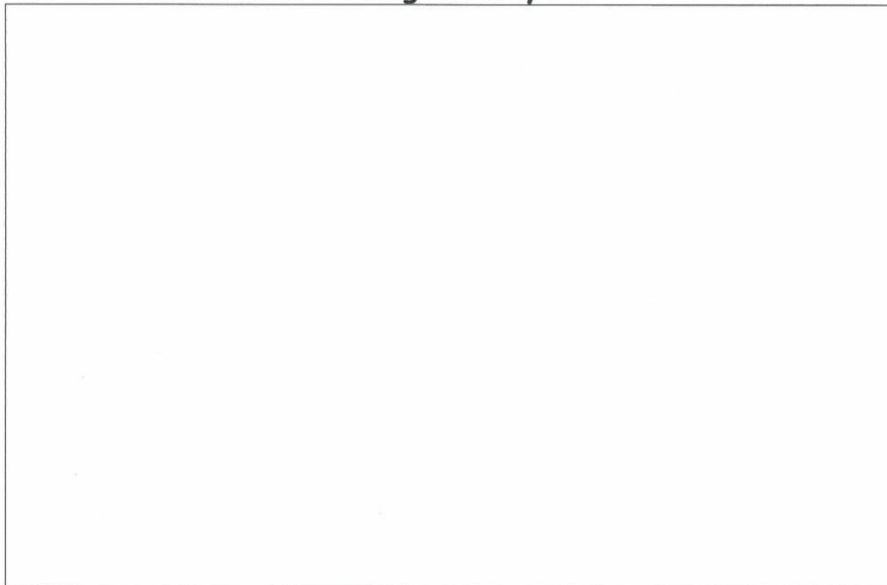
In this box, draw a picture of how the men who dumped the tea were dressed during the Boston Tea Party:

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for a drawing of the men who participated in the Boston Tea Party.

Why were the men who threw the tea overboard dressed this way?

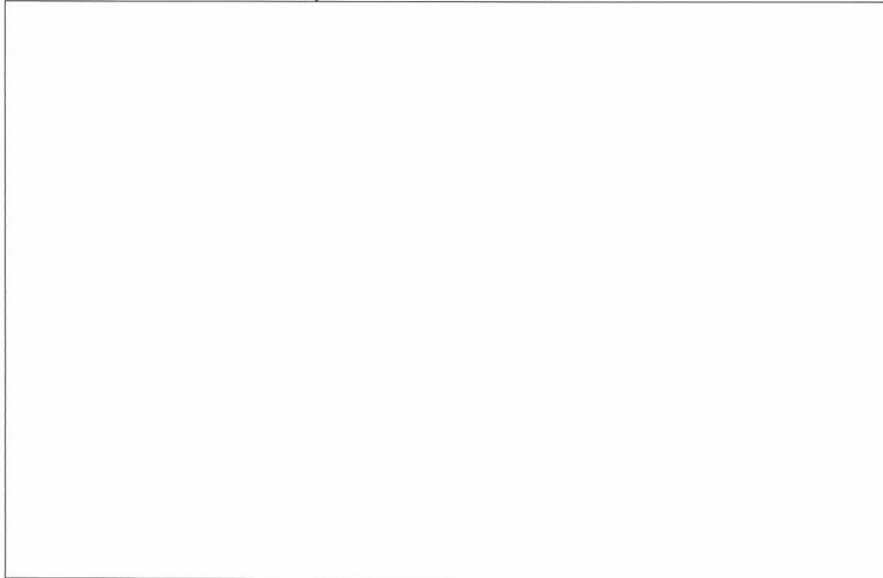
How did the men behave while they were destroying the tea? (Were they dangerous? Did they destroy the ships, too?)

In this box, draw a picture of the what the ships looked like when the tea was being destroyed.

A large, empty rectangular box with a thin black border, intended for a drawing. It occupies the lower half of the page, below the text prompt.

Were the men who threw the tea overboard afraid that the British Soldiers would stop them or hurt them?

