

Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Our Stor[y/ies]? :
A Comparative Rhetorical Analysis of 2 Popular Histories of the United States

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Abstract

Just before the campaign for the 2016 presidential election started, Anniversary editions of two works, *A People's History of the United States*, by Howard Zinn, and *A Patriot's History of the United States*, by Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen, were released by their respective publishers. Each work is a one-volume synthesis of American history written for public consumption, yet each represents a different perspective on the subject of American history. Zinn takes the view that a close look at American history yields a story of resistance to the wealthy and powerful, and Schweikart and Allen contend that an honest national narrative is one that inspires awe and patriotism in its readers. Both books are touchstones of American political ideology, but neither had been directly compared with the other in a study. This thesis performs a comparison and contrast of the two texts from the perspective of their accounts of five important United States armed conflicts. First, I analyze the work's citations, quotations, and structures on a quantitative level; then, I perform a rhetorical analysis of the chapters in each book about the American Revolution, the American Civil War, the Spanish-American War, the Second World War, and the Vietnam War. Last, I comment on the works' effectiveness as texts meant for the public and the classroom, and compare the constructions of these texts to the standards, ethics, and best practices of the historical field.

Who Lives, Who Dies, Who Tells Our Stor[y/ies]?

From the start of the American experiment, the Founders understood that writing an account of the story of America was critical to making an argument for why the Revolution they proposed was the right next step for the colonists. The Declaration of Independence itself begins by giving us that narrative:

The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having, in direct object, the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world. (Jefferson 1776).

What follows is a list of events curated by Thomas Jefferson as he wrote the document: cutting off trade, preventing expansion, vetoing laws, obstructing justice, and so on. From this list of events emerges the central argument of the Declaration:

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people (Jefferson, 1776).

The telling and framing of the story of this nation's founding and the events that have happened since is a tradition that continued. At the Gettysburg Address, for example, Abraham Lincoln framed the Founders' Revolution as "dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" (Lincoln, 1863). The tradition, likewise, carried through to the 20th and 21st centuries.

In this thesis, I will compare two works, Howard Zinn's 1980 book *A People's History of the United States* and 2004's *A Patriot's History of the United States*, by Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen. I will describe the ways these works frame the narratives of America's armed conflicts. (My rationale for narrowing focus is found in my **Methodology**). Because both works

are written for a general audience in the context of the authors' contemporary (1980s, 2000s) and politically ideological understanding of the American story, I have categorized them as "popular histories," which I will further define below. I intend this Honors thesis to be interdisciplinarily focused, combining two of my academic majors: my meta-textual study fits in a larger tradition of literary criticism, and my rhetorical analysis in the field of communication studies. The historiographical perspective will be in conversation with the standards, ethics, and best practices of academic historians (which I will define in my **Methodology**), and with current debates among historians on popular media platforms about what constitutes history and who writes it (Widdicombe, 2020).

Literature Review

Defining Popular History

The term "popular history" is difficult to qualify and even more challenging to quantify; yet, it is most ascribed to books whose topics are a historical figure or moment and whose target market is the reading public, not an academic body. Other qualifiers of the term "popular history" include book sales, or to the extent that the works might be adapted to film: the eight books in Bill O'Reilly's *Killing* series spent a combined 57 weeks on the *New York Times* Hardcover Nonfiction Bestseller List (*The New York Times Book Review*, 2011-2018) and the television adaptations earned two Emmy nominations; David McCullough's works have been successful in print and on-screen (*1776* and *John Adams*, for example). Publicly-marketed history documentaries succeed on television, too: when the opening episode of PBS documentarian Ken Burns' *Civil War* aired in 1990, the Nielsen ratings suggested more than 8 million televisions were tuned into its opening episode, and the PBS research directors estimated its total audience at almost 14 million people (Carter, 1990). The lines between academic and

popular history blur, however, at biography: what is at one time an intensely-researched, academic manuscript at the same time often enters the popular imagination, as Ron Chernow's *Alexander Hamilton* did after the success of its musical adaptation, *Hamilton*, by Lin-Manuel Miranda.

In 2001, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Sean Wilentz traced waves in popular history and argued that there was a decline in the quality of popular history (he accuses David McCullough of contributing to “popular history as passive nostalgic spectacle” in his popular biography *Adams*). However, books in this category continue to sell on the national and international book market. The most recent one-volume presentation of the American story comes from Jill Lepore, the acclaimed Harvard historian and staff writer for the *New Yorker*—though even said book, *These Truths* (2018), and its sequel, *This America* (2019), has been criticized for the absence of Native American names and voices and the use of sources that uphold that erasure (DeLucia, 2019). Some historians choose to tell their histories of the United States through a specific lens, which they define in subtitles to their works: for example, Kurt Andersen's 2018 book *Fantasyland: How America Went Haywire, A 500-Year History*, and *Capitalism in America: An Economic History of the United States*, published in 2019 by Alan Greenspan and Adrian Wooldridge, respectively.

However, other publishers have taken up the standard of accessible history-telling on the Internet, including the *New York Times*' 1619 Project, (published to acclaim and controversy in 2019), which aims to tell the story of the USA beginning when the first slave ship arrived on American colonial shores, and a group that self-identifies as the “Twitterstorians” (Widdicombe, 2020). The Twitterstorians, among whom are social-media-prominent members of the journalistic and historical communities including Kevin Gannon, Kevin Kruse, Kevin Levin,

Joanne Freeman, and Nikole Hannah-Jones, among others, have taken it upon themselves to serve as a kind of watchdog group against the promotion of non- or partially-factual information about history that gets circulated online. Other projects, including reporting from *The New York Times*, have shed light on organizations that publish American history textbooks and the informational choices they make when publishing textbooks to different states' standards. For example, a comparison of textbooks written for California and Texas schools found that based on destination state, certain text boxes, digressions, expansions, and profiles were distinct to or absent from sections on American slavery and the Constitution (Goldstein, 2020). The people behind all of this content are the 21st Century's digital addition to the growing and active body of historical writing meant for popular consumption, removing the bookstore as a gateway to history.

Gregory Pfitzer, in *Popular Histories and the Literary Marketplace, 1840-1920* (2008), suggests that "we must consider these popular histories [those from the time period under study] as material and cultural artifacts" (p. 3). He notes additional factors that play into what makes a history "popular": prepublication advertising, inexpensive publishing, a broad audience, big-name writers as authors, and titles that "emphasized the domesticity and collective identities of the 'people'" (p. 4). While Pfitzer does not provide a singular, distinct definition of popular history, the rubric he outlines applies directly to my two primary texts: Howard Zinn's *A People's History of the United States* (1980) and Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen's *A Patriot's History of the United States* (2004).

Primary Texts

A People's History of the United States.

When he published *A People's History* in 1980, Howard Zinn was not an outlier in the field of historiography; rather, he was one of the first historians to bring the rigorous and radical revisionist lens to the reading public. The response to his work, among reviewers and the public both, was polarized. In one of the first reviews of *A People's History*, pre-release, *Kirkus Review* hinted that Zinn failed to balance out the scales of historical record, and merely tipped them onto their other side, explaining, "Instead of negating the one-sided histories he detests, Zinn has merely reversed the image; the distortion remains" (*Kirkus Review*, 1979). The reviews kept coming when the book hit the market; each drew from one or more of three principal perspectives. On the one hand, reviewers lauded *A People's History* as "an excellent antidote to establishment history" (Levin, 1980) and "a step toward a coherent new version of American history" (Foner, 1980). More centrist approaches note that Zinn's statement of purpose aligns with the circle of contemporary radical historians he inhabited, calling his book "a useful source for an analysis of recent radical uses of the past" (Nuechterlein, 1980) and "designed to give the left a useable past" (Kuklick, 1980). In their most cynical, reviews call *A People's History* "a single minded, simpleminded history" (Kammen, 1980) and claim that *A People's History* gives "little proof that the people he names, from slaves to peons, saw matters as [Zinn] does" (Handlin, 1980).

Provided in the preceding paragraph, however, are sound bites, in a way, of those reviews. Kuklick, though recognizing the work's usefulness to leftist politics, also says "this is not to say that Zinn's is not an excellent text. It's rather to say that one should read Carl Degler first." Furthermore, even the most glowing reviews of *A People's History* have their

reservations: prominent historian Eric Foner, in his review for the *New York Times*, counters his praise with concern, arguing, “When ordinary people do achieve a modicum of political influence—as blacks did during Reconstruction—Professor Zinn is more interested in their victimization by the Klan than in exploring what uses they made of their power.” Importantly, the reaction to Zinn’s book from the outset has been multifaceted at best, murky at worst.

In the years since the book’s initial release, the publishers of *A People’s History* and the historian himself have released supplementary material and issued reprints of Zinn’s work, each of which have merited their own reviews or a reprint of an earlier one. (Eric Foner’s *New York Times* review of *A People’s History* was reprinted verbatim in 1984 when Zinn released it, abridged and expanded, under the title *The Twentieth Century: A People’s History*; Foner himself released *Give Me Liberty!: An American History* in 2004.) In 1991, when Zinn released a separate book, *Declarations of Independence*, it did not escape comparison to the “masterpiece of social criticism” that came before it (Scialabba, 1991). The release of *Voices of A People’s History of the United States*, a collection of primary texts meant to accompany *A People’s History*, received positive reviews, though they recognized, too, that the full range of “popular” voices weren’t represented (like the voices of the KKK or the anti-abortion movement, which at their height were majority-representing organizations) (Walkowitz, 2005; Kaster, 2006). In 2007, three years before his death, Zinn published *A Young People’s History of the United States*, a version of *A People’s History* for a younger audience, to a lackluster review in *Teacher College Record*: “Zinn’s massive text has been greatly abridged.... It abandons objectivity by scrutinizing America’s injustices without giving credit to its many successes” (Mueller, 2007). My second primary text, *A Patriot’s History of the United States*, makes its own claims about *A People’s History*, which shall be discussed in the Data/Results section of this paper.

A Patriot's History of the United States

In 2004, three years after 9/11 and near the end of George W. Bush's first term as president of the United States, historians Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen published *A Patriot's History of the United States*. As will be discussed in the Data/Results section of this paper, Schweikart and Allen believe their work stands as an alternative to Zinn's in the classroom and as a response to revisionist history. Though the work is almost 25 years younger than *A People's History*, *A Patriot's History* has also been revised, gone into reprints, and received its own share of praise and derision.

For more conservative or patriotic reviewers, *A Patriot's History* compensates for the failures of Zinn's book. In one of the first reviews after the book's release, one reviewer noted that although "*A Patriot's History* is biased in its own way," it "is a welcome, refreshing, and solid contribution to relearning what we have forgotten and remembering why this nation is good, and worth defending" (Spalding, 2005). Two months later, another reviewer called it "an example of honest historical inquiry" and described it as "strongest when interweaving economic history with political narrative" (Bobb, 2005).

However, *A Patriot's History* also yielded some lukewarm and more than a few negative responses from less conservative historians and columnists. In some candid reviews that hinted at the book's audience, *A Patriot's History* was labeled as a work "that will be hailed by at least half of the country," and as a "frankly nationalistic—often blatantly partisan" book (Dalton, 2005; Gewen, 2005). In a similar vein, David Hoogland Noon called it a book written for "the previously converted" (2006). Noon's same review, which also determined Schweikart and Allen's work "a ponderous, distracted... ode to 'American character,' private property, and

godly virtue,” was reprinted a year later in the next edition of the same publication, *History Teacher* (Noon, 2007).

Intent of Researcher

In my study, I will distance myself from pathos-heavy reviews such as “This Conservative History Book Will Make You Stupider” (Weigel, 2013) or that Zinn’s works “defile our great nation and capitalist free-market system” (Branscome, 2009). Instead of pandering to one side of the ideological aisle or the other, this thesis will be accessible to any reader and will contribute as objectively as possible to the body of research uncovering the deficiency in American political literacy. Instead of a subjective review of what I like or do not like about either work, this thesis will perform quantitative and rhetorical analyses to clearly outline the rhetorical successes and failures of *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History*. I will do this by defining specific criteria as established by historical societies, organizations, and associations (see **Methodology**), using them as lenses through which to see both works (see **Data & Results**), and discussing the implications of the similarities and differences between them (see **Discussion**).

In the rest of this literature review, I will outline the context of historiographical thinking at the time that my primary texts were written. The following sections are important contexts for the reader’s understanding of the political and academic landscape in the 1980s, when *A People’s History* was released, and in the early 2000s, when *A Patriot’s History* was published. Each moment’s historiographical conversations play into the question of *Kairos* that must be established in each of the chapters of my Data/Review section (see **Methodology**).

Historiography

Defining historiography

The process of writing a history depends on the state of the field of historiography when the author enters their writing process, because trends in the field (and, often, the political moment) will shape what historians value. Over the past one hundred years, the field of historiography has been defined and redefined multiple times. In 1938, Carl Becker defined historiography as “the notation of historical works,” yet his definition consists of the field as it related to intellectual history (p. 20). “The historiographer who wishes to succeed” at intellectual history, he writes, “should acquire as much precise knowledge, but above all he should cultivate a capacity for imaginative understanding. If he wishes to fail, he should cultivate a capacity for being irritated by the ignorance and foolishness of his predecessors” (Becker, 1938, p. 22). Becker also takes note of the emerging divergence in the 1930s of social history from intellectual history, but calls for historians to remember that politics have as much to do with the “History of American Life” as vice versa— “as much at least as sport,” he says, “with making American life what it is” (p. 23). The acknowledgement of the connections between intellectual and social history is why Becker proposes that historiography consist of not just one step back from the artifacts, but a second: “a history of history rather than a history of historians.... rather than a history of gradual emergence of historical truth objectively considered” (p. 26). Because research historians also have their own opinions, and because the documents they study are also constructed by people with subconscious biases, historians must be aware of their narrative and rhetorical choices. For the purposes of this paper, it will be useful to identify the

historiographical conversations going on at the time that each of my authors, themselves historians, were writing.

Howard Zinn's Historiography (1970-1980).

A People's History was published in 1980 in the post-Vietnam Cold War period, on the cusp of a decade of revived conservatism exemplified by the Reagan Administration. Many of the major scholarly works that *A People's History* depends on for its data and information were only recently published at the time, and are examples of an emerging paradigm in historiography — revisionist history — that on one level uncovered avenues of study that had never been pursued, and on another level presented an existential question for American scholars and readers: “Do we really know ourselves?” In Sean Wilentz’s previously mentioned review of popular history in *The New Republic*, major historians who participated in the “remorseless re-examination of the nation’s past” include, “among many others, C. Vann Woodward, David Potter, Gerda Lerner, Bernard Bailyn, Eugene Genovese, Forrest McDonald, and Herbert Gutman” (2001). Woodward’s and Potter’s works related to the Civil War won them Pulitzer Prizes in History; Lerner wrote almost a dozen histories of American women; Genovese, McDonald, and Gutman all wrote paradigm-shifting histories about the conditions of slavery in the American South. Zinn cites Woodward, Genovese, and Gutman, among other famous historians, like Richard Hofstadter, in his chapters on the Civil War period.

Too, the philosophy and criticism of Foucauldian thought challenged the notion of progress as a straight upward line from the beginning of human history into the future and instead presented several timelines with their respective forward and backward motions, their own progressive and regressive periods (Foucault 1972). In 1977, the British-American scholar M. I. Finley also challenged historians’ hubristic notions of progress, saying that “subsequent

experience makes possible, and stimulates, a reappraisal of older institutions within their own time and their own context” (126). Zinn seems to obey Foucault’s call for a re-evaluation of the straight upward line and falls in line with Finley’s rejection of hubris. In “‘Progress’ in Historiography,” Finley defines three catalysts for the commercial, not critical, success of a popular history: (1) a modernization of history, (2) subjective value judgments, and (3) “converting... history also into political pedagogy.” If these were my criteria for the success of a popular history, *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History* both would pass with full marks.

Schweikart and Allen’s Historiography (1980-2004).

In the period between 1980 and 2004, historiography kept unfolding. Zinn released revised editions of his work and supplementary material; the 35th Anniversary edition of *A People’s History* extends just into the 21st century. In the thick of the new conservative wave of the Reagan Administration, Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn defined history as “a moral science” but worried that the field was “muddying its own waters,” and that social history in particular “seems to be beyond comprehensive control” (Bailyn, 1982, p. 1-3). In a historical field that was deconstructing narratives of American identity that had held for at least a century, Bailyn challenged historians to be “not analysts of isolated technical problems abstracted from the past, but narrators of worlds in motion—worlds as complex, unpredictable, and transient as our own” (1982, p. 24). It is this call to action that Zinn seems most inclined to respond to when he released his supplementary materials to *A People’s History*.

Then, in 1989, Dutch intellectual historian F. R. Ankersmit too took a critical look at the effects of postmodernist thought on historiographical process (what Ankersmit calls “intellectual alcoholism”), arguing that “The time has come that we should think about the past, rather than investigate it.... The metaphorical dimension in historiography is more powerful than the literal

or factual dimensions.... Criticizing metaphors on factual grounds is indeed an activity which is just as pointless as it is tasteless” (p. 152). For Ankersmit, postmodernism redefined the terms historians use: “the focus is no longer on the past itself, but on the incongruity between the present and the past, between the language we presently use for speaking about the past and the past itself” (p. 153). By Ankersmit’s definition, the work of revisionist historians including Zinn centers on the “incongruity” between how the average American idealized their past and the facts of the matter. The way revisionists redefined American’s understanding of their past is what, eventually, Schweikart and Allen so definitely hoped to reverse in their writing of *A Patriot’s History of the United States*.

In 1990, another prominent intellectual historian, Perez Zagorin, responded to Ankersmit’s “Historiography and Postmodernism” with his own “Historiography and Postmodernism: Reconsiderations.” Zagorin calls Ankersmit “a philosophic trend-spotter” (p. 264), but worries that if postmodernism were to take the academic center-stage, it would be an “abnegation” of historiography’s role: “to give each living generation the broadest and best possible knowledge of the past” (Zagorin, p. 276). On one hand, Zagorin’s criticism may easily be applied to popular histories, which by their nature as single-volume histories convey the idea that their contents contain a whole, not a part, of a history. On the other hand, the construction of *A Patriot’s History* seems to acquiesce to Zagorin’s definition of the role of history: its broadness, its reluctance to deny entry to any name in American politics as Zinn’s work does, suggests that Schweikart and Allen, too, recognize the role of giving students and the public a broad knowledge of America’s past.

