History
Senior Thesis Guide

HIST 0700

Academic Year
2023-2024
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Major Thesis Deadlines

2023-2024
Due at 4:30 pm ET, hard copy or email as determined by advisor or workshop leader; final thesis in electronic format

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No alterations will be made to the deadline schedule except in extraordinary circumstances. Permission to alter this schedule must be both requested and secured in writing from your adviser and the Department Chair. Unless otherwise noted, all deadlines fall due at 4:30 p.m. on the stated day. A late thesis will be reduced by one third of a letter grade for every two days late. Late theses will be penalized by a departmental committee. Regardless of grade, late theses will not be eligible for honors.
Date Reminder List: A-F connotes major submission dates

A. PRELIMINARY PROSPECTUS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: Due Monday, April 24, 2023.

Week 2 meeting: Wed. Sept. 20, 2023, 7:30 pm, AXN 103

B. FULL PROSPECTUS AND BIBLIOGRAPHY: Due Friday, October 6, 2023; or for those writing W/S, Friday, January 19, 2024. Failure to meet this deadline will result in the student being placed on warning.

Week 5: Wed. Oct 11, 7:30 pm, AXN 103

C. HISTORIOGRAPHIC SUMMARY: approximately 5 pages of analysis of existing historiography must be submitted by Thursday, October 19, 2023

Week 9: Fri. Nov. 10, by 8 pm, share 12-15 pages of writing with fellow thesis-writer as assigned by Prof. Mendoza, for meeting on Wed. Nov. 15.

D. NEW DRAFT MATERIAL: 10-15 pages of new writing must be submitted by Wednesday, November 15, 2023: 7:30pm, peer writing conference, AXN103

E. FIRST SUBSTANTIAL SECTION: Both Fall/Winter and Fall/Spring thesis writers must submit their first 20-25 page section by Thursday, November 30, 2023; or for those writing W/S, Thursday, February 1, 2024. Failure to submit this section will result in a grade of "U" for the first semester.

F. SUBMISSION OF FINAL COPIES:

1) FALL ‘23/WINTER ‘24: Due Thurs. Feb. 1, Mid-year graduates should submit their theses by Monday, January 22, 2023. Those mid-year graduates who wish to forfeit honors must submit their theses no later than Thursday Feb. 1, 2024.

2) FALL ‘23/SPRING ‘24: Due Friday, March 15, 2024. The Department will permit a Fall/Spring thesis only under special circumstances and with permission of the Department Chair. A Fall/Spring thesis submitted after Monday, April 22, 2023 will receive an "I" or "F" (as appropriate). Any thesis submitted after Friday, May 3, 2024 will not be read in time to permit a student to graduate on schedule.

3) WINTER ‘23/SPRING ‘24: Due Monday, April 24, 2024. The Department will permit a Winter/Spring thesis only under special circumstances and with permission of the Department Chair. Students who were abroad their junior year and who are enrolled
in HIST 0600 in the fall may write a winter/spring thesis.

4) SPRING ‘23/FALL ‘24: Due Tuesday, November 19, 2024. This option is permitted only under exceptional circumstances, with permission of the Department Chair.

**F. GRACE PERIOD:** For all theses, except theses submitted by mid-year graduates, there is a 14-day grace period following the final submission dates. Theses submitted during the grace period will not be eligible for Departmental honors or an oral defense. However, there will be no grade penalty.

Frequently Asked Questions

**I am a double major – can I write a history thesis?**
Yes, you can. If you wish to write a thesis for your other major you must discuss your plans with the history department chair before you register for Fall courses. This is because you may only take one course during the winter term: you cannot enroll for two thesis courses in the winter term.

**I am a joint major – can I write a history thesis?**
Yes, you can. The thesis requirements and procedures for joint majors depend on the specific majors:
If your joint- non-history department does not include a thesis program of any sort, you may proceed under these history guidelines, with a thesis adviser from the history department.

If your joint- non-history department has an optional honors thesis, and you choose to leave that second department out and simply complete a history thesis, you may proceed under these history guidelines.

If your joint non-history department requires a thesis, or has an optional honors thesis, and you choose to complete one joint thesis to meet the requirements of both, or your joint non-history department has a required one-semester senior essay or project that you will combine with your history thesis, you will need to find advisers and readers in both departments before registration. Please speak to both department chairs about specific requirements for advising, readers, workshop attendance, deadlines, and requirements for honors. This process can be complex and requires careful attention. Pay special attention to deadlines and make sure they are common to both departments.