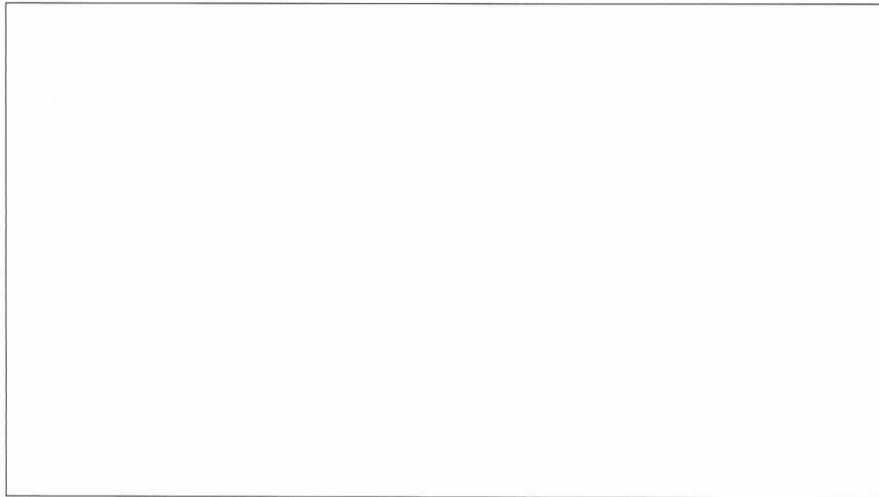
In this box, draw a picture of a British Soldier.



If you had been there at the Boston Tea Party, would you have been afraid of being hurt by the Soldiers?

Some **townspeople** gathered to watch the men destroy the tea during the Boston Tea Party. **How do you think they acted?**

In this box, draw a picture of the people who watched from the docks.



How do you think the people who were present at the Boston Tea Party (the men on the ships and the people watching) felt? Circle all the words you think describe them:

Excited

Nervous

Scared

Happy

Ashamed

Silly

Violent

Embarrassed

List as many Patriots who were involved with the Boston Tea Party as you can remember. I'll give you one to get you started:

Samuel Adams

List as many Loyalists and British officials who were involved with the Boston Tea Party as you can remember. I'll give you one to get you started:

Governor Thomas Hutchinson

After the Boston Tea Party, the British Government punished the Colony of Massachusetts. Here is a list of some ways that the British punished Massachusetts, and some things that I made up. If the punishment really happened, circle "True." If it didn't, circle "False."

Boston Harbor was closed and blockaded.

True

False



More soldiers were sent to control the people in Boston.

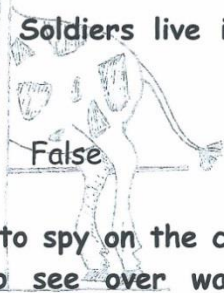
True

False

People in Boston had to let British Soldiers live in their homes.

True

False



Giraffes were brought in to Boston to spy on the colonists because they were tall enough to see over walls and fences.

True

False

We'll talk about these things a little more in a few minutes.

There's one more question on the last page, but please don't answer it until after we talk!!

What was your favorite part of your field trip and the reenactment at the Old South Meeting House?

You have been such a big help!! Thank you!!

Laurel L Brierly
Recreating Revolutionary Roles

Preliminary Script for Verbal Group Interview

- What the class participated in at the Old South Meeting House was a 'Reenactment.'
 - What is a reenactment?
 - Why do people do reenactments?
 - To remember?
 - For fun?
 - To understand more?
 - Other reasons?
- Do you think recreating the event – even though it happened so long ago – helps people remember what happened?
 - Is it important to remember things that have happened?
 - Why?
 - Is this why it is important to remember events from the American Revolution, like the Boston Tea Party?
 - Why is the Meeting that happened before the Tea Party important? What happened there that led to the Tea Party?
 - And then, why was the Boston Tea Party important?
 - What did it accomplish?
 - What did it mean to the colonists? / Why was it significant?
 - What did the Boston Tea Party say to the British government?
 - What did it say to the other colonies?
- What kinds of things were the colonists dealing with when they had the Boston Tea Party?
 - Voting?
 - Representation?
 - Taxation?
 - Paying for French and Indian War?
 - Should Colonists have had to pay?
 - Quartering and paying for Troops?
 - We'll come back to this.
- What are some words that would describe how the colonists felt?
 - [Make a list on a poster-board.]
 - Do you think you would have felt that way?
- Was it easier to think about how they felt when you were pretending to be them?
 - Does that help you understand what happened, or why they did what they did?
- When the class was being assigned the parts to play in the reenactment, who wanted to be a Patriot?
 - Who wanted to be a Loyalist?
 - Did anybody end up getting a part they really didn't want?
 - Why didn't you want it?
 - Did you read it anyway?
 - How did it feel to pretend to agree with something that you didn't agree with?