Historiography in the 1990s continued to interrogate the lenses by which historians were interpreting the world, and opened conversations about differences in history depending on the

cultural identity of the historian. In “Some theoretical approaches to intercultural comparative historiography,” Jörn Rüsen asks, “Is there any ground for comparison beyond the peculiarities and differences of cultures to be compared?” Rüsen seems to think there is, starting with the construction of fresh “grounds for comparison,” “fundamental considerations about historical memory as the universal cultural means of orienting human practical life,” and “a theory of historical consciousness” “in a systematized form” (5). Rüsen’s observations are helpful given the cultural differences between the authors of my primary texts: on the one hand, Zinn’s far-left academic and activist background, and on the other, Schweikart and Allen’s place in mainstream American conservatism.

Similarly, Indian cultural studies professors Susie Tharu and Satish Podival responded to “an erosion of disciplinary boundaries” in historiography in 1998. Though their study relates to the mixture of historical and literary studies in India specifically, their comments relate as well to the blurring of the lines between academic history and overt engagement in political statements in both *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History*. For example, Howard Zinn provides quotations by contemporary poets and writers as much as he does quotations by political and military figures. An analysis of quotations’ sources in Zinn’s and Schweikart and Allen’s works appears in the Quantitative Data & Results section of this paper.

The discussion of what a narrative synthesis of American history should look like developed even further after the turn of the 21st century, and both the digitalization and globalization of national and international history-telling brought with it an immediacy and a closeness that challenged the work of historiography in new ways. In June of 2001, Jill Lepore published “Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography” in *The New Yorker*. Lepore discusses the emergence of microhistory, a branch of cultural history that

centers on a single subject, supposing that “however singular a person’s life may be, the value of examining it lies... in its exemplariness, in how that individual’s life serves as an allegory for broader issues affecting the culture of a whole,” while focusing on “solving small mysteries.... The life story, like the mystery, is merely the means to an end—and that end is always explaining the culture” (Lepore 133). Though Zinn and Schweikart are by no means focusing on a single person (Schweikart’s chapter on the Civil War names almost 400 individual entities), popular historians write micro-histories of the United States, their goal often being to address questions about its national identity. The identity question is a means to an end — Schweikart and Allen want to refute one prominent idea about America’s national identity (“My country, always wrong,” according to their interpretation) and Zinn writes in large part to interrogate the telling of the “American story” and unmask it as the telling of the elite, white American story.

The identity question became especially relevant to American historians following the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center towers in New York City. With legislation such as the Patriot Act passing less than a month following 9/11, a title like *A Patriot’s History of the United States* becomes relevant in both political and historical ways—a line of thought that I will pursue in the “*Kairos*” sections of my Data/Results section.

Historiography following A Patriot’s History’s publication (2004-Present)

In 2004, in the middle of the Bush presidency post-9/11, the foregrounding of politically-divided 24/7 cable television helped renew questions about American identity and nurtured a critical split between conservative and liberal political ideologies and placed the high-ranking speakers’ and pundits’ opinions of those ideologies in the forefront of the American mind. In 2004, British Africanist and Zimbabwe historian Terence Ranger published “Nationalist History, Patriotic History and the History of the Nation.” He spoke to the emergence of politically-slanted

history-telling, making the case that any history of the country might sell well in a country that is questioning itself, arguing that nationalist history “repudiates academic historiography with its attempts to complicate and question” (Ranger, p. 215). Though Ranger’s writing is very specific to the nation of Zimbabwe, his writing also helps guide an objective consideration of conservative history and its goals.

In the 2000s, frequent criticisms leveled against the academic community within conservative circles were the ideas of the “ivory tower” and of scapegoating postmodernism as an ideology to blame for cultural relativity. Dutch philosophy and ethics scholar Anders Schinkel’s “History and Historiography in Process” seems to address those concerns. He appeals to the metaphors of “remembering” (including in a history) and “forgetting” (leaving out of a history). “One way to make one’s own position clear,” Schinkel says, “is to set it off against another (well-known) position,” which is the mechanism that Schweikart and Allen use to position *A Patriot’s History* (Schinkel, 2004, p. 55). Schinkel makes a call to action, then:

[Historians] will have to try to be aware as much as possible of the selections they make, of the 'forgetting' they do, in short: of the 'subjective' factor in historiography. Historians will have to correct and supplement one another-- and when all this is done, we will still not have the absolute guarantees about the truth of our visions. But this is no cause for worry; have we not always known, that *errare humanum est*? (p. 56)

Schinkel’s call to action may be reflected in the revised publications of both *A Patriot’s History* (2014’s 10th anniversary edition) and *A People’s History* (2015’s 35th anniversary edition). The tenth-anniversary edition of *A Patriot’s History* makes several revisions to positions that the authors had previously held. Some of their positions “have gotten stronger,” in other places they

“have lessened the emphasis,” and “Of course, new material added since 2006 is included” (Schweikart & Allen, 2014, p. xii-xiii). In the thirty-fifth anniversary edition of *A People’s History*, chapters added to the 1980 edition (filling in the time gap between 1980 and 2001) reflect a similar consciousness on behalf of the author.

In the last decade, the field of historiography has been complicated by the blurring of publication lines. Whereas most history is still published in the form of journal articles, monographs, and books, that same history is also disseminated via online platforms like Facebook, Twitter, TikTok, and YouTube in the form of text posts, tweet threads, short-form image-based videos, and video essays. Historiographers continue to take critical looks at the work of their predecessors (Cheng 2008), to interrogate the effects of politics on history (Eley 2008; Johnston 2011), to revise revisionist history (Gaither 2012; Gold 2012) and to question how narrative historiography is performed in academic spaces (Jaeger et al. 2015; Musschoot 2016).

Were I performing a historiographical analysis of my two primary sources, it would be imperative to expand on each of the cited authors and their texts; however, the rhetorical and quantitative literary analysis I will perform (see Methodology) restricts me to considering the historiographical conversations immediately preceding and following the publications of *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History*. However, for my Discussion section, it will be of paramount importance to reflect on the use of my primary sources in a second academic sense—to remove from the publications of academic journals, and to enter the American secondary and collegiate classrooms.

Popular Histories in Public Use

Popular History in the Classroom.

Regardless of how a book's audience responds to its release, a work's real longevity may be determined by its entrance into mainstream high school or college curriculum. When Zinn and Schweikart and Allen published their works, they provided mechanisms by which their works could become accessible to high school and college classrooms. Both works have companion books that provide contexts and original texts for students to reference (e.g., *Voices of a People's History of the United States* and *The Patriot's History Reader: Essential Documents for Every American*). Both also serve as the reference for derivative history volumes (e.g., *A Young Person's History of the United States* or *A Patriot's History of the Modern World*, volumes I and II). Both the intent of the authors for their works to be used in the classroom and the proof that both works have been used in the classroom have been documented, making both works, though not necessarily staples of the literary canon, worthy of study in a rhetorical context.

Anthony Arnove, who also wrote the foreword to the 30th Anniversary edition of *A People's History*, writes about Mitch Daniels, an Indiana governor-turned-Purdue University president, who tried to ban the book from public schools, and the resistance that professors and students raised to this proposed suppression. Arnove laments that Zinn was not alive to see the attacks on and response to his work and seeks to articulate Zinn's wishes from when he was alive in response to Daniels' efforts, saying, "I would start with Daniels's emails and public statements defending his views and seeking to discredit Zinn, and then read them alongside Zinn's debates with like-minded opponents from the past" (Arnove, 2014, p. 155). The same year, Keith Erikson

wrote about the issue saying that “redirection, reduction, and retort,” are the three prominent reactions to the conversation around how history is taught to students and the ways that certain people in positions of power seek to subvert or eliminate various points of view in the historical community” (Erekson, 2014, p. 158).

As for *A Patriot’s History*, the evidence of authorial promotion of the book as a textbook is found in an opinion written by Schweikart himself, published in 2005 by the History News Network, titled “Why It’s Time for a Patriot’s History of the United States.” Schweikart writes:

Whether through deliberate revision designed to question America’s unique place in the world--often out of guilt--or whether through the steady assault of race, class, “gender,” and other “oppressed/oppressor” scholarship, the overwhelming majority of U.S. history textbooks today have a distinct leftward slant.... When I could not find such a text, I joined with Michael Allen to write *A Patriot’s History of the United States* (Penguin/Sentinel), which is the first comprehensive “conservative” history survey written by Americans.

In the paragraphs following this statement of purpose, Schweikart states the opinions that the work seeks to convey to its readers. Schweikart begins to list the book’s perspectives on major topics in American history (the Founders, Lincoln, the New Deal, Ronald Reagan) with a “We portray” statement, and defines these perspectives as “fair assessment[s] of the past” that are “necessary to challenge the claims” of “almost all other so-called ‘texts’ out there” (Schweikart 2005).

Educators take to both texts, however. Both have been national bestsellers (Zinn 2015; Schweikart and Allen 2014), and both have been required readings for American history courses. Over the course of this two-year project, friends and students of my current institution have

approached me when they saw the works and pointed either one out as a book they have read, in both public and private school contexts.

Popular History as Ideological Touchstone

On either side of the political spectrum, when a popular history confirming a particular narrative is released, its target market seizes on it (i.e., as the truth finally being told). The work might become a cultural artifact, as Howard Zinn's work has. In *Good Will Hunting*, for example, Matt Damon's character touts *A People's History* as a book that "will knock you on your ass" (1998). In Greta Gerwig's 2017 coming-of-age film *Lady Bird*, Kyle, one of Lady Bird's love interests, is characterized as a "woke" counterculture teenager who always has *A People's History* in his hand (2017).

Similarly, *A Patriot's History* has been hailed by members of the 21st Century's conservative media zeitgeist, including Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh. *A Patriot's History* was also an entry point for Schweikart to become a part of that same zeitgeist. He is a regular interviewee by conservative talk hosts (Schweikart, 2011; Yiannopoulos, 2018), and the publisher of several more books for conservative audiences, such as *48 Liberal Lies About American History: (That You Probably Learned in School)* (Schweikart, 2009) and *America's Victories: Why America Wins Wars and Will Win the War on Terror* (Schweikart, 2015). He is also a frequent speaker at national conservative organizations and events such as Turning Point USA (2016) and the Young Americans Foundation (2018). Michael Allen has spoken about *A Patriot's History of the United States* on C-SPAN (2007), but he has not used his contributions to *A Patriot's History* as a platform in the same way that his co-author has.

Despite political line-drawing, historiographers, communications theorists, and journalists in the late 2000s and 2010s have produced a body of work tangential to political

theory, educational pedagogy, and historiographic study: the study of the effects of historical communication on the recent past and present world. In 2009, Jerome de Groot published the first edition of *Consuming History: Historians and Heritage in Contemporary Popular Culture*. In 2013, Australian educator Kate Habgood called for pedagogies that would introduce historiographical literacy to the history classroom, citing Zinn as an example (p. 43). In 2015, an international team of European historians published several articles analyzing the formatting of history in popular history magazines (Sjöland et al., 2015; Popp et al., 2015); a similar team of researchers did the same with regard to “the Journalistic Formatting of History” (Crivellari et al., 2015). Each of these researchers acknowledges the manner in which new media have contributed to the muddling of single stories in historical preservation and history-telling. New media as well have allowed for new, non-establishment, voices to enter the conversation around *A People’s History*, *A Patriot’s History*, and other historical publications.

Attempts at Public Scholarship

Since the release of *A Patriot’s History of the United States* in 2004, multiple writers, bloggers, YouTube users, and students have endeavored to write a comparison between Zinn and Schweikart and Allen’s works. Students’ essays, most often written for an Advanced Placement U.S. History (APUSH) class, are general and incomprehensive, more of a reading response than an analysis (Amerson, 2011; Weber, 2014). Publicly-available syllabi reveal how educators sometimes juxtapose the works together in higher-level History classes, such as AP U.S. History, to entrust to their students the discussion this thesis itself will engage with (Rees, 2018).

Chris Stephens and Randall Beneke’s article, published in *The Atlantic* two years after Howard Zinn’s death, takes a psychological approach to why books by partisan historians resonate so well with the book market and with educators (2012). They compare history books

that appeal to ideological groups to books like Dan Brown's *Da Vinci Code*, which takes an aggressive, dramatic approach to storytelling that makes readers think they are in on a secret. The article is opinion-based, making an apples-to-oranges comparison of Zinn's ideologically biased work to the non-factual publishing of David Barton, yet they draw a valuable line in the sand: "democracies need skepticism" (Stephens & Beneke, 2012). There are multiple examples of people who applied this skepticism to my two primary sources—two blogs and one YouTube channel have at some point begun composing full-length analyses of *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History*.

The first major attempt at a wholesale analysis occurred on a blog called "Patriots and Peoples," written by historian James Stripes. Between 2007 and 2016, Stripes wrote more than 200 posts on the "Patriots and Peoples" blog, many of them about *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History*, but he performs a much different comparison between the works than the one I will perform in this thesis. While I take a rhetorical lens to the text of the two works, Stripes analyzes how the sources that the authors cite compare to the chapters they are attached to. For example, Stripes spends several blog posts comparing Schweikart and Allen's description of the Columbian Exchange to the work they cite at the end of their account: *The Ecological Indian: Myth and History*, by Shepard Krech III:

... we see that the story in *A Patriot's History* differs in quite a few particulars from the story in *The Ecological Indian*, despite their judicious use of Krech's observation that America was not a "disease-free paradise". Krech's text seems to adorn their narrative, rather than informing their facts and analysis (Stripes, 2007)

In the last post performing an analysis of my primary texts, titled "Embracing Bias," Stripes expresses how refreshed he was by "the openly expressed ideological positions" of *A People's*

History and *A Patriot's History*. He explains, however, why his interest in continuing his analysis “waned”: “I was hoping for better research in support of conservative ideology. Zinn’s distortions appeared to be of a different sort than those by Schweikart and Allen. The difference provoked disillusionment” (Stripes 2016).

The second attempt began on a blog started by an American professor at the University of Helsinki, Joe McVeigh, called “.....And Read All Over” ; it tried to take a comprehensive look at the works of Zinn and Schweikart in relation to each other (McVeigh, 2011). “Patriot’s vs. People’s is an analytical review of two books about American history that most would assume are politically opposed,” McVeigh began. “I decided to read them side by side, chapter by chapter, in order to compare and contrast the two works to each other. It didn’t go so well.” McVeigh composed four parts to his analysis. Part IV is titled “This is the End.” In it he vows, “never again waste time reading a book that wasn’t enjoyable or beneficial to [him]” and responds to an anonymous commenter who encouraged him to continue, “I just can’t do it, my friend. I’m too jaded” (McVeigh, 2011).

The third, final, and shortest attempt was started by Kell Brigan, a woman with degrees in English and computer science, on YouTube (2018a). The series was two episodes long, totaling 44 minutes. In the description to the second video, Brigan cites “long-range goal setting” as the reason she ceased her study of Zinn and Schweikart and Allen; she says, “I’ve decided some things have to go, and one of them is the People’s Patriot Project” (Brigan, 2018b).

How will I avoid the pitfalls of subjectivity, anger, and overwhelm that past scholars like McVeigh, Stripes, and Brigan have experienced in the conduction of their study? In my methodology, I will define the most important terms that I will use in my study and outline the criteria by which I will perform my analyses. Specifically, I will take a more focused perspective

to the two works than the aforementioned scholars. Instead of analyzing every chapter in both *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History*, I will (1) narrow the body of text that I will study from a combined 47 chapters to a combined 12 chapters, and (2) limit my focus to a simple quantitative analysis of the sources and a simple rhetorical analysis of the chapters at hand, rather than a broad application of various literary criticisms.

Methodology

As someone performing an analysis of two popular histories from the standpoint of a student of English and Communications, rather than from the view of a student of History, I plan to take a three-fold approach to my analysis of *A People's History of the United States* and *A Patriot's History of the United States*: quantitative analysis, rhetorical analysis, and analysis of its effectiveness as a *popular* history (that is, a text to be sold on the market to the public). In this methodology, I will outline my approaches to each facet of my analyses by defining this thesis' structure, my study's focus, and my rhetorical and analytical approaches to the text.

Disclaimer

Upon asking the question "What makes a popular history successful?" several criteria come to mind. Before the criteria can be addressed, however, I must first ask, "Why are popular histories written," and "Who are popular histories written *for*?" When we discern the intended audience of a certain popular history, we begin clarifying the motive for writing said text. Popular histories are often considered successes within their well-established and defined audiences (the Democratic base, the Republican base, etc.) and abhorred outside of those bases (see **Literature Review, Primary Texts**). From an academic standpoint, we could analyze a popular history on a historiographical or factual level: "Are popular histories telling factual stories?" This question is loaded: A Pew Research Center study published in 2018 demonstrated

that Americans across the political spectrum are “more likely to classify a news statement as factual if it favors their side — whether it is factual or opinion” (Mitchell et al. 24). Because I do not want to corrupt a reader’s perception of the objectivity of this study, I will ask an alternate question than “Are these popular histories factual”; instead, I ask, “Do these works succeed rhetorically?” That is, “Do these texts effectively communicate what they intend to communicate?” For the purposes of this study, therefore, there are three characteristics of a rhetorically effective popular history.

Structure of Data & Results

In my **Data & Results** section, I will first perform the (1) quantitative analysis, which will outline patterns found in Zinn’s and Schweikart and Allen’s research sources, citations, and book structure. Then, I will perform a (2) rhetorical analysis of each text, providing excerpts from each work and outlining the rhetorical devices the authors use to present their messages in relation to the appeals in the rhetorical triangle. Last, I will compare the execution of *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History* to (3) the self-prescribed standards of the historians’ field of study as outlined by the major American organizations of academic historians: the American Historical Association and the Organization of American Historians, as well as the Modern Languages Association, the organization for academics in English and modern languages.