**How do I choose a thesis topic?**
The first rule is: select a topic that interests you. The second is: select a topic for which there are rich primary and secondary sources in a language you can read. As you search for a topic, try to formulate questions. For instance, you may be interested in the Russo-Japanese war. As you conduct some preliminary research you may come to the following question: Why did the American
press back the Japanese until the war ended, then switch sides afterwards?

**Do I have to attend the Senior Thesis Workshop?**  
Yes, the workshop is mandatory. It will meet on occasion during the Fall semester and the Winter term.

**Who can I contact in the Library for help?**  
Brenda Ellis is our liaison librarian ([bellis@middlebury.edu](mailto:bellis@middlebury.edu)).

**What is the preliminary prospectus and bibliography?**  
This two-page document serves as a declaration of your desire to pursue a particular line of historical inquiry and gives the department a sense of how prepared you are to write a thesis. On page one of this prospectus, please indicate:

1) Your name  
2) The semesters in which you hope to write your thesis  
3) A working idea for your thesis  
4) A one-paragraph description of your proposed project  
5) An indication of faculty members you think might be appropriate as a thesis adviser. On page two please include a **working bibliography**, divided into sections for primary and secondary sources.

The department chair will notify you before the end of the semester who your thesis adviser will be.

**What is the revised or full prospectus and bibliography?**  
This document ranges from 3 to 5 double-spaced pages, plus a bibliography of sources divided into primary and secondary materials. Your revised prospectus should:

1. Define the **topic** as specifically as possible, including the span of time involved.

2. Define and ask one or more key **historical questions**. What question(s) will you ask and answer in your research and writing?

3. Explain the significance of the topic and query. What drives your curiosity? Why is this topic important?

4. Place both topic and questions in the context of the most relevant and recent scholarly work. Hone in on the secondary works that address topics and questions similar to yours.

5. Identify and describe the primary sources that you intend to use. Addressing questions 4 and 5 thoroughly will help you and your adviser decide whether there is enough material to successfully investigate your chosen topic.
What should each scheduled writing submission focus on?

After submitting your prospectus, the next step is to complete a roughly five-page historiographical summary. What have other historians written about your topic – what are their approaches, perspectives, and arguments? How do you distinguish yourself from their approaches, perspectives, and/or arguments? This document should be submitted to both your adviser and the professors leading the workshop.

After submitting the historiographical summary, you will complete roughly 10-15 pages of new draft material. Discuss with your adviser what your focus should be for this submission. This submission should also be sent to your adviser, workshop professor, and to your assigned peer reviewers.

The next section completed should total 20-25 pages. The writing should be clear and reasonably polished. The section should have footnotes and a bibliography, even though these footnotes and bibliography will be added to and altered in later drafts. This section should also be sent to your adviser and workshop faculty.

What grade can I expect after the first semester/term?

You will receive a grade of either Satisfactory (S) or Unsatisfactory (U). Failure to attend or participate in the workshop may result in an unsatisfactory grade. The S or U grade will be changed to a regular letter grade after the evaluation of your final thesis.

How long should the thesis be?
The thesis should be between 55-70 pages including footnotes. This length does not include your bibliography or any other additional material, such as appendices.

How should I organize the thesis?
The final copy of your thesis will include the following components:
- Title Page
- Abstract
- Table of Contents
- Thesis body with Footnotes
- Annotated Bibliography

It may be appropriate to add maps, images, and appendices.
See below for examples of a title, abstract, and bibliography pages.

How should I submit the thesis?
You should submit two hard copies to the department coordinator. These copies must be bound. The department will cover the cost of binding two copies at Reprographics. You may also, at your expense, have the UPS store in town, or other merchants bind the thesis with an acetate cover. You should allow at least one business day for Reprographics to bind your thesis before it is submitted. Ask the staff person to charge the history department.

In addition to two bound copies, you should submit to the department coordinator, by the deadline,
a PDF version of your thesis.