Laurel L Brierly

Recreating Revolutionary Roles

- Did anybody feel anxious or uneasy reading a part that they didn't agree with?
- Was it a little hard to argue with your classmates, even though it was pretend?
- Sometimes it's hard to pretend to feel a way you don't feel. It can be scary too, because sometimes we can be afraid that if we *pretend* to act a certain way, people will see us and think that's what we *really* think. Was anyone afraid that, if they played the part of a Loyalist, that other people in the class would think they weren't Patriotic?
 - [Discuss...]
- Did any of the speeches that were reenactment stand out?
 - Which?
 - Did the men who spoke at the meeting make sense?
 - If you had lived back then, how do you think you would have voted?
 - To Land the Tea and pay the Tax?
 - To Resist?
 - Other things?
 - Were the men who spoke and their families very different from us and our families?
 - How?
 - When you hear the words the men said at the meeting, is it easier to think of them as 'regular people?'
 - Before this, had you thought about what 'regular people' had to say?
 - Do you think that reenacting the event helped you to understand the people who were involved?
 - Can you understand why some people wanted to stay loyal to Great Britain?
 - [Discuss...]
 - Can you understand why some people didn't want to destroy the tea?
 - [Discuss...]
 - Can you understand why some people felt Great Britain was being unfair?
 - [Discuss...]
 - Can you understand why some people felt like they needed to destroy the tea?
 - [Discuss...]
 - What are some word you would use to describe the men who carried out the Boston Tea Party?
 - [Make a list on a poster-board.]
- So, earlier we talked about the things the colonists were dealing with. Representation, Taxation, paying for the French and Indian War; Can we compare these things to our lives now?
 - Congress?
 - How are people represented in the United States now?
 - Taxes?
 - Are any people taxed without representation now?
 - Do you ever hear anyone complain about taxes?

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- On what?
 - Can you imagine a group of people getting so angry about our taxes now that they disguised themselves and destroyed a shipment of taxed goods?
 - What would that be like?
 - What makes things different now?
- When the colonists decided to destroy the tea, do you think they did the right thing?
 - Why?
- After visiting the Old South Meeting House, are you glad you got to visit?
 - Why?
 - What did you learn there?
 - [Make a list on poster-board.]
 - Do you think, in the future than anything from your lifetimes will be reenacted?
 - What kinds of things?
 - What else do people reenact?
 - [Revolutionary Battles]
 - [Civil War Battles]
 - [Famous Speeches]
 - Those things happened a very long time ago. Have you ever heard of anyone reenacting World War I or World War II or Vietnam or more recent wars?
 - Why do some events get reenacted and not others?
 - [Revolutionary and Civil War Battles happened on American soil.]
 - [Time passed.]
 - Is it easier to reenact things that have happened a longer time ago?
 - Why?
- Would you want to reenact other historical events?
 - Which ones?
- Do you think reenacting events helps you to learn about them?
- Turn to the last page of your booklet and write what your favorite part of your visit was.

Appendix 10

Sample Transcript

This sample is from Session 4, which was conducted with Mrs. Florence Cronin's fourth grade class on 12 May 2014 in Dorchester, Boston, Massachusetts. It begins after the Post-Visit Questionnaire was completed with the class, and extends through the Verbal Group Interview. Timestamps appear throughout in brackets.

Me: Now we're just gonna [00:38:00] talk about reenactments. And we're gonna talk about what you guys did when you visited. So, what you guys did when you visited was a reenactment. Do you guys know what a reenactment is? Can you define it for me? Go ahead.

Student: Acting something that happened in the past.

Me: Great answer. Acting something out that happened in the past. Any other answers? Anything to add to that? Go ahead.

Student: A play. That has words to say.

Me: A play, excellent answer. Right, yeah, cause you're, like, recited words, like in a play. Any other answers? Those were good.

Student: Um, could you come here.

Me: Sure.

Student: For this question, [00:38:30] I put neither...

Me: Ok.

Student: ...because they were forced to have the soldiers there.