Because of the massiveness of undertaking even a narrowed focus on American wars, the **Data & Results** section of this paper will be structured out according to the six sections I have chosen to focus on: the introductions, the Revolutionary period, the Civil War period, the Spanish-American War, the Second World War, and the Vietnam period of the Cold War. I have chosen to focus specifically on American wars for multiple reasons. First, I need to narrow this study so that it is feasible for the purpose of a final honors thesis. Perhaps in the years to come, I

may revisit my scholarship in this field and continue my research; however, at the undergraduate level, I am unable to complete an analysis of the full and complete bodies of both primary texts. Second, five of the many armed conflicts the United States has engaged in have been the primary mechanism by which America has defined itself and what it hopes itself to be:

- I. The American Revolutionary War detached 13 colonies from British rule and defined them, among other things, as a single nation.
- II. The Civil War ripped the nation in two and then defined the U.S. as a slave-less nation.
- III. The Spanish-American War catalyzed the United States' definite identity as a global colonial force to rival Europe.
- IV. The Second World War defined the United States as the first nuclear superpower and gave it further international buying power (*People's* 425; *Patriot's* 613).
- V. The Vietnam War, as one of the first wars the United States failed to definitively win, ended the draft and defined the all-volunteer American military-industrial complex.

The presentation of these wars seemed the most logical focus to narrow down my study (1) because of the role that each war played in defining what it meant to be American, (2) because the wars themselves are already some of the most well-recorded events in the field of American history, and (3) because war involves every facet of American life (consumable and strategic resource distribution, policy, economy, spirituality, family, etc.). Each chapter will receive, on a small level, a review of each section of the rhetorical triangle; however, each chapter will also have a primary rhetorical focus. In my section on the presentation of the American Revolution, for example, my analysis will include the full rhetorical triangle, but I will give special devotion to *structure*, and so on.

Quantitative Analysis Methodology

As defined in the literature review, a rhetorically-successful presentation of American history summarizes the body of research about a subject available to the authors and depends on historiography being done at the time of a work's release. For the authors, none of whom self-identify with political extremism, citations and sourcing become an especially important facet of contextualizing the history each book wants to tell; this thinking is in line with the scholarship Anders Schinkel published in 2004 about selective "forgetting" in historiographical writing (p. 55). For example, if a work were to describe the expansion of the Union without mentioning the border treaties that were made and broken with Native Americans as that group was pushed west, the work might be giving an entire demographic of Americans—and their history—a short shrift.

In my analysis of the text, therefore, I will perform an analysis of the demographics of each work. As a rule, it will be expected that *A People's History of the United States* will, because of its view of telling history from the perspective of the resistance to the establishment, privilege minority groups compared to *A Patriot's History of the United States*, which holds to the idea that a history of the US depends on the story of its political and military leaders. Moreover, I will analyze the chapters that relate to war and compare the demographics of each book based on place of birth (North or South? New World, Old World, Far East?), profession (politicians, poets), gender, race, and economic status.

Study Foci.

Because the focus of my paper is the presentation of American wars in my two primary texts, I shall perform a similar quantitative analysis on the sections in each work that deal specifically with armed conflict (in the United States and abroad). I first plan to ask the following questions about how the chapters are structured:

- + How many pages describe the lead-up to a war? What was the focus of the lead-up?
- + How many pages did the authors spend describing the war itself, both the battles or campaigns and the people who fought it?
- + How many quotations from primary and secondary sources are provided for context to the war? What are the demographics of those quoted?

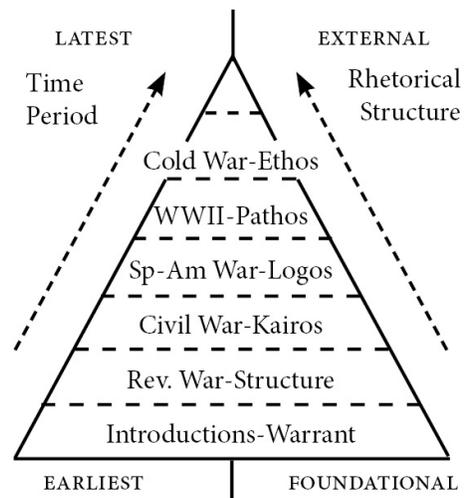
Then, I will address the following demographic questions in regard to the focus of the chapters:

- + How many individual people are described in reference to the war? What are the demographics of those individuals?
- + How many are referenced generally vs. how many are referenced specifically, by name?
- + What individuals, if any, are profiled as major figures in reference to the war?

In asking these questions about the structure and demographics of the works' presentations of war, patterns will emerge that I will address in the **Discussion** section of this thesis.

Rhetorical Analysis Methodology

For reasons outlined in **Discussion Section Methodology, Rationale** below, I have reduced my qualitative analysis of my primary texts to a rhetorical analysis. Both *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* will receive a review of chapter *structure*, logical appeals (*logos*), emotional appeals (*pathos*), what the timing and the historical moment around the books' publication dates contributed to readers' understandings of the texts (*kairos*), the appeals to authority that the authors make throughout their books and by virtue of their credentials as historians and political actors (*ethos*), and the underlying claims that influence the presentation



of the wars themselves (*warrant*). In the figure above and in the following paragraphs, I will outline the metrics of consideration I will apply to each work.

Warrant. In my chapter about the introductions of *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History*, I will devote the lion's share of my analysis to the *epistemic warrant*: the foundation of assumptions that the authors' arguments rest on. My choice to analyze the warrant in the introductions is twofold. First, the introduction is where the warrant is most clearly and explicitly defined. Second, and more importantly, because the historical, political, and academic background of the authors and their histories affects their epistemic warrants, the epistemic warrant is the basis for the authors' entire presentation of American history as they see it. The warrant has an implicit impact on the voices that are valued in the texts, the stories that are important to the authors, and the approaches the authors take to issues such as war. (For example, the epistemic warrant might influence why one author would choose to skip over the battles that took place in the Second World War, and why another author might spend two or three pages describing the campaigns in Europe and the Pacific that led to an American victory.) To begin an analysis of *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* any place other than with the ideologies that ground them would be poor scholarship on my part and do a disservice to the thesis as a whole.

Structure. Following my chapter on the epistemic warrant will be a chapter analyzing the next-most foundational rhetorical construction in the books: how the chapters are structured. I will perform this analysis of structure on chapters in *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* that have to do with the American Revolution: the period of time in which the nation itself was structured. When I analyze the chapters, I will comment on structures large and small: the chronology of each book as a whole, the transitions between chapters, the chronology of the

chapters, the paragraphs in a chapter and their subjects, and the major subjects and themes of the chapters. Furthermore, I will discern the balance between exposition and commentary that the authors make, drawing on the quantitative data points for part of my analysis.

Kairos. At any point in time, the moment that an author chooses to write, their work is composed in response to, or with the context of, the state of political, historical, or educational discourse at the time. As I will demonstrate, both Howard Zinn and Schweikart and Allen make clear that their works especially are written in response to their cultural moment explicitly in the text, whether it be in an introduction or (usually and) throughout their book. Given *A People's History of the United States's* publication in 1980 at the cusp of the Reagan administration by an activist-professor, and *A Patriot's History of the United States's* publication in 2004 in the thick of the Bush administration by a conservative economic historian (Schweikart) and a historian of the American West and Early America (Allen), the timing of the two works will serve to set the stage for the works in a way that informs the reader as to where the authors could be coming from in their arguments.. I will use chapters in *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* that cover the Civil War to spotlight the rhetorical angle of Kairos. Kairos is like the structure of a chapter in that it is an implicit rhetorical angle (by virtue of when the reader reads and the author writes), rather than an explicit linguistic appeal (to a primary source, to an emotion). For example, arguments put forth about race in America almost always stem back to the speaker's understanding of the Civil War, and so the historical moment at which both authors publish about the Civil War will reflect their contemporary conversations about race in white American Liberalism and Conservatism.

Logos. Given the epistemic warrant, that is, the idea that each history is trying to make a corrective of the way that history has been presented in the past, both *A People's History of the*

United States and *A Patriot's History of the United States* depend on claims of plausibility. My chapter on the Spanish American War will include an analysis of logos in *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* as its central focus. Beyond the appeals made to the readers' own logic, this section will explore how the authors choose to ground their stories on specific currents (the economic state of the U.S. at the time, e.g.) to maintain the plausibility of their narrative about American history. A major portion of this section will hinge on the rhetorical devices and strategies that the authors employ in their work, including, to name a few, hyperbole, metaphor, rhetorical questions, and parallelism.

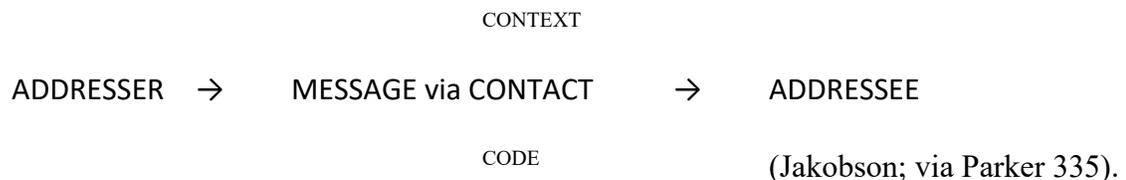
Pathos. My section about World War II is, rightfully, the section in which I will deal with the authors' use of appeals to pathos in their works. The second World War is a wellspring of national pride in the American imagination, and, as Zinn and Schweikart and Allen both explain, the narrative surrounding the conflict is largely hegemonic: to deny America's moral "rightness" in the war is, in the either/or thinking that dominates American political debate, siding with Nazi Germany. The subject of WWII is a crucible in which Zinn's appeal to the resistant "people" is most tested and in which Schweikart and Allen's appeal to the "patriot" is most supplemented. My analysis of pathos in this chapter will make special note of the way the authors use sentential adverbs, hyperbole, assumption, meiosis, imagery and figurative language, and sometimes loaded language to appeal to their audience's emotions.

Ethos. My section on the chapters of the Vietnam War (and the Cold War period in general) will focus on the ethos of the authors and the rhetorical appeals to trustworthiness that the authors make in *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History*. For example, one of the most frequent rhetorical appeals that both of the authors make to ethos is an appeal to their audiences' own good nature and objectivity. The "People" reading *A People's History* are assumed to know

the conventional history: the one Zinn is building off of in his presentation of resistance to it. Likewise, the understanding of the “Patriots” who read *A Patriot’s History* of the United States are redeemed by the book they read. “Search yourself,” Zinn, Schweikart, and Allen ask, “You already know this to be true.” Other appeals to ethos I will look for in these chapters include sourcing, quotations, and the common ground that the authors establish with their readers.

Discussion & Conclusion Methodologies

In my **Discussion**, I will comment on the rhetorical successes and failures of the works using the lens of reader-response criticism. First, I will apply theorists Stanley Fish’s and Wolfgang Iser’s models of Ideal readers and Implied readers to establish the likely audiences that Zinn and Schweikart and Allen’s works affect (Fish; Iser; via Parker 333-334). Then, I will frame the effects the books have on their audiences using Roman Jakobson’s model of communication:



I have chosen to leverage reader-response criticism (and Jakobson’s model especially) because it bridges the gap between the literary lenses of my first major, English, and the communications theory of my second major, Communications. Indeed, much of my **Literature Review** falls under the arm of reader-response criticism known as “Reception History” (Parker 345)—the tracking of ways that readers, whether they are scholars, government officials, school boards, or students, have responded to the works of Zinn, and Schweikart and Allen (see **Literature Review, Primary Texts and Popular Histories In Public Use**).

What Makes a ‘Popular’ History ‘Popularly’ Successful?

After my comparison of Zinn’s and Schweikart and Allen’s appeals to their ideal and implied readers, I will pivot to an application of the data I have collected in my **Data & Results** section to determine my primary texts’ rhetorical success as a popular history, as a book marketed for a non-academic market as well as for the classroom. I will depend on three criteria for my determinations of the works’ effectiveness: consistent, well-defined narrative intent, readability and reader connection, and ethical scholarship.

Consistent, Well-defined Narrative Intent.

In order to effectively determine the rhetorical effectiveness of a capital-h History, an author must first define their terms, outline their methods, and stick by them. In the first chapters of both *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History*, the authors lay out their own intentions and methodologies (see **Data & Results, Introductions**). As the first things the readers encounter, those intentions lay the groundwork for an exposition of the *epistemic warrant* (see **Warrant**) of the text. A reviewer may ask objectively if the author accomplishes what they *say* they set out to do, and if they do it consistently. If so, the popular history may be considered rhetorically successful in this first aspect. If instead of being consistent, the author redefines their terms without effectively guiding the reader, breaks their own rules, or uses loaded language, the author fails rhetorically, because they will lose their readers’ interest and trust.

Readability / Reader Connection.

A popular history, because it is meant for commercial distribution and popular consumption, must not only fulfill its obligation to their readers to appease the readers’ expectations as they were set up in the introduction; it must also persuade the reader that it is a book *worth reading* by inviting them to participate in the history. The first paragraph of Stephen

Kinzer's *The True Flag*, a popular history about the turn of the 20th Century, (1) invites the reader to consider the book's premise and central question and (2) links the turns of the 20th and 21st centuries to each other: "How should the United States act in the world? Americans cannot decide. For more than a century we have debated with ourselves" (Kinzer 1). Barbara W. Tuchman opens her historical review of the "pursuit of policy contrary to self-interest," *The March of Folly*, by appealing to what her intended audience likely already has strong feelings about: "Mankind, it seems, makes a poorer performance of government than of almost any other human activity" (Tuchman 5). Barbara Demick's book about life in North Korea, a nation known for its secretiveness, invites the reader to follow the author in her investigation: "In 2001, I moved to Seoul as a correspondent for the *Los Angeles Times*, covering both Koreas.... [A]fter I succeeded in getting into the country, I found that reporting was almost impossible" (Demick xi).

The rhetorical triangle defines the means by which the persuasion (that the reader *ought* to engage the text) occurs: the work must be gripping (*pathos*), credible (*ethos*), rational (*logos*), and timely (*kairos*) (see **Rhetorical Analysis Methodology** below). An author could begin their book by launching into historical data, primary accounts, and economic reports, but none of the authors above do so: instead, Kinzer asks a question (*logos*), Tuchman invokes a feeling (*pathos*), and Demick invokes her job and experience (*ethos*). The first two approaches tell the reader the truth, but the latter performs a function of storytelling for the reader that makes it real for them. The texts do not just tell the reader history—they help the reader to visualize it.

Furthermore, a popular history's success, depending on its intended audience, requires prose that is straightforward, specific, and approachable. Whether or not it aligns with its reader's interests and worldview, if a popular history's prose is too dense, too dependent on

jargon, too academically-written, or too vague (that is, not giving readers any characters or places to latch on to as they read), then the work fails rhetorically because it didn't accommodate for its intended audience's (the general public's) reading level.

Ethical Scholarship.

A display of ethical scholarship is the third metric for the rhetorical success of a popular history. In the 21st century, it is easy for content writers to pass off material that appeals to readers without being factual or ethically written. These failures are condemned by the fact-checking organizations of journalists and professional organizations of historians; yet, online content farms posing as "news networks" still profit from such exploits. Unsuccessful histories, popular or otherwise, share certain rhetorical traits with fake, biased, and misleading content and information sites, including (1) appeals to speculative information and unmarked or unprofessional opinion, (2) loaded language, (3) targeted or one-sided uses of certain information, and (4) buzzwords. Each might succeed to engage its readers, but fail to hold up to scrutiny under logical and evidence-based consideration. It is because of these realities that academic best practices are more important than ever as a metric for trustworthiness in the presentation of a narrative of American history, so this study will appeal to the best practices and guidelines of three organizations of academics as the measure to which *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* will be held.

Two of the organizations I will look to in this paper to define ethical scholarship are specific to the field of history: The American Historical Association (AHA) and the Organization of American Historians (OAH). In 2002, the OAH executive board drafted the following Statement on Honesty and Integrity: "Honesty and integrity should undergird the work of all historians. Historians seek truth about the past in an effort to better understand historical

developments and how they relate to the present and future” (Organization of American Historians, 2002). The board drafted the statement because “when students encounter historians... there is an implicit trust on the part of the student that the history teacher or professor will convey a truthful representation of the past” (Organization of American Historians, 2002). The “implicit trust” of the student towards the historian extends into every classroom that chooses to use the works of Zinn and Schweikart and Allen and into the members of the public that read those same works.

The American Historical Association recognizes that “textbooks inevitably and rightly reflect authors’ particular approaches and interpretive choices,” yet maintains three main standards that teachers of history should weigh when selecting textbooks: factual coverage, historical thinking, and review, evaluation, and supplementary materials. “A satisfactory history text describes what key selection criteria have been,” the guidelines maintain, and will “reflect the experiences of different groups.” It will also “deal with the economic, political, social and cultural aspects of the human experience,” and “not only provide a historical narrative” but empower students to think critically about the past. The guidelines specify the importance as well of using and providing primary sources “in both print and digital formats” for students’ accessibility (American Historical Association, 2018). The AHA’s consistent standard for work across political and ideological lines will serve as a fair judge for the works I will review in this thesis, which themselves stand almost diametrically opposed from one another in ideological persuasion.

Last, I believe that it is important to look to the Modern Language Association (MLA) for its rules about “Ethical Conduct in Service and Scholarship.” The MLA’s second rule says, “A scholar who borrows from the works and ideas of others... should acknowledge the debt,

whether or not the sources are published,” and the fourth says, “Scholars should judge the work of others fully, fairly, and in an informed way. A scholar who... is so out of sympathy with the author, topic, or critical stance of a work as to be unable to judge its merits without prejudice must decline to serve as a referee or reviewer” (Modern Languages Association, 2004). The works I analyze in this thesis are intertextual: they speak to one another both implicitly and explicitly, and as such, rules about how scholars treat the work of others (whether they cite it or critique it) is paramount to the work’s rhetorical success.

Rationale

As I stated in my literature review, I hoped to design a project that would avoid the pitfalls of prior attempts to study these two texts in conjunction. I chose to limit my study to quantitative research and rhetorical analysis and to appeal to the professional standards of the field to avoid the pitfall of overbearing pathos, and to avoid the pitfalls of making judgment calls about the success of a text without being an established member of the field. I also limit my **Discussion** section to a discussion of the implication of rhetorical strategies because criticisms like those against Feminist, Postmodern, Post-Structuralist, Post-Colonial, Queer, and Critical Race Theories are at the very heart of the debate between my two primary texts and between the political ideologies they represent. This is not to say that those theories are unhelpful—rather, that they would serve as a stumbling block for some readers.