What style should I follow?
Please consult Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Research Papers, Theses, and Dissertations*, latest edition. Please use the Notes & Bibliography system, NOT the Author-Date system. This style is referred to as CMS for *Chicago Manual of Style*. Theses should be typed, double-spaced with notes at the bottom of the page. The bibliography should have two sections, one for primary sources and one for secondary sources, with the most important primary and secondary sources annotated using 2-3 sentences.

How flexible is the thesis deadline?
Not at all, if you want to be considered for honors. There is, however, a two-week "grace period" after the deadline. There is no grade penalty for submissions during this period, but you lose any chance for departmental honors if you choose the grace period. Any thesis submitted after the two-week grace period is subject to a grade penalty, which may not permit graduation on schedule.

Once I submit my thesis, how will it be evaluated?
Two faculty readers will evaluate each thesis on an individual basis, but they will consider all of these components when determining a final thesis grade: ·

a. **Bibliography**: This should be extensive, making use of all available and appropriate secondary and primary sources, including inter-library loan materials. You must annotate the most important sources included in your bibliography.

b. **Historiography**: You should demonstrate familiarity with the most influential secondary literature written about your subject, especially any debates or disagreements among historians. Show an informed comprehension of the issues that have been raised by previous writers, and articulate how your research relates to what others have already written.

c. **Primary sources**: Primary sources are the foundation of historical research. Your thesis should show that you based your conclusions on the primary sources, not that you looked for primary sources to support a preconceived idea.

d. **Argument**: To make the thesis your own, you must advance an argument clearly in one or two sentences in your introduction. Your argument should inform your entire thesis, from start to finish. The coherence and originality of your argument, as well as its relationship to existing secondary literature, are important.

e. **Methodology**: You should exercise historical sensitivity and insight in constructing your argument. Weigh evidence carefully and bring a critical analysis to bear on it. If you find alternate approaches to the same evidence, take them into account. Consider both the strengths and weaknesses of your argument and evidence.

f. **Writing**: Clear writing is inseparable from clear thinking. You should eradicate all typographical errors, grammatical mistakes, and misspellings, but you should also look deeper and
more critically at what you are trying to say. Incoherence and lack of organization in your writing are serious impediments that will render even the best thesis research incomprehensible. Give yourself enough time to write, revise, and consult with your adviser. However, do not look to your adviser to be your copy editor. YOU are responsible for the clarity, precision, and presentation of your own writing.

g. Interpretation: You should try to derive broad conclusions from your research. This requires critical thinking, asking the right questions, testing the evidence, and considering its implications. It also requires the ability to generalize, to perceive universals in specific historical problems.

In addition to the criteria listed above, the history faculty will consider the inherent difficulty of the topic and the nature and limits of available sources when considering your grade. There are no automatic percentages awarded to any of these categories.

Your thesis readers will read your thesis closely, assess it collaboratively, and send you an evaluation letter. Given the time needed for both readers to finish the thesis, meet to discuss it, and compose your letter, it may be a number of weeks before you receive a grade.

Fall/Winter theses will not normally be graded until the spring semester, unless the student is graduating in March.

**Will I defend my senior thesis?**

If your thesis is handed in on time (by the first deadline), and your adviser feels it has a chance of earning B+ or better and you already have a minimum GPA in History of 3.5, you will be given an oral examination on your thesis. Both your adviser and second reader will discuss your thesis with you at the defense. This is a friendly, professional conversation that usually lasts 30 to 60 minutes. Your oral defense may leave your thesis grade unchanged, or it may raise the grade slightly, but it cannot reduce it. We may ask you to clarify certain points and to indicate how your work relates to a larger historical picture. If you qualify for an oral defense, feel free to ask your adviser about how best to prepare for it. Your faculty readers will write your evaluative letter after the thesis defense.

**How does my thesis grade influence possible honors distinction at graduation?**

For **HONORS**: Students must have a 3.5 History course average at Middlebury (without HIST 0700 grade) and a thesis grade of “B+” or better.

For **HIGH HONORS**: Students must have a 3.67 History course average at Middlebury (without HIST 0700 grade) and a thesis grade of “A-“ or better.

For **HIGHEST HONORS**: Students must have a 3.75 History course average at Middlebury (without HIST 0700 grade) and a thesis grade of “A.”