Me: Ok, that's a great answer. Good. Thank you. Ok, so, the next thing I want to know, so we know what a reenactment is. Why do people do reenactments? What are some reasons people might do them? Go ahead, <Student's name>.

Student: It will teach us about the American history.

Me: Great answer, to teach us about history.

Student: Just for fun, and to remember the things that happened.

Me: Great answer, yeah, for fun and to remember what [00:39:00] happened. These are all great answers. Any other ideas why people do reenactments? These are already great, they're great answers. So, when you guys did the reenactment, do you think that, even though it happened so long ago, that doing the reenactment kind of helped you remember what happened? Did you, do you think it helped?

Students: (some yeahs)

Me: Yeah? Does anybody have anything, like, specific you can think of? Like, maybe, go ahead.

Student: Well, it helped learning. It helped you learn. Because you were, like, you were, um, you were [00:39:30] doing it, so you were, you, you had to, like, you learned wh-, what, what the, what, what, you l-, if you were a Patriot, you learned what one of the Patriots said at the, at that, and if you were a Loyalist, you said, you learned what the Loyalist said.

Me: Great, yeah! So, it helped you kind of learn what they said. Um, did it help you learn facts about 1773?

Students: (yesses and nos)

Me: Yeah? Ok, that's good, yes, no. Um, so we know that it's kind of important to remember stuff that happened in the American Revolution, like the Boston Tea Party. But, [00:40:00] why is it important to remember stuff like that. Go ahead, <Student's name>.

Student: Because it's how we got freedom from England.

Me: Good answer, yeah, cause it's how we got freedom. Anything else to add to that? It's a really good one.

Student: Wait, what, what was the question?

Me: Why is it important to remember the American Revolution?

Student: Ok.

Student: Well, if it didn't happen, then we wouldn't be free from England.

Me: Excellent. Excellent point.

Student: It, it was, the, that, cause, it was important that the American, the American Revolution, is one of the first, we had the, [00:40:30] we were fighting against England, and I think, like, one part of it, like, France came to help us because they hated England.

Me: (laugh) They did, yeah.

Student: Well, to be completely honest, if we didn't remember it, then we wouldn't have our population growing, because you need to be an American citizen and to be an American citizen, you need to know all the facts.

Me: That's a good answer. That's really good. Go ahead.

Student: The people who did it should be honored and not forgotten for all the things they did, how they [00:41:00] risked their lives and they could have died.

Me: Great answer, yeah. Sure.

Student: If, um, we didn't remember it, then Mrs. Cronin's favorite, um, favorite, um, historical figure wouldn't, um, have his famous, famous ride remembered. (students giggle)

Me: I know who her favorite is. She told me.

Student: Are we gonna do page nine?

Me: Oh, yeah, we're gonna, yeah, you can do page nine if you want. We're gonna do page nine in a little bit too, if you want.

Student: Can you rip the last page out if you already did them all?

Me: (laugh) Sure, yeah, if, you guys are getting so far ahead of me. If you wanna [00:41:30] go ahead and rip that last page off, go ahead. But, let's talk a little bit more about remembering things. So, we, you guys, um, reenacted the meeting that happened before the Boston Tea Party. What are some other things you can think of that people reenact? Go ahead.

Student: Plays that already have been done. Like, really famous plays and movies.

Me: Yeah, good, good answer. Yeah, plays and movies. Go ahead.

Student: We're going to be doing the Battle of Bunker Hill.

Me: Right, yeah that's right, I heard that. You guys are gonna be doing the Battle of Bunker Hill. So that's something. You reenact battles. Um, do they [00:42:00] reenact battles from any other wars you can think of?

Student: Yeah, a World War?

Me: Mmhmm, yeah, sometimes we do that.

Student: And the Civil War.

Me: The Civil War, definitely. The Civil War, yeah. Go ahead.

Student: The, um, the French and Indian War.

Me: French and Indian War, yeah. Go ahead.

Student: Uh, I just wanted to say, at my camp...

Me: Mmhmm.

Student: ...in, uh, Second [00:42:30] Session, I think, they do a reenactment from the Civil War.

Me: Oh, that's really cool! Go ahead.

Student: My mom is currently watching a TV show about food from World War II...

Me: That's really interesting.

Student: ...about, like, how people survived, and, like, how to make that food, and...