Quantitative Data

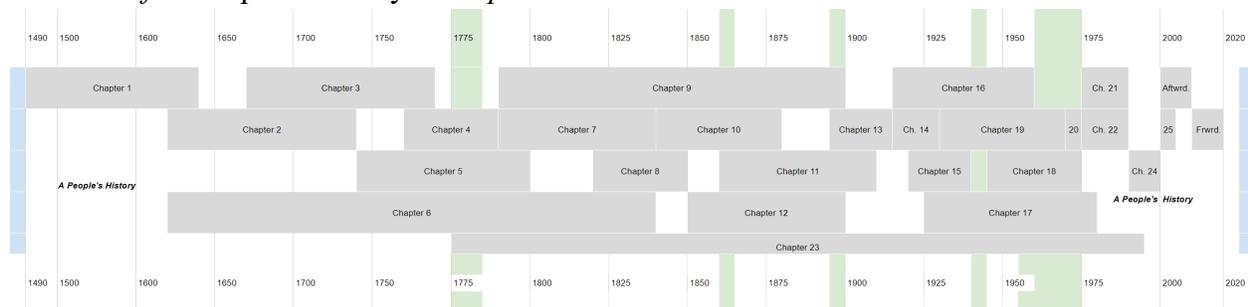
Philosopher and historian Anders Schinkel wrote in 2004 that historians “will have to try to be aware as much as possible of the selections they make” (p. 56). Active and critical readers of popular history can do the same, and doing so may include an objective metric by which readers may discern the kinds of narrative lines that historians value when they synthesize

American history. This quantitative analysis is portioned into two data categories: (1) data pertaining to the physical bodies of *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* and (2) data pertaining to the Americans (and non-Americans) who become the subjects of their narratives. The major questions I will apply to each dataset have been outlined in my **Methodology**, and the datasets themselves are reproduced in this thesis (and in its appendices) for peer review.

Primary Texts' Content Distribution

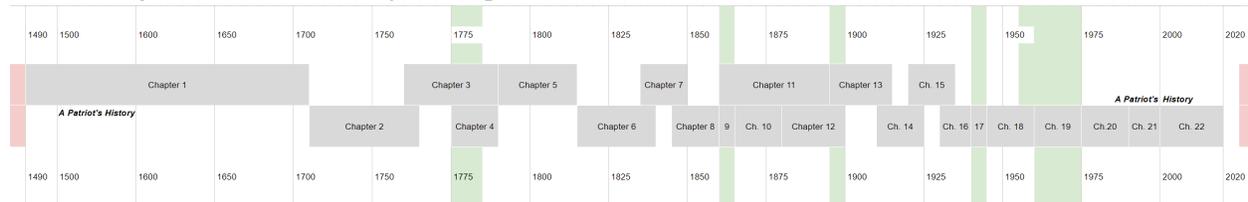
A crucial and primary difference between my primary texts in the area of content distribution is the difference in chapter organization between *A Patriot's History* and *A People's History*. The two timelines below show the entire span of the history recorded in the works, with the earliest date, 1492, on the left, and the current date, 2020, on the far right. Green columns represent the time period of a war that comes into focus in my study, and gray rectangles represent a chapter's length. In the first figure, below, Chapter 1 of Zinn's *A People's History* spans between 1492 and 1640. Chapter 2 stretches from 1619 to the 1740s, and begins to overlap with Chapter 3 (1620s-1760s) and Chapter 6 (1620s-1830s). At first, the chapter distribution makes little sense, but upon reading the text, we find that the chapters are topical, not chronological: Chapter 2, "Drawing the Color Line," the early history of black Americans, naturally overlaps with "Persons of Mean and Vile Condition," a survey of early American poverty, and "The Intimately Oppressed," a review of the lives of Antebellum American women.

Figure 1
Timeline of A People's History's Chapter Structure



In this second figure, we see a timeline that is much tighter, and much less overlapping: the chapters in *A Patriot's History*. Schweikart and Allen's synthesis of American history is a chronological account of the nation, one with very specific start- and end-dates in its titles. Chapter 1, "The City on the Hill, 1492-1707," likewise begins at Columbus's "discovery" of America, and ends just before England, Wales, and Scotland unite under the banner of the United Kingdom. Chapter 2, "Colonial Adolescence," picks up exactly at 1707 and carries to 1763, to the end of the French and Indian War and of Pontiac's Rebellion, up to the brink of revolution. *A Patriot's History* generally depends on these kinds of large-scale political and military events as mile markers for its exposition and incorporates bits of religious history, black history, native history, and women's history along the way in favor of a single narrative.

Figure 2
Timeline of A Patriot's History's Chapter Structure



Textual Data Analysis, A People's History

In *A People's History*, Howard Zinn's text covering war periods spans from between 24 and 40 pages long. All of those periods are contained in a single chapter except for the American Revolution, which spans two shorter chapters totaling 44 pages. Because of the topical nature of Zinn's chapters (which will be discussed in greater detail in the **Rhetorical Analysis**), Zinn often provides context and detail before beginning to describe the war at hand, and afterward describes the effects the war had on Americans and the international stage. The table on the following page shows the size of each chapter by page, the number of pages that Zinn's account of the war takes up, and the proportion, in percent, between those page numbers. Typically, Zinn's description of

the events of the war make up very little of the chapters (between 13% and 35%), but the obvious outlier, as can be seen in the table below, is the Vietnam War, which Zinn spends the majority of the chapter describing (more than 70%). In all, Zinn spends less than half of his chapters about American wars describing the events and campaigns of the wars themselves, and prefers to contextualize them.

Table 1

Pages Devoted to Events of Wars in Chapters About War, *A People's History*

| War in Chapter | Chapter length (ps.) | War length (ps.) | Percent (War/Chap.) |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| American Revolution | 44 pages (p. 59-102) | 6 pages (p. 75-80) | 13.64% |
| American Civil War | 40 pages (p. 171-210) | 7 pages (p. 189-195) | 17.50% |
| Spanish-American W. | 24 pages (p. 297-320) | 4 pages (p. 306-309) | 16.67% |
| Second World War | 36 pages (p. 407-442) | 13 pages (p. 412-424) | 36.11% |
| Vietnam War | 33 pages (p. 469-501) | 24 pages (p. 475-498) | 72.72% |
| Total Pages | 177 pages of book | 54 pages of chaps. | 30.51% of war chaps. |

Chapter Content Focus, Before War. *A People's History*, as has been said, is topically-structured rather than chronological. When Zinn transitions between social issues, he does so with a consistent structure that can be easily traced in each chapter. To contextualize the war he will focus on, he typically introduces between one and three rhetorical questions. (In **Appendix A**, every column in an image represents a page in a chapter. A green cell at the bottom of the column indicates the introduction of Zinn's rhetorical questions, what I call his "Central Qs.") Around it, Zinn builds out from his Central Qs by describing the economic situation prior to the war (and war's potential economic benefits). Then, he often introduces a class struggle. The last thing Zinn sometimes does before beginning his description of the war itself is to communicate how the public was moved to war. The table on the following page condenses the data found in

Appendix A's page-by-page visualization of this structure into a digestible format. Chapters 4 and 5 are the American Revolution, 9 the American Civil War, 12 the Spanish-American, 16 the Second World War, and 18 the Cold War period or Vietnam War.

Table 2

A People's History's Pre-War Narrative Structure, By War

| Ch. | Ex. Central Qs | Economic Situation | Class Struggle | Public → War |
|------|---|--|---|--|
| 4, 5 | “Could class hatred be focused against the pro-British elite, and deflected from the nationalist elite?” (p. 62) | Taking land from the British Empire and/or from the Royalists, expanding west | “Boston seems to have been full of class anger in those days” (p. 61) | Revolutionary rhetoric: <i>Common Sense</i> , Locke, Declaration of Independence |
| 9 | “How can slavery be described?... Are the <i>conditions</i> of slavery as important as the <i>existence</i> of slavery?” (p. 172) | “Support of slavery was based on an overwhelming practicality” (p.171). (tobacco, cotton) | “The need for slave control led to... paying poor whites... to be overseers” (p. 177) | Abolitionist and free black writing and publishing, Lincoln's election |
| 12 | “And would not a foreign adventure deflect some of the rebellious energy... toward an external enemy?”(p.297) | “ ‘Fate has written our policy for us; the trade of the world must and shall be ours.’ ” (p.299) | “Would it not unite people with government,... instead of against them?” (p.297) | Expansionist propaganda, “support” of Cuban rebels |
| 16 | “Was there an under-current of reluctance; were there unpublicized signs of resistance?” (p. 407) (see Rhetorical Analysis) | “ ‘The Southwest Pacific area was of undeniable economic importance to the... States’ ” (p.410) | “‘the American economic war aim was to save capitalism at home and abroad’” (p.413) | Roosevelt “lied to the public” (p.411) & presentation of Pearl Harbor as sudden |
| 18 | “Why was the United States doing this?” (p.471) (see Rhetorical Analysis) | “Southeast Asia... is the principal world source of natural rubber and tin” (p.471) | Ho Chi Minh's revolution in Indochina against French colonial control | Kennedy behind closed doors vs. to American public |

Chapter Content Focus, War. In *A People's History*, it is often very difficult to tell when a war begins. For Zinn, a war almost always begins in the imaginations of certain Americans (often capitalists) before a declaration of war is made; he places little importance on

the official resolution drafted or passed. Sometimes, a war begins by way of an introductory clause (i.e., “by the time fighting began,...”). The table below demonstrates this.

Table 3
Lines Marking Wars’ Beginnings, *A People’s History*

| War | Opening Line |
|------------|--|
| Revolution | “Four days after the reading [of the Declaration], the Boston Committee of Correspondence ordered the townsmen to show up... for a military draft.” (p.75) |
| Civil War | “When Lincoln was elected, seven southern states seceded from the Union.... The Confederacy was formed; the Civil War was on.” (p.189) |
| Span.-Am. | “Nine days later, Congress, by joint resolution, gave McKinley the power to intervene.” (p.305-306) |
| WWII | “Once joined with England and Russia in the war... did the behavior of the United States show that her aims were humanitarian...?” (p.411-412) |
| Vietnam | “In early August 1964, President Johnson used a murky set of events in the Gulf of Tonkin... to launch full-scale war on Vietnam.” (p.475) |

During the war, Zinn’s focus is only on the battles themselves when they have to do with the topic of his account. The war the reader sees is rarely on the front lines of Trenton, Gettysburg, Iwo Jima, or Cuba, but is on the home front. The moment the physical battle lines come into focus, Zinn will speak for both sides: he relates the Filipino resistance to the American victory in the Spanish-American War and the tactics of the National Liberation Front in Vietnam at length. In **Appendix A**, this is especially visible: A war may begin (denoted by red highlight over the course of the page numbers that encompass the war), but will shift from troop movements to domestic resistance to the war or important policy debates about the war (denoted by alternating red and white cells, filled in with “DOMESTIC ISSUES,” “War @ Home,” or “(not focus of text”).

Chapter Content Focus, Follow-Up. As difficult as it is for the reader to pick up on a concrete moment when a war begins in *A People's History*, it is just as difficult to discern the end of a war. Zinn allows little time for celebration because the economic, social, racial, and political effects of the war must be considered. Especially in Zinn's description of the American Revolution, the war seems to take place three times: once for white colonists, once for free and enslaved black people, and once for the Native Americans. Because Zinn rarely credits a treaty or a political meeting between leaders to end a war, the right column has been titled "Line Indicating End of War," rather than "Closing Line," as it is below in my analysis of *A Patriot's History*.

Table 4
Lines Marking Wars' Ends, *A People's History*

| War | Line Indicating End of War |
|------------|---|
| Revolution | "The war turned to the South, where the British won victory after victory, until the Americans, aided by a large French army, with the French navy blocking off the British from supplies and reinforcements, won the final victory of the war at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781." (p. 80) |
| Civil War | "But before it [a "Negro Soldier Law"] had any significant effect, the war was over." (p. 195) |
| Span.-Am. | "The Spanish forces were defeated in three months, in what John Hay, the American Secretary of State, called 'a splendid little war.'" (p. 309) |
| WWII | "True, the war ended quickly." (p. 424) |
| Vietnam | "Many of the B-52s were shot down, there was angry protest all over the world—and Kissinger went back to Paris and signed very much the same peace agreement that had been agreed upon before." (p. 498) |

Following the end of a war, Zinn's discussion of the aftermath plays out, with the exception of the Vietnam war (see **Rhetorical Analysis and Discussion**), over between 10 and 20 pages of analysis. This analysis almost always outlines the ways that more resistance groups

were legislated or beaten back into a non-privileged position. Post-Revolution, for examples, the Constitution cements the holdings of wealthy land- and slave-owners; Post-Civil War, reconstruction fails and Jim Crow laws, the KKK, and the courts justify racism and segregation across the South. After the Spanish-American and Second World Wars, the United States uses its overseas influence to crush liberation movements in Cuba, the Philippines, Greece, Korea, and Africa. The timelines in **Appendix A** mark the pages dedicated to these and other movements that rose to prominence after a war, like Shay’s Rebellion and McCarthyism.

Profiles Analysis. An important distinction in major syntheses of history is the difference between the mention of a person, the quotation of a person, and a profile of a person. Each demonstrates to the reader the importance that the author places on their subjects. Is this historical figure, of the thousands of Americans (or non-Americans) that could be mentioned, worth mentioning? Is their voice worth quoting? The most substantial inclusion of a person in a history, therefore, is the profile: at least a paragraph that steps away from the narrative of the chapter to provide insight into a person’s life or beliefs. To make the distinction clear, neither a paragraph solely about Patrick Henry, but which only focuses on reports of his rhetoric (p.68) nor an appositive alerting the reader of Charles Caldwell’s birthplace and occupation (p. 204) are profiles. A paragraph following the introduction of Thomas Paine that describes how “Paine himself came out of ‘the lower orders’ of England...” is a profile (p. 70). The table below lists Zinn’s profiles in *A People’s History* and the page number of each profile, sorted by war and by who authored the profile—sometimes, Zinn’s words profile individual people; other times, he uses a block quote to describe them.

Table 5
Profiles of Historical Figures, *A People’s History*.

| War | Profiles of Individual People (not of organizations or documents, the Regulator |
|-----|---|
|-----|---|

| | |
|------------|--|
| | Movement or the <i>Declaration of Independence</i> , e.g.) by Howard Zinn |
| Revolution | Thomas Paine (p. 70), John Locke (p. 73), William Scott (p. 78), Daniel Shays (p.93) |
| Civil War | Harriet Tubman (p. 175), David Walker (p. 180), Frederick Douglass (p. 180), J. W. Loguen (p. 181), Henry MacNeal Turner (p. 200), Frances Ellen Watkins Harper (p. 202) |
| Span.-Am. | (no individual profiled by Zinn) |
| WWII | (no individual profiled by Zinn) |
| Vietnam | Daniel Ellsberg (p. 487), Ray Kroll (p. 493), Ron Kovic (p.496), |
| War | Profiles of Individual People in Block Quotes |
| Revolution | William Scott (p. 78) |
| Civil War | John Little (p. 172) |
| Span.-Am. | (no block quote profiles) |
| WWII | (no block quote profiles) |
| Vietnam | Xieng Khouang (p. 481-482), “one young woman” (p. 482), Mary Moyland (p. 489) |

Before I move into my rhetorical analysis of *A People’s History*, I will perform the same quantitative analysis as above, applying the same metrics, to my second primary text, *A Patriot’s History of the United States*.

Textual Data Analysis, A Patriot’s History

Larry Schweikart and Michael Allen’s *A Patriot’s History* is 867 pages long, and its chapters about American wars make up 222 pages, or : about a quarter of the book (25.6%). The chapters covering the wars vary in length, between 30 and 59 pages long. However, Schweikart and Allen structure *A Patriot’s History* into time spans, noted in chapter titles (“Colonies No More, 1763-83,” e.g.). In the following table, I have again made the distinction between the length of the chapter during which the war takes place and denoted the amount of the chapter that makes up the war itself, that is, descriptions of battles, campaigns, political and military

movements, etc. This amount varies from three pages, in the case of the Spanish-American War, to 44 pages, in the case of the American Civil War. The fourth column in the table expresses those same amounts in percentages rather than page numbers. Overall, the authors of *A Patriot's History* spend a little more than half the pages in their chapters about wartime periods describing the wars themselves, but the American Civil and Second World Wars make up a strong majority of their chapters, while the Spanish-American War serves as a strong outlier as the minority of its chapter (see **Rhetorical Analysis, Spanish American War** and **Discussion** for more).

Table 6
Pages Devoted to Events of Wars, *A Patriot's History*

| War in Chapter | Chapter length (ps.) | War length (ps.) | Percent (War/Chap.) |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| American Revolution | 31 pages (p. 65-95) | 15 pages (p. 81-95) | 48.39% |
| American Civil War | 60 pages (p. 308-367) | 44 pages (p. 319-362) | 73.33% |
| Spanish-American W. | 36 pages (p. 474-509) | 3 pages (p. 485-487) | 8.33% |
| Second World War | 44 pages (p. 613-656) | 36 pages (p. 619-654) | 81.82% |
| Vietnam War | 56 pages (p. 695-750) | 28 pages (p. 719-746) | 50.00% |
| Total Pages | 227 pages of book | 126 pages of chaps. | 55.51% of war chaps. |

Chapter Content Focus, Before War. Schweikart and Allen's chronological structuring of *A Patriot's History*, combined with their general focus on political, economic, and military events, likewise makes their lead-up to war a chronology of those same kinds of events, and nowhere is this more clear than the "Time Line" that the authors include at the beginning of each chapter. In **Appendix B**, the page the reader may find the Time Line is marked by a green cell. In each chapter covering war, and in almost all the other chapters, the Time Line is on the first or second page and sets the stage for the war to come and lists between six and twelve years.

Most often, the Time Lines feature major elections, legislations, battles, and treaties, as demonstrated in the table below, which lists the first event from each chapter on American wars.

Table 7

First “Time Line” Items in *A Patriot’s History*, Showing Authors’ Narrative Priority

| War in Chapter | First Item on “Time Line” |
|---------------------|---|
| American Revolution | 1763: Proclamation of 1763 (p. 66) |
| American Civil War | 1860: Lincoln elected president; South Carolina secedes (p. 309) |
| Span.-American W. | 1896: McKinley elected (p. 475) |
| Second World War | Sept. 1939: Hitler invades Poland, & WWII begins in Europe (p.615) |
| Vietnam War | 1960: John F. Kennedy elected president (p.695) |

Following the Time Line, the authors of *A Patriot’s History* lead up to the wars with between 3 and 9 sections of political and economic narrative. The timelines in **Appendix B** show the sections and their page lengths; the pages covering wars are marked in red. The sections fill in the narrative between the year that starts off the chapter and the year the war begins—for example, in the chapter on the Revolutionary War, “Colonies No More, 1763-83,” 16 pages of narrative cover the 12 years before British General Thomas Gages sends soldiers to capture Samuel Adams and John Hancock at Lexington and destroy patriot munitions at Concord (81). The table below records the differences.