The chair of the History Department calculates a major’s GPA by averaging grades according to the following priority: 1) All Middlebury College HIST courses; 2) Only those Middlebury College
cross-listed courses needed to meet major requirements as stated in the catalog; 3) Accepted Off-campus or study-abroad courses as stated in the catalog.

Will the department, in calculating my major GPA, round the number up, i.e. from 3.448 to 3.5? No. The history department policy does not mathematically round up to meet the major GPA levels required for honors: 3.5 (honors), 3.67 (high honors), or 3.75 (highest honors).

**Grading Guide**

We realize that students would like to understand how their readers have determined the final grade. We have attempted to give you a sense of our grading scale, but please discuss specifics with your adviser. Faculty readers also take into consideration unquantifiable aspects such as the overall difficulty of the topic and assessment and availability of sources and the quality of the defense.

An A thesis is an excellent thesis that shows the student’s dedication and skill. The student has met all deadlines, has attended the senior thesis workshop, and has produced a clearly written and well-organized work with an excellent historiographical analysis and a strong annotated bibliography. The writer has conducted a close and critical reading of primary and secondary sources and has a clearly defined argument supported by evidence that takes into consideration historical context. Furthermore, this thesis follows all the guidelines laid out in this guide and correctly uses Kate Turabian to properly document all sources. The writer has also engaged in a stellar defense of his/her/their work.

An A- thesis is also an excellent thesis. Overall, the student has produced a clearly written and well-organized work. It also demonstrates that the writer has conducted a close and critical reading of primary and secondary sources and has a clearly defined argument supported by evidence and takes into consideration historical context. The thesis follows all the guidelines laid out in this guide, and also correctly uses Kate Turabian to properly document all sources. The writer has also engaged in a very good defense of his/her/their work. The A- is different from the A thesis if there are a few typos, missing sources, or a few sections of the thesis that do not meet the "A" standard above.

A B+ is very good and is the threshold for honors. B+ indicates that the student has dedicated significant effort to the completion of the work and has followed many of the aspects of an A thesis. The student has also produced a well-organized work that demonstrates a critical reading of primary and secondary sources, for example. The student has a reasonably defined argument supported by evidence and makes a clear attempt to consider historical context. The writer has also engaged in a very good defense of his/her/their work and has met all of the department's deadlines. The B+ thesis may have sections that need more clarity or sources.

A B thesis is a good thesis. It demonstrates many aspects of B+ level work, and the writer’s hard work is evident. However, this thesis falls short in either the organization and clarity of writing, the formulation and presentation of its argument, or the quality of research. Often the readers would like to see improvements and consistency in the analysis of sources and a clearer and more coherent argument throughout the work. Some “B” theses may demonstrate interesting insights into the topic.
under investigation. Others show evidence of independent thought, but the argument is not presented convincingly.

A **B-** thesis has elements that make it a good thesis. The student has demonstrated a command of the theme or issue under research or a reasonable command of the research material and the historical context. The B- thesis may include a good bibliography, but the author has failed to sustain a convincing argument. This thesis may also have a number of other weakness, including writing, argument, organization, or use of evidence, or not following all of the guidelines.

A **C+, C, or C-** thesis reads more like a summary of ideas and information. And does not adequately demonstrate historical context. It suffers from factual errors, unclear writing, or poor organization. Typically, a C-range thesis also lacks primary research. Many have not followed all of the stipulated guidelines.

A **D-F** thesis demonstrates a number of serious deficiencies or severe flaws in the student's command of the thesis. It also indicates a student’s lack or neglect of responsibilities. A student who has received an “F” may not graduate on time with a major in history. Severe lateness in submission of a thesis may also result in the final grade of D or F as a consequence of the penalty for lateness.

A Note on Faculty advisers

**Please note thesis advisers are assigned by the department** to ensure a more even distribution of advisees. In the meantime, do not hesitate to talk to any faculty member who can help you with a topic you are considering. There is no need to wait for an adviser to be assigned before doing preliminary reading and exploring ideas and resources. Please consult the history department website for information about the teaching and scholarship and leave schedules of the history department faculty.

**Writing a History Senior Thesis: A Student’s Perspective**

By Jiya Pandya ‘17

● **Pick A Topic That Is Yours**
You and your thesis are in it together for the long haul, so find an area of research that will hold your interest. In other words, you need to care about what you’re studying. For some of you, this might mean burrowing into something you already know a lot about, for others, it might mean diving into something unfamiliar. Whichever it is for you, make sure you’re excited about it!