Me: Yeah, that's kind of, that's like a reenactment, too, like making food and stuff that kind of fit in to the other time periods. Go ahead.

Student: Salem Witch Trials, because I heard one time they're making a movie about it.

Me: Yeah, yeah, and kind, so movies can kind of be like reenactments [00:43:00] themselves, too, right? Yeah, ok, great. These are great answers, you guys. I'm really, really excited. So, if we're thinking about the Boston Tea Party, and why, you know, people reenact that, because you guys did the meeting, but, you know, every year, they have a big reenactment, they go and they kind of throw the tea overboard at the ships, at the, um, at the ship museum (student sneezed) bless you. Um, why is the Boston Tea Party so important? Why do we need to remember that, specifically? Go ahead.

Student: Because, that's when, that's when it, that's, that was, like, the, that was like the start [00:43:30] of, like, the Revolution, cause, that's when, that's when we had to start fighting, because that, because they had, the Brit-, Brit-, England closed our ports. They put, like, big warships in it. Then Paul Revere did his ride. Then the Battle of Concord and Lexington happened.

Me: Yeah, yeah, so like, it started, kind of, everything. Go ahead.

Student: Basically cause and effect. If that didn't happen, things wouldn't happen. Like, the, um, more of the soldiers wouldn't have came...

Me: Right.

Student: ...and then, then they wouldn't have [00:44:00] started to fight them, because there wouldn't be the soldiers.

Me: Great answer, yeah. These are really good answers, guys. These are very thoughtful. I'm very happy. You guys are making me very happy. Um, so, let's think about the message that people would have gotten from the Boston Tea Party. So, let's imagine, say, you're someone who just kind of lived in Boston. And, maybe you weren't happy with the way the British were running things. If you heard about the Boston Tea Party, do you think you would have been happy that it was something that happened?

Students: (yeahs)

Student: Wait, wait, you're a person who *likes* what the British do, or doesn't like what they do.

Me: No, you [00:44:30] *don't* like what the British do. So, you're a Patriot but maybe you didn't participate in the Boston Tea Party. Are you happy that it happened?

Students: (yesses)

Me: Yes? Ok, what if you're a Loyalist?

Students: (nos)

Me: Ok, so that's how people in Boston were thinking. What if you lived in England, and you read in the newspaper that all of these people in this place called Boston in the colonies, as in America, um, had gotten really mad about taxes, and had gone and thrown a whole bunch of stuff off of a ship. If you were someone living in England,[00:45:00] do you think you would understand what happened here?

Students: (nos)

Me: Why, why not? Go ahead.

Student: Well, because, they're not the ones doing it, and they know they're free, and they can do whatever they want, so they don't really care.

Me: So, what's different...

Student: They think that we're being, um, kind of mean or something?

Me: Mean, ok.

Student: And, um, and like the Loyalists who are living, like, in Boston, they're probably gonna get, they're gonna get, be mad, because they might get in trouble, too, but they didn't do anything.

Me: That's a good point, yeah. They didn't even participate, but they're getting punished like the rest of [00:45:30] Boston. Um, do people in England pay taxes?

Students: (nos) (I made a face) (yesses)

Me: (laugh) I made a face and you changed your answer. Um, so they, they pay their taxes, right? Um, but what's different about their taxes than the taxes we wanted to pay here, do you remember? Go ahead.

Student: They had representation.

Me: Excellent, so they had representation in Parliament. And, so, people in Boston were upset cause they didn't have the representation. Do you think that that, um, that might help them? [00:46:00] If they knew that, would they understand? Let's think about maybe kind of being on the other side of this. It's really easy for us here in America to understand how we felt, or how people on our side felt, but maybe it's harder to think about how people in England felt when they heard that people in Boston were rebelling. So, any other thoughts about that?

Student: Wait, how do people in England feel that people in Boston are rebelling?

Me: Yeah. How do you think they felt? Go ahead.

Student: 'These guys are overreacting to this small tax.'

Me: [00:46:30] Ok.

Student: Well, they maybe, if they, they wouldn't be happy because the king wouldn't really be focusing on them...

Me: Ok.

Student: ...and they were, maybe, I don't know...

Me: That's a good answer!

Student: ...cause he isn't focusing on them, and think that they maybe worried about fighting.

Me: Yeah, like, it's distracting.