Table 8

Age-to-Year Difference Between Chapter Beginning and War Beginning, *A Patriot’s History*

| Chapter | Ch. Starting Yr. | War Starting Year | Difference [years::pages] |
|----------------|------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Am. Revolution | 1763 (p. 65) | 1775 (p. 81) | 12 years :: 16 pages |
| Am. Civ. War | 1860 (p. 308) | Apr. 1961 (p.319) | 1 year :: 13 pages |
| Span.Am. War | 1896 (p. 474) | Apr. 1898 (p. 485) | 2 years :: 11 pages |
| World War II | 1941 (p. 613) | Dec. 1941 (p. 619) | 1 year :: 6 pages |

| | | | |
|-------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Vietnam War | 1960 (p. 695) | Aug. 1964 (p. 720) | 4 years :: 25 pages |
|-------------|---------------|--------------------|---------------------|

Chapter Content Focus, War. Schweikart and Allen’s descriptions of American wars are purposeful and structured. *A Patriot’s History* uses the same narrative structure it employs in the lead-up to a war, named sections, to help the reader keep track of the various political and military battles the chapters describe. This is helpful to a reader because, except for the Spanish-American War, America’s military conflicts last at least 15 pages (the American Revolution), and stretch up to near 30 or 40 pages (the American Civil War lasts 44 pages) (see **Rhetorical Analysis** and **Discussion** for more on why the Spanish American War is an outlier in *A Patriot’s History*). Schweikart and Allen’s wars begin in a matter-of-fact way, either with an account of the first shot or a formal declaration of war issued by Congress. The table below lists the opening lines of each war as they appear in *A Patriot’s History*.

Table 9
Lines Marking Wars’ Beginnings, *A Patriot’s History*

| War | Opening Line |
|------------|---|
| Revolution | “Both sides presented their arms; the “shot heard ‘round the world” rang out— although historians still debate who fired first because it was so dark— and the British achieved their first victory of the war.” (p. 81) |
| Civil War | “On April twelfth, Edmund Ruffin, the South Carolina fire-eater who had done as much to bring about the war as anyone, had the honor of firing the first shot of the Civil War.” (p. 319) |
| Span.-Am. | “On April twenty-first, the Spanish severed diplomatic ties. Four days later, Congress declared war.” (p. 485) |
| WWII | “On December eighth, Roosevelt, appearing before the jointly assembled House and Senate, called December 7, 1941, a “date which will live in infamy” as he asked Congress for a declaration of war against Japan.” (p. 619) |
| Vietnam | “Johnson went on television to announce that he had ordered air responses to the attacks. At the same time, he sent a resolution to Congress, which he wanted adopted retroactively, that was the “functional equivalent” of a formal |

| | |
|--|-------------------------------|
| | declaration of war.” (p. 720) |
|--|-------------------------------|

In **Appendix B**, the reader can see the length of the wars and the titles of the sections that Schweikart and Allen use to break up their accounts of American wars into digestible amounts. The reader will also note that in any analysis of war lasting more than 10 pages, Schweikart and Allen build in a short respite for readers, allowing them to take a break from battle to consider the political front of the war. In “Colonies No More, 1763-83” the authors describe the political philosophies of Thomas Paine and the Declaration of Independence (p. 87-89). In “The Crisis of the Union, 1861-65” they relate the growth of government under the Lincoln administration, and in “Democracy’s Finest Hour, 1941-45,” they relate the difference between American, Nazi, and Soviet styles of government and the Holocaust (p. 337-341, p. 643-648). The chapter on the Vietnam War, “The Age of Upheaval, 1960-74,” describes the anti-war movement on college campuses, in Hollywood, and in the subcultures of the hippies, the Beat writers, “homosexuals,” rock music, as well as “the antiwar Left” and the news media (p. 724-737). After the respite, the war picks up again, and ends—and for the period of the American Revolution, so does the chapter.

Chapter Content Focus, Follow-Up. Analyses of wars in *A Patriot’s History* end much as they begin: with an agreement or military comment, always dated. The following table shows the last lines of wars in *A Patriot’s History*:

Table 10
Lines Marking Wars’ Endings, *A Patriot’s History*

| War | Closing Line |
|------------|---|
| Revolution | “...on November 30, 1782, representatives from England and America signed the Treaty of Paris, ending the War of Independence.” (p. 95) |
| Civil War | “Fighting continued sporadically for weeks; the last actual combat of the Civil |

| | |
|-----------|--|
| | War was in May, near Brownsville, Texas.” (p. 362) |
| Span.-Am. | ““The fleet under my command,’ telegraphed Admiral Sampson to Washington, ‘offers the nation, as a Fourth of July present, the whole of Cervera’s fleet.’ Spain quickly capitulated.” (p. 487) |
| WWII | “...on September second, aboard the USS <i>Missouri</i> in Tokyo Bay, General MacArthur and Admiral Nimitz, along with representatives of the other Allied powers in the Pacific, accepted the Japanese surrender.” (p. 654) |
| Vietnam | “Out of options, consequently, on January 23, 1973, Le Duc Tho of North Vietnam signed an agreement with U.S. Secretary of State William Rogers ending the war.” (p. 746) |

Following the official cessation of war, again with the exception of the Spanish American War, Schweikart and Allen spend between one and five pages wrapping up the chapter. They do so by outlining, most often, the terms of the treaty signed to end the war: what the British capitulated at the end of the Revolution, the unconditional surrender of the Confederate army, the negotiations for Spanish territories, and the return of prisoners of war from Japan and North Vietnam.

The authors continue analysis after the close of a war in one of two ways: a justification, or the end of a presidential term in unusual circumstances. The latter is more straightforward: Lincoln is killed, and the Watergate scandal ends Nixon’s presidency. At the end of the chapters about World War II and the Civil War, still, Schweikart and Allen use their last few pages to respond to alternative views of the wars they have just described. For instance, they provide three justifications for the dropping of the atomic bomb on Japan (p. 655), a justification that “America’s Civil War proved once again the fact of American exceptionalism” (p. 365), and rebukes of the “Lost Cause myth” and of “the neo-Marxist/New Left interpretation of the Civil War” as a war to retain the Union’s resources of the South (p. 366).

Profiles Analysis. Schweikart and Allen make frequent use of the profile to illustrate historical figures and their political, personal, and social traits, and they prefer to do so in their

own words.. The table below lists the profiles that readers read in chapters about American military conflict and where they are found in the chapters. I have applied the same metric as above to define a profile: a paragraph momentarily foregoing the larger narrative arc of the chapter to describe a historical figure’s origin story (not an appositive or explanatory interjection). Another kind of profile emerges in Schweikart and Allen's writing besides the origin story; there are also profiles of a person’s character, which the authors include because, per the Introduction, “Character counts” (p. xviii).

Table 11
Profiles of Historical Figures, *A Patriot’s History*

| War | Profiles of Individual People by Schweikart & Allen (O)rigin, (C)haracter |
|------------|---|
| Revolution | Sam Adams (O, p. 73), George Washington (C, p. 82-83), Thomas Paine (O, p. 87) |
| Civil War | Jefferson Davis (O, p. 315), George B. McClellan (C, p. 330-331), Ulysses S. Grant (O, p. 334-335), Salmon P. Chase (O, p. 338), William Tecumseh Sherman (C, p. 353) |
| Span.-Am. | William James (C, p. 477), William McKinley (O, p. 479-450), Joseph Pulitzer & William Hearst (O, p.483), Theodore Roosevelt (O/C, 490-493) |
| WWII | George C. Marshall (C, p. 623) |
| Vietnam | Richard Nixon (O, p. 696, O/C p. 737), John F. Kennedy (O, p. 698), Ngo Dinh Diem (C, p. 706), Robert McNamara (O, 707), Lee Harvey Oswald (O, p. 708), Lyndon B. Johnson (O/C, p. 709-710), Barry Goldwater (O, p. 710-711), Elijah Muhammad & Malcolm X (C, p. 713-714) |

Subject Matter Data Analysis

Subjects of *A People’s History*. The spreadsheets found in **Appendix C** list all of the subjects Howard Zinn mentions and quoted in the chapters on American Wars in *A People’s History*. The table below reproduces the metadata of the first sheet, a list of all of the “All Subjects, *People’s*.”

Table 12
Subjects Mentioned in *A People’s History*, Ratio of Subjects to Page

| War | Proper Nouns | General Nouns | Total subjects | Total Pages | Subjects : Pages |
|------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|
| Revolution | 108 | 10 | 118 | 44 | ≈ 2.61 : 1 |
| Civil War | 106 | 16 | 122 | 40 | ≈ 3.05 : 1 |
| Span.-Am. | 101 | 51 | 152 | 24 | ≈ 6.33 : 1 |
| WWII | 178 | 31 | 209 | 36 | ≈ 5.81 : 1 |
| Vietnam | 109 | 55 | 164 | 33 | ≈ 4.97 : 1 |
| Total | 602 | 163 | 765 | 177 | ≈ 4.32 : 1 |

Subjects Quoted in *A People's History*. Appendix D is the list of sources from which Zinn provides quotations in *A People's History*, titled "Quoted Sources, *People's*." In the first table below, I have provided the metadata from that sheet; in the second, I perform a demographic study of those sources.

Table 13

Subjects Quoted in *A People's History*, Ratio of Subjects to Page

| War | Proper Nouns | General Nouns | Total subjects quoted | Subjects : Pages |
|------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Revolution | 40 | 9 | 49 | ≈ 1.11 : 1 |
| Civil War | 55 | 15 | 70 | 1.75 : 1 |
| Span.-Am. | 60 | 16 | 76 | ≈ 3.17 : 1 |
| WWII | 67 | 12 | 79 | ≈ 2.19 : 1 |
| Vietnam | 52 | 17 | 69 | ≈ 2.09 : 1 |
| Total | 274 | 69 | 343 | ≈ 1.94 : 1 |

In the demographic study below, "publication" includes reporters, historians, reports and court cases; and any person that falls into more than one category (for example, a Theodore Roosevelt)

will be counted in all of their respective categories (In Teddy’s case, “Military” and “Political”). Some nouns are too general to categorize; however, “students,” if they are mentioned in terms of the anti-war movements of the 70s, will be counted as a political entity:

Table 14
Demographics of Subjects Quoted in *A People’s History*

| War | Publication | Military | Economic | Political | Women | Ppl. of Color |
|------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|-------|---------------|
| Revolution | 29 | 6 | - | 15 | - | 1 |
| Civil War | 29 | 4 | 5 | 10 | 9 | 28 |
| Span.-Am. | 33 | 16 | 5 | 16 | - | 5 |
| WWII | 32 | 4 | 4 | 36 | 3 | 2 |
| Vietnam | 25 | 14 | - | 25 | 3 | 10 |
| Total | 158 | 44 | 14 | 102 | 15 | 46 |

Subjects of *A Patriot’s History*. The spreadsheets in **Appendix C** also provide the same data as the prior appendix, except the data is sourced from Schweikart and Allen’s *A Patriot’s History*. The table below shows the metadata from “All Subjects, *Patriot’s*,” a chapter-by-chapter list of all of the subjects found in the narrative that *A Patriot’s History* provides.

Table 15
Subjects Mentioned in *A Patriot’s History*, Ratio of Subjects to Page

| War | Proper Nouns | General Nouns | Total subjects | Total Pages | Subjects : Pages |
|------------|--------------|---------------|----------------|-------------|------------------|
| Revolution | 109 | 6 | 115 | 31 | ≈ 3.71 : 1 |
| Civil War | 102 | 35 | 137 | 60 | ≈ 2.28 : 1 |
| Span.-Am. | 226 | 46 | 272 | 36 | ≈ 7.56 : 1 |
| WWII | 183 | 58 | 241 | 44 | ≈ 5.48 : 1 |
| Vietnam | 263 | 126 | 389 | 56 | ≈ 6.95 : 1 |

| | | | | | |
|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|------------|
| Total | 883 | 271 | 1154 | 227 | ≈ 5.08 : 1 |
|-------|-----|-----|------|-----|------------|

Subjects Quoted in *A Patriot's History*. The second spreadsheet pictured and linked in **Appendix D** is titled “Quoted Sources, *Patriot's*,” and is a list of all of the sources of quotations in chapters about war in Schweikart and Allen’s chapters covering the American military conflicts specific to this study. The first table, below, shows the overall metadata from that sheet, and the second provides a demographic study of those sources.

Table 16

Subjects Quoted in *A People's History*, Ratio of Subjects to Page

| War | Proper Nouns | General Nouns | Total subjects quoted | Subjects : Pages |
|------------|--------------|---------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| Revolution | 21 | 1 | 22 | ≈ .71 : 1 |
| Civil War | 16 | 5 | 21 | .35 : 1 |
| Span.-Am. | 25 | 7 | 32 | ≈ .89 : 1 |
| WWII | 17 | 4 | 21 | ≈ .48 : 1 |
| Vietnam | 36 | 16 | 52 | ≈ .93 : 1 |
| Total | 115 | 33 | 148 | ≈ .65 : 1 |

As in the demographic study above, publications include reporters, historians, reports and court cases; and any person that falls into more than one category (for example, a woman of color or a black soldier) will be counted in all of their respective categories. Also, some nouns are too general to categorize (for example, “the thinking”), but some general words *are* sortable depending on the context of the paragraph we find them in (for example, “liberal historians” would fall under “Publication” if the context of the paragraph is their revisionist histories):

Table 17

Demographics of Subjects Quoted in *A People's History*

| War | Publication | Military | Economic | Political | Women | Ppl of Color |
|------------|-------------|----------|----------|-----------|-------|--------------|
| Revolution | 10 | 3 | - | 14 | - | - |
| Civil War | 7 | 9 | - | 4 | - | 1 |
| Span.-Am. | 13 | 5 | 3 | 10 | - | 2 |
| WWII | 11 | 5 | - | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Vietnam | 15 | 4 | 1 | 22 | 4 | 7 |
| Total | 56 | 26 | 4 | 53 | 5 | 14 |

In a longer study, a focus of research could be an analysis of the difference between the demographics of subjects mentioned and the demographics of subjects quoted, as well. In my **Discussion** section, I will apply the quantitative data collected into the tables here and perform a statistical analysis of the differences between *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History*. In the **Rhetorical Analysis** to follow, the narrative structures identified above will come into play in my analysis of chapter structure, logos, ethos, pathos, kairos, and the epistemic warrants of each author in their chapters about American wars.

Rhetorical Analysis

Primary Texts' Introductions

At the beginning of both *A Patriot's History* and *A People's History*, both historians seek to establish their motives for and approach to synthesizing American history (their *epistemic warrants*) to convince readers of their texts' worth. Because the introductions house the authors' warrants, they are also the places where the intended audiences of the works are most easily identifiable. In this section, I will identify the rhetorical appeals that Zinn and Schweikart and

Allen make in the introductions to their work, specifically focusing on the ways their specific rhetorical appeals define and justify the authors' *epistemological warrant*.

Zinn's Introduction

Warrant. *A People's History of the United States* has two introductions: the introduction to the 35th Anniversary Edition, written by Anthony Arnove, and the introduction that Zinn buries in the very first chapter of *A People's History* ("Columbus, the Indians, and Human Progress"). Given that this chapter of my thesis addresses the *epistemological warrant* of my primary texts, it will be most beneficial that I address both.

Zinn's warrant in *A People's History of the United States* is rooted in the belief that there are neglected histories of the United States that are worth foregrounding. Zinn's central claim is that when history was written by the proverbial victors, it failed to investigate the stories of Americans who resisted the actions of those in power (the powerful typically fitting the description of wealthier Protestant males of European descent). To remedy this perceived imbalance Zinn connects the usual policy changes and wars to those who said "no" to them. He puts the left-out demographics (Black people, women, Native Americans, the working-class, etc.) on the same level as the canon of American leadership. However, Zinn does not detail his historiographical philosophy and epistemic warrant in a separate introduction to the beginning of his history; he buries it more than a half-dozen pages into his first chapter, which begins *in medias res*.

Structure. The *in medias res* quality of Zinn's prose is one of the most consistent rhetorical devices in his work. Zinn doesn't structure his original text with an introduction that sets the stage for what he's about to do in *A People's History*; rather, he begins with a descriptive image of the people: "Arawak men and women, naked, tawny, and full of wonder, emerged from

their villages,” he writes, “onto the island’s beaches and swam out to get a closer look at the strange big boat” (p. 1) Not until the second sentence is Christopher Columbus introduced (and not with his full name or title: just as “Columbus and his sailors”). Part of Zinn’s *warrant*, that marginalized groups’ histories should be foregrounded, depends on an assumption that the reader already knows who Columbus (and each of the rest of the big historical figures) is and can already visualize the Niña, the Pinta, and the Santa María on the horizon of the image that Zinn is describing.

In the pages leading up to his epistemic warrant, Zinn also foregrounds the primary text detailing the landing at Hispaniola, telling readers that Columbus “wrote later of this in his log” and opening an eight-line block quote from an English translation of Columbus’ writings, letting Columbus speak for himself (p. 1). In all of *A People’s History*, Zinn depends on the readers’ trust that Zinn is not making this journal entry up. Unlike more academic histories, he does not use footnotes, though he does provide a rudimentary bibliography at the end of the book. Zinn leverages the novelty of foregrounding marginalized voices to hook the reader *before* he introduces his warrant, getting the reader interested before he states his radical historiographical manifesto.

Pathos, Logos, Ethos. By structuring his first page with a figurative language-heavy vignette first, Zinn appeals to *pathos* and invites the reader to connect with the text with an image of the Arawaks emerging from the forest for themselves. By introducing a blockquote two sentences later, Zinn appeals to a primary text to assert that the image is based in fact, not in sentiment, an appeal to *ethos*. Zinn knows that for his counter-cultural text to be accepted by mainstream Americans, he needs to both engage the reader and assure them of the veracity of his narrative. By using images built with figurative language, he asks the reader to disarm their

defense mechanisms and engage their suspension of disbelief: “Arawak men and women, naked, tawny, and full of wonder, emerged from their villages onto the island’s beaches and swam out to get a closer look at the strange big boat” (p. 1). Then, by invoking Columbus’s own journal, he can recontextualize Columbus’s missions, their effects on Native America, even Columbus himself, convincingly (p. 1-3). Whereas Columbus might be characterized as a hero for being the first European to open up the New World, without whose “discovery” the United States wouldn’t exist, by quoting words from his pen offering to the Spanish royalty “as much gold as they need... and as many slaves as they ask,” Zinn complicates the argument for his heroism.