Part of having a topic that feels meaningful to you is knowing that your work adds, in however small a way, to the broader discipline. Start broad – think of themes, methodologies, questions, time-periods, demographics, geographies, and issues that you have enjoyed learning about before. Keep in mind which combinations or intersections most strike you, and begin to organize your ideas into wide categories like “Caste and the Partition of India” or “Women and the Civil War.” Once you
have these, do some preliminary research into work already done by historians in this realm. It is important to know what has been said before so that you can gauge the feasibility of finding sources on your topic, and so that you aren’t reinventing the wheel for your field.

When you have skimmed some of the literature, begin to narrow further, asking what angle you can take that does not rehash previous work. It is difficult to find a specific, unique argument, especially when you start and don’t have a clear grasp on your subject – take baby steps. Refine your categories to reflect a more specific geography, demographic, or phenomenon; try “the Indian National Congress’s Rhetoric on Caste in 1947” or “Widows in Antebellum South Carolina Planter Culture.” Get creative with how you zoom in. You may find a new source that has been overlooked, a new perspective on a previously-used source, a new link between concepts, or a new methodological approach to your topic. Remember that you have your own distinctive skills and experiences going into this thesis – languages you speak, connections to sources or archives, or experiences that drive your interest in your work. Build on these, and you’ll be on your way to a solid project.

● Make the Most of Resources Around You

Take advantage of the wealth of archival, academic, monetary, and networking resources available to you. Whether or not you are studying U.S. history, the College’s Library and Special Collections offer physical and online access to a vast array of primary sources like newspapers, letters, pictures, and memoirs. Talk to one of the research librarians early on in the process – they are treasure-troves of information and will be able to guide you to a variety of different collections and subscriptions. Look beyond Middlebury College too. If you are interested in a local topic, visit the Sheldon Museum, Rokeby Museum, or the University of Vermont – there might be documents previously untouched by historians, allowing you to do original research. Apply for senior work funding from the CTLR if you identify a large collection of materials in a library or museum somewhere else, and take the opportunity to travel like a professional historian! Lastly, don’t be shy in asking your advisors for suggestions on archives or experts within their network with whom they can connect you, and reach out to them. You can make your thesis a lot more dynamic by reaching out and asking for guidance.

Remember also to seek support from your professors and peers. The thesis can be an isolating, overwhelming process, so ask for help as often as you need it! Your relationship with your advisor does not have to consist only of deadlines and grading – it can also be a space in which you can brainstorm ideas, ask a diverse array of questions, and seek advice on the research and writing process. Similarly, if not more importantly, lean on each other. Take time during the thesis workshops and other classes to connect with your cohort of fellow writers – consider setting up study-groups, accountability mechanisms, or coffee/beer dates where you talk about parts of your thesis you’re struggling with, questions you are excited about, or sources you may want to share. Having a community who understands what you are dealing with can be both intellectually and
personally nourishing.

● Outline and Write, Early and Often

It’s easy to think that churning out 50-70 coherent pages of writing is the most difficult task in writing a thesis, but trust me, your month of intensive this-thesis-takes-up-all-my-time writing will be made so much easier if you organize your paper as you go.

Spend the first few weeks reading everything you can. As you read, take copious, organized notes. Notes can include direct quotes from the texts, paraphrased summaries of the source, and questions and observations you have about what you’re reading. If you’re chugging through a series of secondary sources, divide them by theme or chronology early so that you can use them for your historiography. If you’re tackling data or primary sources, keep track of the ones that compliment or contradict one another. Outline your thesis statement when you begin sorting through sources, however vague your argument, and change it as you receive more information. Jot down page numbers and create citations early. Having comprehensive, organized information will make sure that you aren’t scrambling last minute and will add structure, meaning, and rigor to your work.

As you outline, write, and as you write, edit. You will hear the phrase “write early, write often” many times over the course of your thesis project, and while it can be daunting to write when you aren’t entirely sure of what you’re saying, it is essential to put words to paper. Turn your notes into polished paragraphs, focusing on small, manageable sections at a time. You and your advisor will be able to come back and consolidate these sections towards the end of your thesis process – in fact, your project and paper will most definitely change, and you should be open and ready for repeated cycles of feedback. Nevertheless, writing early in small chunks will help you practice articulating what you want to say. Attention to detail in the first few stages will make editing a lot easier towards the end too.