Student: Yeah.

Me: Gotcha. Um, do you think that maybe they would be upset, since they pay their taxes, if people here didn't want to pay those taxes?

Students: (yeahs)

Me: How do you think they might feel about that? Go ahead.

Student: Cause [00:47:00] they, they, they pay, so they should have to pay.

Me: Ok.

Student: Um, they're probably thinking, like, 'Oh, good grief, these people are dumping hundreds of pounds of this thing that we have billions more pounds of, just because of a silly little tax.'

Me: Alright, that's a good answer. Go ahead.

Student: The tea that they're dumping, like, we could have had.

Me: Sure, yeah. Alright, great answers, you guys, these are great. So, some of the stuff they were dealing with when they had this Boston Tea Party was the voting and the representation, and stuff like that. [00:47:30] Um, what do you think... Alright, so, so let's skip ahead a little bit. I'm gonna skip some questions cause there's one thing that I really wanna know. Raise your hand for me if when you did the reenactment you were

a Patriot. (students on the left side raised hands) Ok, and raise your hand for me if you were a Loyalist. (students on the right side raised hands) I think I see how you split them. Um, did anybody have a part they did, they really didn't want to do? Who was your part?

Student: Samuel Quincy.

Me: And you didn't want to do him?

Student: No.

Me: Why?

Student: I wanted to be, no one knows him.

Me: [00:48:00] Ok. So, yeah, so maybe you wanted someone more prominent? That's a good reason, yeah. Anybody else? Go ahead.

Student: I just didn't want to be a Loyalist.

Me: Yeah. Why not?

Student: Just cause.

Me: Just cause? (laugh) Anybody else not want to be a Loyalist? Go ahead.

Student: I didn't want to be a Loyalist because, like, I'd be people that people don't like. I'd be a person that people don't like.

Me: Alright.

Student: Well, American people don't like.

Student: But, I, I, like, when I got my part, I ended up being a Patriot anyways.

Me: Alright. Good answer. Go ahead.

Student: I don't care, but I wanted to be someone young.

Me: Someone young, [00:48:30] interesting. I like that answer. That's a very good answer. (class laughs and says he was old) So, so, who... yeah, your character was older? He was very old? (laugh) So, was it harder, do you think, to think about how he felt because you're younger?

Student: Yeah.

Me: Yeah, it was harder? Cool. So, was anybody a Patriot and they didn't want to be a Patriot? Go ahead. (students react) Why? Who were you?

Student: Josiah Quincy.

Student: She's my brother.

Me: Oh, yeah?

Student: Yeah. And I don't like getting interrupted when I'm talking. (class laughs) [00:49:00] (to other student, jokingly) And I didn't want to be your brother. (class laughs)

Student: Oh, I just realized you two are sisters.

Me: (laughs) Right, yeah, instead of boys, you're girls. So, yeah, it's... Um, so, tell me a little bit more about the different characters. Did anybody, do you remember anybody's more than some other people's? Does any, do any stand out to you?

Student: (begin enthusiastically listing names) Paul Revere, John Hancock, Samuel Adams, Doctor Warren, um, I don't know how to say his first name, Mackintosh?

Students: Ebenezer. Ebenezer! [00:49:30] Ebenezer! Ebenezer Mackintosh.

Student: Ebenezer Scrooge and Computers! The way to remember her name is Ebenezer Scrooge and a Mackintosh Computer. (another student is still listing names under him)

Me: Good. Good, yeah, that's a good way to remember it. Yeah, ok, so, it seems like you guys...

Student: (referring to one of the students, affectionately) The crazy one.

Me: What?

Student: The Crazy One.

Me: The Crazy One?! Which one were you?

Student: Captain Ebenezer Mackintosh.

Me: (laughing) The Crazy One! I love it.

Student: She was, like, screaming at us.

Student: I was the one who made the Tea Party.

Me: Who, who did you play?

Student: Samuel Adams.

Me: You played Samuel Adams? Ooh, very nice.

Student: Yeah, I was the one made the big speech.

Me: It seems like you guys remember who, kind of, who everybody was. I'm pretty impressed with that. Um, did [00:50:00] you guys have fun? Go ahead. Yeah?

Student: I was kinda happy with who I am, because I, cause I was kinda like, I knew someone, I knew one of the characters...

Me: Mmhmm.