To further develop his *ethos* as a trustworthy guide for the story of America, Zinn uses analepsis, or flashback, to answer “Why?” questions he anticipates from his readers. For example, instead of continuing from the landing in the Caribbean to its colonization and Columbus’s return to Spain, he steps aside from the narrative to question what Columbus was after: “gold and spices” for “the nobility, who were 2 percent of the population and owned 95 percent of the land” (p. 2). Using more pull quotes from Columbus’s journal and more digressions, he builds the image of Spain’s colonization of the Americas over 7 more pages. Zinn’s descriptions of the Arawak Indians, who try “to put together an army of resistance” (p. 4), and of the Spanish, who “hanged them or burned them to death” (p. 4), reflect Zinn’s *warrant*, that history is worth considering from the perspective of the resistance, even before Zinn has explained it.

After seven pages, Zinn finally approaches what the reader likely has already begun inferring from the tone of the prose:

Thus began the history, five hundred years ago, of the European invasion of the Indian settlements of the Americas. That beginning, when you read [Bartolomé de] Las Casas...

is conquest, slavery, death. When we read the history books given to children in the United States, it all starts with heroic adventure—there is no bloodshed—and Columbus Day is a celebration (p. 7).

Zinn uses the Columbian landing as a launch point for his criticism of history and the establishment of his warrant. He rejects historians who “emphasize the heroism of Columbus and his successors as navigators and discoverers, and ... deemphasize their genocide,” arguing that such a move is “an ideological choice. It serves—unwittingly—to justify what was done,” and who write from the point of view of diplomats and leaders “as if they... represent the nation as a whole” (p. 9). Zinn names two historians he regards as complicit in this problem—Henry Kissinger and Samuel Eliot Morison—but he uses the metaphor of the cartography to recognize history will always be distorted before arriving at his purpose statement (p. 8).

“This book will be skeptical of governments and their attempts, through politics and culture, to ensnare ordinary people in a giant web of nationhood pretending to a common interest,” Zinn asserts, in a *pathos*-heavy claim. Zinn uses strong metaphorical language (“ensnare” and “a giant web of nationhood pretending”) to get his reader’s attention (p. 10). Zinn lays out his vision for fulfilling his warrant, that there is a “Neglected History of the United States” worth telling, might mean for the country and for the world. It plays out near the end of his ideological exposition: “If history is... to anticipate a possible future without denying the past, it should, I believe, emphasize new possibilities by *disclosing those hidden episodes of the past when, even in brief flashes, people showed their ability to resist*” (p. 11, emphasis mine). In an effort to guarantee to his reader again that he is being authentic, Zinn discloses that he is not trying to trick them: “That, being as blunt as I can, is my approach” (p. 11). Zinn refuses to let his readers read the *rest* of his book without sharing his intended lens for history.

Kairos. Though the history of the Arawaks that surrounds Zinn's introduction to *A People's History* is the most chronologically removed from Zinn and his contemporaries (by 490 years), the issues surrounding Native American identity were especially present for Zinn. The timing of *A People's History's* release follows a series of high-profile occupations of national sites by Native American activists — Alcatraz in 1969, Mount Rushmore in 1970, and Wounded Knee in 1973 — and walks across America like the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan and the Longest Walk. All of these movements are tied to Zinn by the Zinn Education Project, which continues to list resistance events and movements in the spirit of the epistemic warrant of *A People's History* (Cooper 2015).

Anthony Arnove's introduction is part warrant, part retrospective. When the 35th Anniversary Edition was published in 2015, it had been five years since Howard Zinn's death, meaning that for the first time, *A People's History* was being published posthumously. Arnove, who co-edited books with Zinn and directed the documentary *The People Speak* with him (p. xxii), Arnove identifies Zinn's motive as "writing to bring their ["the people whose stories he weaves throughout this book"] voices and stories, their struggles and vision, to light, and to inspire people to make change themselves" (p. xiii). In the second sentence, he gives readers insight into why Zinn began working on the history in the first place: "The book grew out of [Zinn's] awareness of the importance of social movements... some of which he played an active role during the 1960s and 1970s and beyond" (p. xiii). Arnove's comment does two things for the reader: first, it helps establish Zinn's ethos as a participant in resistance, not just a recorder of it; second, the glimpse at Zinn's roots repeats the appeal to Zinn's *epistemological warrant*: the belief in the importance of telling neglected history. Last, Arnove rejects certain criticisms of *A People's History*: that it's pessimistic, or that all Zinn sought to do was detail oppression.

“Howard was interested in historical potential,” Arnove writes, “the what-might-have-been, the unrealized visions, the expanded horizons of protest” (p. xvii). Following these descriptions a short obituary of Zinn: he reviews the impact his work had on American culture and concludes in the second person, saying Zinn’s legacy “continues, now, with you” (p. xxii).

Schweikart and Allen’s Introduction

Schweikart and Allen’s *A Patriot’s History* includes a stand-alone introduction to each edition. In the edition that I am using as my primary text, the 10th Anniversary edition, the authors provide first the introduction to the revision and second a reprint of the original introduction to the 2004 edition. Both introductions, which are written in the first person, point toward the authors’ epistemic warrant, the foundation for their historiographical approach.

The 10th Anniversary introduction is a fond review of the ten years that have passed since *A Patriot’s History*’s initial publication. Schweikart is the first-person voice in this section, and he tells the story of the book itself, from when he and Michael Allen began writing in the 1990s to its publication outside of the academic mainstream: “it was clear that [the book] would have to make an “end run” around college committees and textbook publishers,” Schweikart relates, “that, like so many successful products in American history, we would have to go directly to the consumers” (p. xi). Schweikart enhances the ethos of *A Patriot’s History* by listing its initial backers, the authors’ agent, their editor, the publisher Sentinel, Rush Limbaugh, Glenn Beck, and Dave Dougherty, as well as its use in colleges, high schools, and Advanced Placement courses “as a ‘side-by-side’ comparison with liberal texts” (p. xii). It’s an appeal to these figures and organizations that helps the readers identify the ideological base and the audience for the work: Conservative American consumers and students. A final appeal at the end of this first introduction is the authors’ desire that their book “will be seen as *the* commonsense story of

America and her freedom” (emphasis the author’s, p. xiv). As a rhetorical appeal, the appeal to common sense, according to Bo Bennett, a rhetorical scholar with a doctorate in psychology, is a specific version of the alleged certainty fallacy: an appeal to an undefined majority’s unproven assumptions. “Commonsense,” as a single word, is a high-inference or “loaded” word for traditional knowledge in Conservative culture. Having indicated to the 2014 reader who the audience of their work is, Schweikart and Allen close and the original introduction begins.

Focus: Warrant. Schweikart and Allen’s epistemic warrant depends on an Other. Whether it is real or constructed by the authors’ rhetoric, Schweikart and Allen’s Other is the evil that *A Patriot’s History* seeks to push back: the “mainstream U.S. history textbook” that has “berated (students) with tales of the Founders as self-interested politicians and slaveholders, of the icons of American industry as robber-baron oppressors, and of every American foreign policy initiative as imperialistic and insensitive” (p. xvi). In case it wasn’t clear enough to the reader, *A Patriot’s History* name-drops: “At least Howard Zinn’s *A People’s History of the United States* honestly represents its Marxist biases in the title!” (p. xvi). In the preceding quotation, one of the most effective rhetorical choices that Schweikart and Allen use is simple diction, which draws the reader in, so that they can make their purpose statement in the following paragraph, the third in the introduction:

What is most amazing and refreshing is that the past usually speaks for itself. The evidence is there for telling the great story of the American past honestly—with flaws, absolutely; with shortcomings, most definitely. But we think that an honest evaluation of American history must begin and end with the recognition that, compared to any other nation, America’s past is a bright and shining light. America was, and is, the city on the hill, the fountain of hope, the beacon of liberty. We utterly reject “My country right or

wrong”—what scholar wouldn’t? But in the last thirty years, academics have taken an equally destructive approach: “My country, always wrong!” We reject that too (p. xv).

The paragraph reads as an orator at the debate stage. Its first-person point of view, its colloquial diction, its short sentences, and its use of punctuation to divide the sentence into short phrases all lend to the argument’s strong yet conversational tone. The authors frame their warrant as honest and centered: they reject the Other, but they also reject the opposite extreme to the other by making interjections (“—what scholar wouldn’t?”) and concessions (“with shortcomings, definitely. But...”) (p. xv). In doing so, the authors do rhetorically to their epistemic warrant what they claimed to do when they published *A Patriot’s History*: they circumnavigate “the college committees and textbook publishers” and go “straight to consumers” (p. xi).

Structure. *A Patriot’s History*’s original introduction is a four-part argument. First, the authors set up their Other: liberal historians who “miss the real history of America” because “they assume that ideas don’t matter and that there is no such thing as virtue” (p. xvi), an unprovable claim bordering on straw man fallacy. Second, they disprove the Other’s beliefs by vignetting portions of the early post-Revolutionary period and pointing to “founding patriots”: “Consider the scene more than two hundred years ago...” (p. xvi). Third, they lay a cornerstone of values that they believe set America apart from and above any other nation: character, the Christian tradition, “liberty through a widespread acceptance of common law,” and property protected by the free market (p. xvii). The cornerstone plays out into the rest of the introduction, including into the fourth and final part of the authors’ argument: “The Founders—each and every one of them—would have been horrified at such intrusions of liberty” as the increased “attempts to sue gun manufacturers, paint manufacturers, tobacco companies, and even Microsoft ‘for the public good’,” which Schweikart and Allen call America’s “sissification” (p. xviii). This

argument, which boils down to the epistemic warrant that “if the story of America’s past is told fairly, the result cannot be anything but a deepened patriotism,” will play out into the rest of *A Patriot’s History* (p. xv).

Pathos, Logos, Ethos. Schweikart and Allen’s introduction to *A Patriot’s History* is a conservative manifesto in its own right, and its rhetorical appeal is both forceful and effective. The first paragraph is a series of rhetorical questions followed by a hypophora, the answer to them: “Is America’s past a tale of racism, sexism, and bigotry? The answers, of course, are no, no, no, and NO” (p. xv). In *A Patriot’s History* and *A People’s History* alike, rhetorical questions serve as the threshold over which the authors cross from narrative to interpretation, from historical facts to analytical judgment. Sentential adverbs like “of course,” which interrupt or precede a phrase to emphasize the thought to follow, are frequent in Schweikart and Allen’s prose—and they appeal to all three rhetorical angles. “Of course” asserts that what follows is a logical outflow of the preceding sentences, that it is well known or obvious to other readers, and can direct the reader to a number of emotions depending on its use, including indignation, comfortability, surety, or dismissal.

To an agreeable reader, the pathos of “That is what American history is truly about— ideas. Ideas such as ‘All men are created equal’; the United States is the world’s ‘last, best hope’; and America ‘is great, because it is good’” (p. xvi) rings forcefully with truth; to a reader who disagrees, they might ring with a kind of hope: it’s what each American is raised to hope about their nation. The authors hope to ground each of those hopes by appealing to logos. When the authors claim as well that “time and time again America’s leaders have willingly shared power with those who had none,” (p. xvi), they relate how when John Adams loses the presidential election to Thomas Jefferson, he leaves calmly, and how Grover Cleveland sacrificed his

political popularity to veto a bill. When they say that “with secure property rights, anyone could become successful” (p. xvii), they follow up with immigrant success stories like Arnold Schwarzenegger and Lionel Cohen and the rags-to-riches story of Andrew Carnegie. The authors’ ethos is established by their appeals to patriotism. By asserting the inferiority of Europe, Asia, and the Middle East compared to the United States (p. xviii), Schweikart and Allen position themselves as patriots equipped to lead the reader optimistically into the past.

Kairos. Both the original edition of *A Patriot’s History* and its 10th-anniversary edition were released at recent historical moments that are contextually important to American political life. The first edition was released in 2004, in the middle of an 8-year span of conservative strength; the GOP had control of the House, the Senate, and the Executive Office under George W. Bush and had deployed troops in Iraq and Afghanistan following the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the World Trade Centers in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C. The 10th-anniversary edition was released amid a revival of conservative control in the House of Representatives during the Obama presidency, following the creation and rise of the Tea Party movement in the Conservative base. In both years (and since 2001 in general), Fox News Channel viewership was higher than that of rival cable news stations CNN and MSNBC, and between 2004 and 2013 its revenue had more than tripled (Pew Research Center, 2014), an important fact given an *American Economic Review* study showing the statistically-significant effects of Fox News viewership on the American voter: it makes them more conservative and more likely to vote GOP, even if the viewer isn’t a registered Republican (Matthews, 2017). Schweikart and Allen’s epistemic warrant, the appeals to American moral goodness and economic greatness are similar appeals as those of conservative cable hosts to the Conservative

mind. In the **Discussion** section of this paper, I will discuss the implications of the differences between *A Patriot's History's* and *A People's History's* introductions.

The American Revolution

As the structure of the United States government was decided as a result of the American Revolutionary War, this chapter is dedicated to the structural patterns of *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* found throughout the texts, exemplified specifically in these chapters.

Zinn's American Revolution

Structure. In *A People's History*, the American Revolution is the only war to span two chapters, from the end of "Tyranny is Tyranny" to the beginning of "A Kind of Revolution." As has been outlined in great detail in the **Quantitative Analysis** of this thesis, Howard Zinn does not section out his chapters; instead, they are bodies of free-flowing text broken up by block quotes. Zinn's prose is a symbiosis between his primary sources and his interpretation of them, whether they were famous historical figures or unnamed Americans. His synthesis of the story of the American Revolution begins by explicitly introducing the lens through which he will approach the time period:

... by creating a nation, a symbol, a legal entity called the United States, [certain important people in the English colonies] could take over the land, profits, and political power from favorites of the British empire...

When we look at the American Revolution this way, it was a work of genius, and the Founding Fathers deserve the awed tribute they have received over the centuries.

They created the most effective system of national control devised in modern times, and

showed future generations of leaders the advantages of combining paternalism with command (p. 59, emphasis mine).

This lens is further solidified when Zinn introduces the Central Question (for more on the Central Questions, see **Quantitative Data, Textual Data Analysis, A People's History, Chapter Content Focus, Lead-Up, Table 2**) of the chapter: “Could class hatred be focused against the pro-British elite, and deflected from the nationalist elite?” (p. 62). By placing his interpretation of the time at the beginning of the chapters about the American Revolution, Zinn ensures that his readers, even if they disagree with his perspective, will see every economic description, blockquote, and historical figure through the lens of that interpretation.

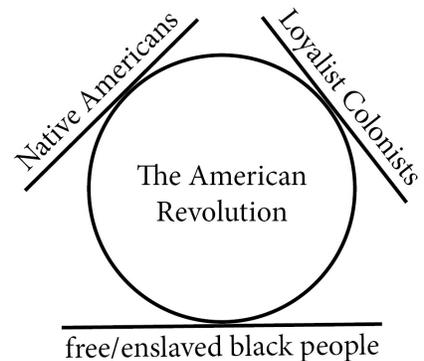
Everything that follows in the chapter, then, is an outflow of Zinn's Central Question and his explicit lens-statement—and the inverse is true as well; anything that would not be a logical tie to the CQ is left out. For example, what good does a page detailing the events at the Battle of Yorktown do for the narrative of a class struggle between wealthy patriots and the working class in the colonies? Instead, the entire account of the Battle of Yorktown is as follows: “The war turned to the South, where the British won victory after victory, until the Americans, aided by a large French army, with the French navy blocking off the British from supplies and reinforcements, won the final victory of the war at Yorktown, Virginia, in 1781” (80). What is accounted for about the American Revolution, then, is the experience of the war from the perspective of those on the margins of its narrative: the Native Americans, Black people (slave and free), Loyalist colonists, and any working-class uprising against national leadership.

There is one exception, however, to Zinn's focus in his chapters on the American Revolution. At the end of each chapter, he shifts away from accounts of Boston mob action and Shay's Rebellion to describe the philosophical and political arguments that helped the Founders

solidify their control over the colonies-become-states. Zinn tells of the Declaration of Independence, the Federalist Papers, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Sedition Act of 1798, and of the philosophies of Thomas Paine and John Locke, contextualizing them as rhetorical documents with explicit purposes. *Common Sense* “made the first bold argument for independence,” (p. 69) but Zinn tells us that it “caused some tremors in aristocrats like John Adams,” who “denounced Paine’s plan as ‘so democratical... that it must produce confusion and every evil work’” (p. 70); he says the Declaration of Independence brought “the myth of the Revolution—that it was on behalf of a united people” “to its peak of eloquence” (p. 70); John Locke’s appeal to the people, he says, was really an appeal to “the middling people of England, the manufacturer, the yeoman, the merchant, the country gentleman,” not the mob (p. 74). *A People’s History* sees the Founders not as altruists, but as equally self-interested people as the British monarchy: “the reality behind the Declaration,” Zinn says, “was that a rising class of important people needed to enlist on their side enough Americans to defeat England” (p. 74).

Kairos. Zinn’s account of the American Revolution, like his account of the American Civil War, the Second World War, and the Vietnam War, very much assumes that his readers already know the history of the War. *A People’s History* would do little to inform a reader not familiar with the American Revolution already, especially because so little of the proverbial screen time is given to the battles, the generals, the politicians, the strategists, and the Founders. However, Zinn’s chapters do perform a kind of literature review of the central historical monographs released between 1955 and 1980. Zinn cites UNC-Chapel Hill historian Jack Greene, UCLA historian Gary Nash, Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn, University of Toledo’s Marvin L. Michael Kay, and more. In the Bibliography section in the back of the book, of 36 secondary sources cited, just five were published before 1960.