Pace Yourself

This is, ultimately, your thesis, and you know yourself best. Identify how and when you study best, know your capacity, and trust your own schedule. Whether you are the kind of person who plugs away for hours at a stretch on the weekend or prefers to write in 45 minute bursts every day, communicate with your advisor about how you work most productively and come up with your own, individual plan. Do not compare yourself to your peers – there is no “right” way to structure your time. Finally, remember to take breaks. As cheesy as this sounds, the thesis is a marathon, not a sprint. It can be easy to go full throttle and then quickly burn out, so make sure you’re pausing to have fun, both with this project and outside it!

[Sample Title Page]

"And What is a Woman, Pray?"
Amelia Bloomer and the Ideal of True Womanhood

By Sarah Henry Pollnow

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts in the Department of History: Middlebury College

January 31, 2014
I have neither given nor received unauthorized aid on this assignment.
"'And What is a Woman, Pray?' Amelia Bloomer and the Ideal of True Womanhood" My thesis analyzes how Amelia Bloomer (1818-1894) interacted with the antebellum ideal of True Womanhood, which identified "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity" as women’s cardinal virtues. In 1849 her temperance principles led her to become one of the first female newspaper editors. Her newspaper, the *Lily*, had a conservative character and reflected the ideal of True Womanhood throughout most of its first year, despite some uneasiness about the desirability of submissiveness. The tone of the paper shifted dramatically from 1850-1854 when Bloomer became convinced of the need for female suffrage, became involved in dress reform, and began lecturing publicly. Her dress reform activities garnered particular attention because the "Bloomer costume," as the attire soon became known, seemed manly because it involved pantaloons. As Bloomer negotiated her new celebrity, she articulated a new ideal of womanhood. She still insisted that women were pious, pure, and had important domestic responsibilities, but she called for women to apply those virtues to all of society. In effect, she wanted to emancipate the True Woman from societal constraints so that women, their domestic households, and all of society would benefit. Amelia and her husband moved to Ohio in 1854 and then to western Iowa in 1855. Soon afterwards she slipped into a period of semi-retirement. She continued to give speeches during the remaining decades of her life, and these speeches demonstrate that she articulated a third and final ideal of womanhood. She transcended the True Womanhood framework as she de-emphasized women's domesticity and identified self-interest as a valid reason for women to enter the workforce; she also insisted upon male domestic responsibilities. The result was that she effectively called for a de-sexing of gender roles, though she remained somewhat ambivalent about the extent of male and female differences and similarities.

Sources Include:


Samples of Annotated Bibliography Entries

Primary Sources


Barquet’s comprehensive anthology of poetry published by *Ediciones El Puente* is the only one to be published. His critical essay challenges the taboo that has surrounded the study of *Ediciones El Puente* in Cuba. His analysis aims to give a comprehensive look at the group by including all their published work which makes it possible for other historians to work on this lesser studied group.


This is a speech that Nitze gave right after Reagan announced the Strategic Defense Initiative in 1983. I used this speech for the same purpose of demonstrating how Nitze intended for SDI to be strictly a research initiative that did not go beyond its purpose of getting the Soviets to participate in negotiations on arms control.

Juan Mauricio Rugendas Letters (MS 271). Special Collections and University Archives, W.E.B. Du Bois Library, University of Massachusetts Amherst.

This is a collection of almost 200 letters that Rugendas received from friends Oro, Espinosa, and Godoy between 1835 and 1845. It served as the most important set of primary source evidence for this study.

Secondary Sources:


This book is the definitive work on Japanese Internment. Daniels argued that internment was due in large part to racial prejudice and discrimination. This book contained a significant amount of information that influenced my thinking on both detainment and reparations.


I used this source to analyze the affects tax reform, or the lack thereof, had on Boston’s age of urban renewal, and how the new governing coalition used it to spark the commercial construction boom.


This is another integral source to research on the importance of cultural production in shaping a Revolutionary mentality. Medin studies the impact of culture on this process and his analysis show what was at stake in the early years of the Revolution. This work not only gives a detailed analysis, but also gives credence to the position of understanding Cuba through its cultural policies.