Student: ...so, it was kinda like an argument, and I was kinda like mad at the person...

Me: Right.

Student: ...cause we used to be, like, friends.

Me: Gotcha. Alright, cool. Yeah?

Student: (this was The Crazy One) I like my, I like, I like my part, because I, because I was the first captain of the Liberty Tree...

Me: Mmhmm.

Student: [00:50:30] ...and I got to destroy the Governor's House, so I'm just happy about that.

Me: (joking with her) You're happy about destroying the Governor's House? Cool, cool.

Student: Can we now talk about how much we liked our parts?

Me: Yeah, we can talk about that now. Did you like your part?

Student: Yeah...

Me: Yeah?

Student: ...I really, I really did like my part, because at the end I got to go, 'This meeting can do no more to save our country!'

Me: Those were the big words. Go ahead.

Student: I liked my part because I was John Hancock...

Me: Uh huh.

Student: ...and I kind of played an important part, because he didn't want, like, he was a merchant in Boston and he, like, stole [00:51:00] non-British goods and stuff like that.

Me: Yeah! It's a great part.

Student: I liked having my part, cause I had my own statue.

Me: (joking with them) Ooh, fancy. (class laughs)

Student: I liked having my part, because I was Paul Revere, Ms. Cronin's favorite historical person, and I got to say a fun line at the end. It was 'I believe the king has no right to tax us because we do not have a representative in Parliament,' so, yeah.

Me: Excellent. [00:51:30] Cool!

Student: I also like mine, cause my name is everywhere!

Me: That's true!

Student: 'Samuel Adams.' Like, wherever you look, it's just there.

Me: Did you wanna go? Your turn? (he shook his head) You were Joseph Warren, though, right? (I was curious because of how Mrs. Cronin does her Bunker Hill lesson) That's a good part. Go ahead.

Student: Uh, I liked my part cause I went last.

Me: (laugh) That's a good reason. That's a good reason to like it.

Student: No, I went last! I said, 'this meeting can do no more to save this country!'

Me: That's a good part. Go ahead.

Student: I liked my part cause at the end of the meeting I got to, um, dress up all weird (class laughs), [00:52:00] and I got to act so mad when I got the little letter.

Me: Cool, so I guess you were Francis Rotch, then.

Student: He is the best.

Student: Francis Rotch is the best part.

Student: It was kind of fun to have, like, cause he (referring to classmate) used to be, like, my student, so it was kinda like we knew each other, but it was kinda like, we're not, it was like he was on the other side, so I was kinda mad, and...

Me: Did you guys have fun doing it together? Did you like doing it with your class?

Students: (emphatic yesses and nos)

Me: (laughing) Yes and no? Um, [00:52:30] do you think that it was easier to act out the parts because you guys know each other? So, maybe it was easier for you to be angry, or for you to have the mixed feelings because you know this person and it's not...

Students: (yeahs)

Me: Yeah? Go ahead.

Student: I liked doing the reenactment because all of us got to scream ‘Huzzah’ and ‘Fie’ as loud as we could.

Me: That is a fun part. Go ahead.

Student: Well, I, I liked doing it together so that way you didn’t have to go, (mimicked speaking to himself).

Me: Oh, right, yeah. So, you can kind of, like, have the different parts play out.

Student: I liked doing it together because we weren’t scared in front of each other.

Me: Excellent. That’s a really good reason. Go ahead. [00:53:00]

Student: I just had one reason why I didn’t like it...

Me: Uh huh.

Student: ...cause I had to speak up to The Crazy One.

Me: (laughing, and joking) Ohh, That’s intimidating. (class laughs, and the indicated student laughed maniacally, seemingly enjoying being ‘The Crazy One’)

Student: She’s crazy. Cause, of sorry (I can’t remember why).

Me: Oh, that’s ok. (The Crazy One is still laughing maniacally – really through to the end...) (to teacher, about student) She’s cracking me up.

Student: It was fun to do it with the class, because we probably all embarrassed, embarrassed ourselves in front of everyone, so it was a little weird feeling stressed out for anything.

Me: That's a great [00:53:30] answer. Yeah, so you guys, like, you knew what you were doing. It was the group. Cool, alright. Go ahead.

Student: There wasn't really, like, a bunch of people there. That's what made me feel not really nervous.

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