Warrant. Zinn’s epistemic warrant is intrinsic in that his description of the events of the Revolution spans the same number of pages as his description of impoverished colonists, slavery and free blacks during the Revolution, the seizures of Loyalist land, and Native Americans. While *A People’s History* never weighs outrightly the net worth of the American Revolution in the history of the world and never seeks to impress upon the reader that the Revolution itself was a bad thing, it does pose rhetorical questions that adhere strictly to Zinn’s warrant that there are untold perspectives worth telling: after the war ends, he asks, “What did the Revolution mean to the Native Americans, the Indians?” (p. 86). In a way, Zinn holds the American Revolution at the center of his chapters about the time period and narrates the tangents to it. The image to the right is a visualization of this method, and Zinn’s structure, as one can see in Figure one of **Appendix A**, shows the page distribution accordingly.



Zinn’s transitions are the best examples of a structural representation of his epistemic warrant. The rhetorical question posed in the preceding paragraph is the first of a few devices that *A People’s History* uses to make a subject transition from poor farmers to Native Americans. After discussing the ways that Native Americans successfully held their ground to resist westward expansion, Zinn makes a second kind of transition, this time a comparative statement instead of a rhetorical question, “The situation of black slaves as a result of the American Revolution was more complex,” to introduce the duality of the experience that the chapter then describes (“Thousands of blacks fought with the British. Five thousand were with the Revolutionaries”) (p. 88). The third kind of transition is a full paragraph that Zinn uses to pivot his narrative focus:

The inferior position of blacks, the exclusion of Indians from the new society, the establishment of supremacy for the rich and powerful in the new nation—all of this was already settled in the colonies by the time of the Revolution. With the English out of the way, it could now be put on paper, solidified, regularized, made legitimate, by the Constitution of the United States, drafted at a convention of Revolutionary leaders in Philadelphia (p. 89).

In the text above, Zinn summarizes for the reader the situations of the groups he has described in the preceding pages; then he unites them under a single state of being expressed by a series of adjectives using asyndeton (without contractions like “and”): “put on paper, solidified, regularized, made legitimate.” These kinds of transitions serve the purpose of Zinn’s warrant, the importance of recognizing the historical marginalization of certain demographic groups, but they also perform important rhetorical appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos.

Logos, Ethos, and Pathos. In *A People’s History’s* chapters on the American Revolution, the inception of the nation, Zinn knows that his presentation of the events will come under special scrutiny. Whereas his narrative surrounding the 1730s, for example, may not have any special significance to readers, the American Revolution, on the other hand, already bears significant weight in the American psyche. Because of this, Zinn’s sentence structure is suggestive, not accusatory: instead of saying “Boston was full of class anger,” Zinn lets the readers conclude for themselves, foregrounding the voices of the people at the time and the historians who wrote about the time: “Boston *seems to have been* full of class anger” (p. 61, emphasis mine). This sentence structure is Zinn’s rhetorical appeal to both ethos and logos: ethos because the voices are not his own, but those of expert and eyewitnesses, and logos because Zinn forces the reader to decide his claims’ plausibility instead of forcing them on the reader. On the

following page, he writes, “the consciousness of the lower middle classes grew to the point where it *must have* caused *some* hard thinking, ... *even* among leaders of the Revolution” (p. 62, emphasis mine).

Zinn’s use of the word “leaders of the Revolution” is another rhetorical approach to pathos woven into the structure of his paragraphs. Zinn’s speaker will never speculate that the action of the resistance threatened the Founding Fathers. Because his readers likely attach positive emotions to the Fathers, and because Zinn wants to keep the reader on his side, he uses direct quotes instead of his own prose to characterize the Fathers. For example, Zinn begins one paragraph about resistance to the Revolutionary leaders and mutineers the following way:

Washington’s military commander in the lower South, Nathanael Greene, dealt with disloyalty by a policy of concessions to some, brutality to others. In a letter to Thomas Jefferson he described a raid by his troops on loyalists. “They made a dreadful carnage of them, upwards of one hundred were killed and most of the rest cut to pieces....” (p. 83).

Zinn’s approach to statements about the Fathers that would associate Washington, Jefferson, and Greene with qualities like cruelty and brutality is “they said it, not me”—the primary sources damper the reader’s sense of “That can’t possibly be true!” and fortify Zinn’s trustworthiness.

Schweikart and Allen’s American Revolution

Focus: Structure. In *A Patriot’s History’s* chapter on the American Revolution, Schweikart and Allen’s first structural decision is to begin their account of the Revolution, and for that, they turn to “Historian Francis Parkman,” who “maintained that the fall of Quebec began the history of the United States” (p. 65). Before they establish their Timeline for the chapter, they set the stage for the American Revolution to occur by describing the economic

condition of all of the parties that will be involved: the British, French, Native Americans, and American colonists. Each event is treated with equal weight, which largely contributes to the length of *A Patriot's History*: the authors would rather travel at a steadier pace through the story of America and take longer to explain the causes, events, and aftermaths of each conflict, than spend chapters analyzing a single issue.

The “slow burn” quality of *A Patriot's History* is derived from its chronological approach to American political history. For the authors, each event follows the next in succession and has its appointed place: all stories are created equal. This allows them to give moments like the aftermath of the French and Indian War their due, and to comment on the precedent that the Proclamation Line of 1763 set for Anglo-American–Native-American relations. The authors don’t rush up to the events of the American Revolution, and their Timeline projects the content distribution of the rest of the chapter accordingly: the first five list items span the 11 years between “**1763: Proclamation of 1763**” and “**1774: Intolerable Acts, First Continental Congress.**” The next six list items, which cover the war, span between “**1775: Battles of Lexington and Concord; Washington appointed commander in chief**” and “**1783: Treaty of Paris**” (p. 66). This 50/50 division in the list is reflected in the number of pages that cover the lead-up to the war and the war itself, as can be seen in **Appendix B’s Figure 1**. Schweikart and Allen’s timeline is not just a list that gives the reader an idea of what is important for the authors; it serves as a template for the rest of the text.

Kairos. In 2004, Schweikart and Allen were writing at a time when they believed Americans needed to be reminded of American successes and victories. It was a post-9/11 world, and the United States was once again engaged in foreign armed conflict in a hostile landscape. This, combined with the authors having, in the introduction, reminded the reader of all of the

liberal historiography tarnishing the reputation of America, set the stage for a story of the United States that reminds Americans of their nation's greatest victories. The structure of "Colonies No More, 1763-83" reflects the authors' perception of a need for patriotism amid loss and conflict in the chapter as a whole and the sentences in particular.

First, some sections in the authors' accounts of the war and the profiles of the historical figures are introduced by a certain rhetorical structure: a preferred opinion, followed by the authors' interpretation of the facts. This structure appears in *A Patriot's History's* description of early battles with Native America ("The white-Indian encounter, traditionally described as Europeans "stealing" land from Native Americans," p. 67), of the militia ("The nearly universal ownership and use of firearms as a fact bears repetition here to address the recent stream of scholarship that purports to show that Americans did not widely possess or use firearms," p. 80) and of colonial religion ("Contrary to the oft-purported notion that most of the Founders were deists," p. 79). The use of this structure contributes to the authors' timely claim that there are those who hold America in false regard, and that the authors are there to reclaim American history for patriotism's sake.

Second, Schweikart and Allen let their account of the American Revolution stand without interpretation or analysis. The success of the Treaty of Paris is the final moment in the chapter: it stands on its own and is not accompanied by an account of the aftermath of the war or of its casualties: "In sum," Schweikart and Allen say, "what Washington gained on the field, Jay and Franklin more than held at the peace table" (p. 95). They do, however, set aside one aspect of the treaty, compensation for slaveholders, for comment in the last paragraph, calling it both the "final ugly issue" that "raised its head in negotiations" and "a dark footnote to an otherwise impressive diplomatic victory won by the American emissaries" (p. 95).

Warrant. The authors' dualistic approach to describing the concessions made to slave owners in the preceding paragraph follows their epistemic warrant, defined in the previous chapter as rejecting both completely optimistic and completely pessimistic views of American history in favor of a history "with flaws, absolutely," but with a conclusion of patriotism (p. xv). *A Patriot's History* does not parse words in describing how, despite Jefferson's and Adams' arguments, the Declaration of Independence's clauses critical of slavery were excised from the document, but this information is anecdotal compared to the focus of the paragraph. The Declaration was passed and signed, to the great personal risk of the Founders, many of whom during the war "lost his property; many had lost wives and families to British guns or prisons; and several died penniless, having given all to the Revolution" (p. 89). Despite their moral failure, their sacrifice to the nation and its future matters the most, Schweikart and Allen argue.

The sectional structure of the war account aligns with Schweikart and Allen's appeal to patriotism in their epistemic warrant. For the authors, America's victory was destined, yet not obvious; "serious, if unapparent" (p. 84); "underscored superiority" (p. 85), if "ragtag," (p. 87). The authors justify this characterization with a two-page spread of seven reasons showing why Cornwallis was doomed to fail (see **The Second World War** for the inverse, why America was destined to succeed).

Logos, Ethos, Pathos. The sentence structure of *A Patriot's History* is the level at which its appeals to plausibility, reliability, and the readers' emotions are evident. Though Schweikart and Allen rarely use block quotes, they do use quotations from letters between leaders or between leaders and their spouses. From the outset of the chapter, footnotes are a staple of the prose, and the endnotes of the book itself are 80 pages long (p. 869-949). These footnotes are a

constant appeal to ethos throughout the chapter. Another appeal to ethos is the direct citation and quotation of the British generals' perceptions of the war.

A Patriot's History's prose about the American Revolution stands out in its appeals to logos and pathos. Schweikart and Allen's use of adjectives, adverbs, verbs, and contractions, as well as their matter-of-fact tone all contribute to solid, trustworthy-sounding documentation of American history. Take, for example, the events leading up to the crossing of the Delaware River on Christmas in 1776. Schweikart and Allen gently raise the stakes by noting that when Washington withdraws, he "*had no alternative* but to withdraw," and that "the entire Revolution might have collapsed under a less capable leader," and then they heighten the emotional weight even more by writing that "the patriot forces *desperately* needed a victory" (p. 87, emphasis mine). When the battle comes, the authors mix military terms with colloquialisms and emotional adverbs and verbs. In Trenton, "the patriots *netted* over 900 Hessian prisoners," then they "marched around the British at night and *slammed* into Cornwallis's rear positions" "in two *daring* battles" that "sent a *shocking* message to the *befuddled* British that, *indeed*, they were in a war *after all*" (p. 87, emphasis mine). The colorful language that Schweikart and Allen use is an effective appeal to the feelings of the reader and frees the book from its own massiveness. The importance of each battle, capture, message, and war impresses that the reader ought to keep reading through dense, long paragraphs and lengthy battle reports. However, an undercurrent of those emotion-heavy claims is that they can be unclear and imprecise. In the **Discussion** section of this paper, I will discuss the implications of these analyses and explicitly compare Zinn and Schweikart to one another.

The American Civil War

Zinn's American Civil War

Kairos. Zinn’s chapter on the American Civil War, “Slavery Without Submission, Emancipation Without Freedom,” is written following two of the most consequential decades for race relations in America, and each aspect of the chapter reflects the events that transpired during that time. It was the middle of the culture wars, and any participation in the storytelling of American slavery and the American Civil War by nature played into the discussions that American people, historical societies, and political leaders were having on a multi-generational, multi-racial level. Demographically, by 1980 the last Civil War veterans had died, but their children and widows lived well into the twentieth century. Politically significant advances had been made (the Civil Rights Act, Shirley Chisholm’s run for president, for example.), yet, as the title of the chapter suggests, emancipation was a qualified reality. Academically, a significant body of historical research had been published about slavery and its conditions, as has been described in the **Literature Review** of this thesis. Zinn’s chapter on the Civil War is a kind of compilation of all of this research, as well as the voices of free black leaders and oral histories conducted with former slaves.

Structure. Zinn’s title for his chapter foreshadows the structure of the account of the Civil War. First, Zinn answers his Central Question, “How can slavery be described?” He describes the quality of life for enslaved people, detailing a number of attempts by Southern slaves to revolt or escape North, and of Northern free blacks and white abolitionists to end slavery. The author also sets up the forces standing in the way of emancipation from the beginning: “The United States government’s support of slavery was based on an overpowering practicality” (p. 171). Zinn’s introduction to the chapter also sets the stage for what follows the war: “not a radical reconstruction, but a safe one—indeed, a profitable one” (p. 172) still directed “by the order of the government” “so as to set limits to emancipation” (p. 171). Zinn’s

construction of this chapter is an explicit response to what he sees as distortions of history. First, it is a rebuke of “the 1932 edition of a bestselling textbook by two northern liberal historians” who “saw slavery as perhaps the Negro’s ‘necessary transition to civilization’” and those researchers who “tried to assess slavery by estimating how much money was spent on slaves for food and medical care” (p. 172). Second, it is a response to Lost Cause historians and descendants of the Confederacy who held the belief “that slavery had created a ‘Sambo’ mentality of submission among blacks” (p. 199), among other beliefs. Zinn structures “Slavery Without Submission, Emancipation Without Freedom” not just as a narrative of the Civil War, but also as a chronological and topical argument, directly participating in political and historiographical conversations happening in the 1980s.

Warrant. Zinn’s method of describing the American Civil War correlates with his epistemic warrant. For a historian whose mission is to demonstrate the resistance of people to organized power (economically, socially, governmentally, etc.), his argument that enslaved blacks did not resist their enslavement is especially threatening. Zinn, however, rejects the notion that the North’s motives were completely altruistic, citing Lincoln’s unwillingness to emancipate the slaves until it was absolutely necessary (p. 189). He cites several other reasons given for trying to end the war; most come in the form of direct quotes from Boston upper classes (“the interests of commerce, manufactures, agriculture”), Congress (“to preserve the union”), and President Lincoln (“to save the Union, and it is not either to save or destroy Slavery”) (p. 190-191). By noting that “The clash was not over slavery as a moral institution,” Zinn pulls the moral rug out from under his contemporaries who might try to hold the moral high ground of the North or of Republicans over their political enemies (p. 188).

Zinn's perspective on reconstruction follows with the historical consensus that it failed: He quotes Du Bois to call it "the late-nineteenth-century betrayal of the Negro" (p. 210). However, he also recognizes, in a kind of upside-down version of resistance, the success of white politicians—from President Johnson himself (p. 199) to the Southern legislatures (p. 200)—and white supremacist groups to resist the enfranchisement of black people in the north and south: "Violence began almost immediately with the end of the war," he says (p. 203). Zinn describes a force of elected *and* vigilante white power working to change public perception of the black community. "A great propaganda campaign was undertaken North and South (which lasted well into the twentieth century, in the history textbooks of American schools) to show that blacks were inept, lazy, corrupt, and ruinous to the governments of the South when they were in office," Zinn relates (p. 200). In the preceding sentence, Zinn connects the decades following the Civil War with decades that his initial readers in 1980 were directly a part of and, for some, the very textbooks they had learned from, in an explicit appeal to kairos that says: "not just then, but now."

Logos, Ethos, Pathos. In his chapter on the American Civil War, Zinn's appeals to logos, pathos, and ethos resemble a three-strand cord that threads his arguments against the traditional depiction of the lead-up to, events of, and aftermath of the war together. They come in the form of more than 70 direct quotes from primary sources and the canon of revisionist history, voices which, to the American public up to then, were inaccessible because of their statuses as preserved historical documents and academic monographs intended for an academic audience. These primary documents, juxtaposed with other scholarship done about the war, insulate Zinn from accusations of bias, protecting his ethos. Furthermore, they compel anger, sadness, shame, and other emotions from the readers of the chapter, from Georgia state representative Henry

MacNeal Turner's speech to the House after it voted to expel him for his race (p. 200-201), to Reconstruction congressional hearings about lynchings (p. 203), from the writings of former slave John Little (p. 172) to the spirituals (p. 179), and from Eugene Genovese's *Roll, Jordan, Roll* to W. E. B. Dubois's *The Gift of Black Folk* (p. 175). Together, the quotations, citations, and block quotes represent a wall of evidence for Zinn's re-telling of the Civil War and its plausibility, evidence that, Zinn hoped, readers would turn around and use in their own lives.

Schweikart and Allen's Civil War

Kairos. For the authors, "The Crisis of the Union, 1860-65," *A Patriot's History's* account of the American Civil War is a crucial piece of the authors' attempts to set the record straight on American history. For Schweikart and Allen, whose lens for the work is patriotism founded on moral rightness first and then the protection of property, the American Civil War was an inevitable event "despite a remarkable... growth spurt in the first half of the nineteenth century and despite advances in communication and transportation—all given as solutions to war and conflict—" after which the nation was finally purged of the institution of slavery (p. 308). While Schweikart and Allen's take reflects both the appeals to national unity in the aftermath of the September 11 attacks and the beginning of the War on Terror, the 10th-anniversary release of *A Patriot's History* in 2014, in the middle of President Obama's second term, speaks to kairos as well. Despite the state of race relations in the United States at both moments (2003's affirmative action debates, and the roots of the Black Lives Matter movement after the Trayvon Martin shooting in 2013), Schweikart and Allen's chapter on the American Civil War is about the institution of slavery, but not about race relations in general or about "states' rights" or a constitutional right to secede. Because of this intermediary position, Schweikart and Allen see

the results of the Civil War as having “proved once again the fact of American exceptionalism” (p. 365).

Structure. Schweikart and Allen’s chapter on the American Civil war is the longest account of the wars I cover in this thesis and is between 8 and 40 pages longer than any other war in *A Patriot’s History*. Furthermore, it has the most play-by-play account of war that the authors write, and they provide a Central Question that helps readers understand why the chapter itself is so long: “Why did it take the North four long and hard years to finally defeat the South?” (p. 321). The reason, the authors contend, parallels the reason they give for American success in World War II later on: “the Western way of war” (p. 321). At the same time that the American Civil War is a moral battle against slavery, *A Patriot’s History’s* account is that it was also a war between some of the most skilled tacticians—both fighting with only half an army, on three separate fronts, on a border half a continent long—amid a period of technological development in war technology. Because Schweikart and Allen’s account of the war gives every aspect of the war, the reader is in for the long haul.

However, in the middle of the chapter, Schweikart and Allen take two breaks from the war to discuss what was going on in Washington, D.C.: first, a consolidation of power on behalf of Lincoln and the congress of remaining states, and second, the 1862 and 1864 elections. The first respite serves as a warning against big government from the authors: “Most of the expansion can be justified by wartime demands, but too much was little more than political pork barreling and fulfillment of campaign promises” (p. 336). This argument likely could have been a warning to Americans reading during American involvement in wars in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Syria in 2004 and 2014. In the second respite, Radical Republicans, Peace Democrats, and financiers like Salmon P. Chase all pose threats to the Union and to “the constitutional order” (p. 357). That

Schweikart and Allen find it important to make remarks about threats to leaders of character like Lincoln hints to their perception of the political scene as they wrote *A Patriot's History*.

Logos, Ethos, Pathos. The reader's long march to the end of the chapter is aided by the authors' appeals to logos, ethos, and pathos. Throughout their account of the American Civil War, the authors leverage the emotional appeal of the brother-on-brother combat that continued to transpire over the course of the war and the morality of those who would stop at nothing to achieve victory but would also respect their opponents. An example like this occurs in Schweikart and Allen's account of General Lee's signing the terms of surrender:

Grant, meanwhile, continued his relentless pursuit of Lee's army.... Grant hastily wrote out the conditions, then, noticing that Lee seemed forlornly staring at the sword hanging at his side, decided on the spot that requiring the officers to formally surrender their swords was an undue humiliation.... Grant had given the Confederates extremely generous terms.... [and] became the model for the surrender of all Rebels. (p. 361-2)

Grant's example of leadership and honor even with a defeated enemy combatant is juxtaposed with the cowardice of Jefferson Davis as he flees from Richmond, leaving his wife (and, according to the authors, his sanity) behind (p. 362). With their 21st-century America in the midst of partisan turmoil at home and military engagements in the Middle East, Schweikart and Allen signal to their readers what they believe really matters in the story of the United States: skill and honor.

Warrant. After the assertion at the end of *A Patriot's History's* "The Crisis of the Union" chapter that the war proved American exceptionalism, Schweikart and Allen directly apply their central warrant to the formerly mentioned two alternative perspectives on the time period. First, the authors take "the perpetrators of the Lost Cause story" (and, later, "myth") to

task (p. 365). Schweikart and Allen trace the Lost Cause to Reconstruction-era pro-Southern, “neo-Confederate” writers who hoped to control the narrative about the Civil War. Then, they pick up the trail of the Lost Cause in “modern libertarians, who, for the most part, viewed the Union government as more oppressive than the Confederacy” (p. 365). “These views are as deceptive as they are erroneous,” Schweikart and Allen defend (p. 366). They continue: “Virtually no evidence exists to suggest that the South would have peacefully emancipated its slaves” (p. 366). Schweikart and Allen speak to these beliefs, which they view as unpatriotic and “destructive,” because they were resurfacing at the time that the authors were composing *A Patriot’s History*: they are referred to as “modern-day” (p. 365).

Second, Schweikart and Allen refute the “neo-Marxist/New Left” interpretations of the American Civil War as “merely a war ‘to retain the enormous national territory and market and resources of the United States,’” a quote from *A People’s History* (Schweikart and Allen, 2014, 366; Zinn, 2015, 198). Schweikart and Allen identify this belief as being so radical as to come full circle with the aforementioned “radical libertarian writers,” who blame on economic interests of the North instead of on the moral failures of the government (p. 366). Both views, to the authors, threaten a tenet of the authors’ epistemic warrant about American greatness, the free market, which they maintain was “the *only* hope many Southern blacks had once the Yankee armies had left for good in 1877” (p. 366). As the American Civil War threatened the principles of freedom and constitutional government, it “finalized that contract [the Constitution] and gave to ‘all men’ the promises of the Declaration and the purposes of the Constitution” (p. 367), according to the authors. These appeals speak to the arguments about 21st-century secession that often enter the American political scene in times of increased tension.

The Spanish-American War

Zinn’s Spanish American War

Logos. Zinn's appeals to logos in his section on the Spanish-American War, titled "The Empire and the People," are all directed towards answering his Central Questions for the chapter, of which there are two. The first is on the opening page of the chapter:

Would not a foreign adventure deflect some of the rebellious energy that went into strikes and protest movements toward an external enemy? Would it not unite the people with government, with the armed forces, instead of against them? (p. 297)

The second comes after Zinn breaks away from his usual prose to quote three documents: a "State Department list, 'Instances of the Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad 1798-1945,'" (p. 298), a magazine article written by Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, who advocated for overseas expansion, and a *Washington Post* editorial which argued that "The taste of Empire is in the mouth of the people" (p. 299). The CQ asks:

Was that taste in the mouth of the people through some instinctive lust for aggression or some urgent self-interest? Or was it a taste (if it indeed existed) created, encouraged, advertised, and exaggerated by the millionaire press, the military, the government, the eager-to-please scholars of the time? (p. 299).

Zinn hopes to position himself as the representative of reason as he takes the reader through a gallery of events. Zinn allows primary sources, from the *Age of Steel* trade journal to President William McKinley, have their say. As shown in the **Quantitative Analysis**, Zinn does not profile any historical figures, but direct quotations from Theodore Roosevelt, the press, the trade journals, Henry Cabot Lodge, and historians like labor historian Philip Foner permeate the text.

Structure. - In the text that follows Zinn's CQs, there are three main waves: first, an overview of the U.S. access to foreign markets in Asia and Latin America; second, its involvement in the Cuban revolution against Spain; and third, the Filipino resistance to

American control following the Spanish-American War. Each event, it seems, could be made to portray America[ns] in a negative light: the Roosevelt who “gushes over war as the ideal condition of human society” (p. 300), the “betrayal” by the Platt Amendment of the Teller Amendment (p. 311), and the “massacre and murderous butchery” of the Filipinos (p. 316). However, Zinn never ends his narrative at those events. In keeping with his claim that history “should... emphasize new possibilities by disclosing those hidden episodes of the past when... people showed their ability to resist” (p. 11), he instead juxtaposes Roosevelt and McKinley with William James (p. 300, 314), the hysteria about the sinking of the *Maine* with the lack of such anger when American law enforcement killed 19 immigrant strikers (p. 307), and American soldiers quelling the Filipino rebellion with the Anti-Imperialist League’s reporting of the casualties (p. 315). Zinn’s ultimate claim at the end of the chapter is that “In the first years of the twentieth century... large numbers of blacks, whites, men, women became impatient, immoderate, and unpatriotic.

As seen in the last sentence, even Zinn’s sentence structure in “The Empire and the People” is designed to sound plausible to skeptical readers. His prose is straightforward and lacks unqualified descriptor words. His restraint is especially evident in moments where he could easily qualify a group of people as “racist” or “discriminatory” and left it at that; he instead turns to as concrete a description of the events as possible:

Black soldiers encamped in Tampa, Florida, ran into bitter race hatred by white inhabitants there.... Negro soldiers in Lakeland, Florida, pistol-whipped a drugstore owner when he refused to serve one of them, and then in a confrontation with a white crowd, killed a civilian. In Tampa, a race riot began when drunken white soldiers used a

Negro child as a target to show their marksmanship; Negro soldiers retaliated, and the streets “ran red with Negro blood,” according to the press dispatches. (p. 318).

Zinn doesn't parse words in his reporting of the experiences of people of color during this period, but he disconnects broad statements like “It was a time of intense racism in the United States” (p. 315) or “racism, paternalism, and talk of money mingled with talk of destiny and civilization” (p. 313) from a specific historical figure, newspaper, or piece of legislation. Any time Zinn addresses specific subjects, he lets context and eyewitness sources and quotations indicate to the reader what they should understand from the text.

Warrant. - Zinn's warrant plays largely into his need to side-step the impulse to label any one person or group with an adjective or their actions with an adverb. His central warrant is not that America's history is one where everyone gets screwed over; rather, it is that there have been Americans resisting bad actors for the nation's entire history. Zinn's appeals to logos in this chapter point back to Zinn's central warrant at the same time that they seek to answer his rhetorical questions, a tension that balances out Zinn's prose.

Ethos, Pathos. Zinn's attempt to strike this balance is best represented in his appeals to ethos, his citation of Americans at all levels of authority during the Spanish-American war and in its aftermath. Only a fifth of the almost 100 paragraphs in the chapter have no quotations; of those, more than half still appeal indirectly to statistics, like “on the average, every week, two Negroes were lynched by mobs” (p. 315); to political group action, like “the Bureau of the Census” or “the Monroe Doctrine” (p. 297); or to unnamed sources like “an army officer speaking in Boston's Faneuil Hall” (p. 314). These appeals are Zinn's great equalizer: every American had an opinion, not just those who made public speeches, and those opinions, Zinn displays by including them, are worth publishing. Immediately adjacent to one another on one

page are quotations by literary icon Mark Twain, Secretary of War Elihu Root, marine officers at a trial in Manila, and a British witness to the Filipino-American conflict (p. 316). Those first-person accounts are more effective than Zinn would be at conveying the emotion of the time as well. If Zinn had simply said, “the major was on trial for killing unarmed civilians,” it wouldn’t have nearly the same emotional weight as the quotation from eyewitnesses: “Major Waller asked General Smith to define the age limit for killing, and he replied ‘Everything over ten’” (p. 316). The bluntness of the primary source bears more weight than a blunt statement from Zinn.

Schweikart and Allen’s Spanish American War

Logos. Schweikart and Allen’s account of the Spanish American War is a significant outlier compared to the rest of the chapters in the book that cover American armed conflicts. As has already been established in the **Quantitative Data** section, compared to the about 50% or more that Schweikart and Allen spend describing the American Revolution and Civil War, the Second World War, and the Vietnam War, despite their relative briefness, the Spanish-American War only makes up a little more than 8 percent of its entire chapter, “Building Best, Building Greatly, 1896-1912.”

The reason for this difference hinges on a paragraph near the beginning of the chapter, which appears after a description of the Gilded Age’s invention boom and the development of philosophical and industrial thought at the time. Schweikart and Allen contrast the “modern historians obsessed by class, race, and gender oppression” to the prayers and words of immigrants to America at the time, and then make the following statements that help them reframe the timeline of the turn of the century:

Overseas expansion—whether in Hawaii, Panama, or Cuba—could prove only beneficial to whatever people were assimilated. Consequently, the era of American imperialism

could just as easily be relabeled the era of optimism.... The liberties [Americans] enjoyed belonged by right, they thought, to everyone. If manifest destiny itself was dead, the concept of an American presence in the world, of Americans who “build greatly,” had only just started. (p. 479).

Schweikart and Allen’s appeals to logos, in this chapter, *are* the reframing of this period of American history, and the narrative that follows is an effort to justify or prove the new label as one that is fitting for the time period. The authors’ appeal to the reader, first, is that a patriotic reading of this era is optimistic and sees United States control as only a good thing because of the economic prosperity, industrial growth, moral forthrightness, and vision that it could bring to those new people under their control (if they assimilate). This appeal plays into the reasons that the Spanish-American War receives a description proportional to the years around it, instead of a greater proportion like other wars: the ideological approach to chapter structure is defined on separate terms.

Structure. The authors’ focus, as an outflow of the appeal to “the age of optimism,” is broader than the Spanish American War. Schweikart and Allen’s American historical timeline equalizes the lead-up to the war’s events and its aftermath. For patriots like Schweikart and Allen, the Spanish-American war is not an imperialist affront to human dignity; rather, it is part of a larger narrative. One of the larger narratives is one of economic prosperity and American greatness as a result, which Schweikart and Allen introduce in the beginning of the chapter: “Compared to their European counterparts, Americans were vastly better off, leading the world with a per capita income of \$227 as opposed to the British male’s \$181 and a Frenchman’s \$161” (p. 474). Another through line that appears near the front of the chapter is the future political career of President Theodore Roosevelt, whose life milestones are key to the Timeline

the authors provide. In 1901, the major event is McKinley's assassination, which puts Roosevelt in the White House; in 1903, the "Roosevelt Corollary" is delivered; in '04, Roosevelt's election is the only event listed; and the last item on the list is 1912, the year "Roosevelt forms the Bull Moose/Progressive Party" (p. 475). Theodore Roosevelt and William McKinley are the two major figures of focus in the chapter as a whole. Only three of the almost 40 pages in the chapter are void of either one of their names.

Warrant. A third possibility for the inconsequentiality of the Spanish American war in Schweikart and Allen's text has less to do with their grand narrative than others do. The authors describe it this way, two and a half pages after the war began: "Spain quickly capitulated. Despite the loss of only 400 men in combat, the Spanish-American war had proven costly" (p. 487). Because the Spanish American War was so short yet extremely costly for the federal government, it lacks "star quality" compared to other American conflicts. The authors list the pensions that the soldiers mobilized for the effort received; the costs of buying Guam, the Philippines, and Puerto Rico from Spain; and Emilio Aguinaldo's resistance to American control (p. 487). Where for *A Patriot's History*, the Revolution put an end to taxation without representation, and the Civil War an end to Slavery, all the Spanish-American war does is cost the United States money. Since the majority focus of the chapter outside of the war is economic growth and success, the Spanish-American War receives its due place in the narrative (as has been established earlier, all political and military events are created equal in this work, and receive some mention), but doesn't deserve lengthy exposition like the American Civil and Second World Wars.

Ethos, Pathos. While, for the most part, the major economic and territorial growth under the leadership of Presidents Roosevelt and McKinley convey the kind of optimism that serves as

the frame for this chapter, Schweikart and Allen’s section on “Black and White in Progressive America” undercuts this optimism, not through its appeals to logos, but through an emotional effect strengthened by appeals to ethos throughout it. It is this section that acts as a kind of antithesis to the “age of optimism” because every step of progress towards real equality is tempered by a negative event or characteristic of society at the time. The table below reflects the balance that the authors try to strike between the religious and economic freedoms gained and lost, and the good and bad character shown in the black community.

Table

Comparison of “Building Best, Building Greatly” Chapter’s Representation of Black Issues

| page | Positive | Negative | page |
|------|--|---|------|
| 500 | Roosevelt invites Booker T. Washington to the White House, which “shocked many Americans, some of whom treated it like a scandal” | After a Brownsville, TX, shooting, “Roosevelt discharged all 160” black soldiers for not providing a name to investigators | 501 |
| 501 | the NAACP is founded; “Using the court system, NAACP lawyers waged a long struggle to eliminate state voting laws designed to prohibit blacks from voting, winning” in <i>Guinn v. United States</i> | “the South had degenerated into a two-tiered segregated society of Jim Crow laws... Even in the North,... Progressives used IQ tests to segregate education,” <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> decided | 501 |
| 501 | <i>Buchanan v. Worley</i> strikes down explicit segregation housing laws | the NAACP fails to obtain an anti-lynching law until 1930 | 501 |
| 502 | the Afro-American Realty Corporation “acquir[es] five-year leases on white properties and rent[s] them to blacks.” the company “folded after four years, but... broke the race barrier” | the “Harlem Property Owners’ Improvement Corporation attempted to force blacks to ‘colonize’ land outside the city” and encourages wall-building “to seal off white zones” | 502 |

The balance soon gives way to a list of what happened to Harlem when more black people moved in:

- “Harlem got both blacker and poorer” (p. 502)
- “the rate of illegitimacy was high” (p. 502)

- “corruption, graft, and prostitution were rampant” (p. 502)
- “the audacity of the harlots and the susceptibility of the Johns, knew no bounds” (p. 502)
- population density rises “in what was called the Harlem ghetto” (p. 503)
- “black sections of New York were among the sickest in the nation” (p. 503)
- “black-on-black violence rose 60 percent between 1900 and 1925” (p. 503)

This wave of statistics and accounts, as well as the philosophical conflict between black leaders on “how best to attain equality,” have an emotional effect that is barely salved by accounts of the emergence of Black schools and universities (including “the so-called black Ivy League”) and denominations like the African Methodist Episcopal Church (p. 503). Within the scope of black life, these are significant and optimistic jumps for Schweikart and Allen to recount, but they concede that “Unfortunately, African Americans were excluded” from the “melting-pot principle” that serves as the authors’ testament to American greatness in this chapter, “despite pandering from Teddy Roosevelt’s cousin Franklin” (p. 505). *A Patriot’s History* ends its account of black life at the turn of the century with a sour jab at FDR before pivoting back to “A largely prosperous economy” and the Taft presidency to close out the chapter (p. 505). Whereas the appeals to logos in the chapter are still strong, the emotional undertone of the “age of optimism” does not reflect this.

World War II

The Second World War made the United States a bigger global power than ever before, as exemplified by the Cold War of the latter half of the century which followed. Neither *A People’s History* nor *A Patriot’s History* dispute this, though they phrase the phenomenon differently. Zinn says that the war “put the United States in a position to dominate most of the world” (*People’s* 425), and Schweikart and Allen contend, “Emerging from the war as the

world's most dominant power... the United States stood firm in democracy's finest hour" (*Patriot's* 613). This paradigm shift at the end of the war marked the beginning of the Atomic Age and the beginning of the Cold War, and because of this, World War II itself is a touchstone for American identity: it stands as a definitive marker in American generational politics, in American economic history, in American military history, and in the history of American scientific development.

Zinn's Second World War

Pathos. In *A People's History*, Zinn's approach to pathos is largely an attempt to curb negative reactions to what he is proposing from his real audience as much as it is to provide a strong base of researched argument for his ideal audience. As such, Zinn toes the line between appealing to the patriotism of Americans reading his work and appealing to different reasons for their distrust of the government. On the one hand, Zinn points out, the Second World War "was a war against an enemy of unspeakable evil" during which "all Americans were now in agreement—capitalists, Communists, Democrats, Republicans, poor, rich, and middle class"; "it was the most popular war the United States had ever fought" (p. 407). On the other hand, Zinn's list of prior interventions abroad, "the nation's record," complicates the claim that the United States was involved only to defend the nations the Nazi regime had invaded, and he describes the United States Congress's appeasement of Hitler to cast doubt on whether American leaders cared enough about the persecution of Jews under German control to act (p. 409, 415).

Kairos. *A People's History's* attempts to synthesize all of American history up to its initial publication in 1980 has a significant bearing upon the emotional weight of his chapters on anything following the Depression, during which Zinn was a child. Any reader above the age of 40 at the time that Zinn's book came out likely had some memory of the war, and virtually every

American younger than 40 knew someone who had served in the war effort. Zinn himself served in the Second World War, first as a shipyard worker and then as a bombardier, which the supplementary materials at the back of *A People's History's* 35th-anniversary edition say “helped shape his opposition to war and passion for history” (Zinn, 2015, “P.S.,” p. 2). The Second World War, after all, represented a definitive American victory at a time when America had just suffered great personal, economic, and credibility losses in the Vietnam War. These realities play into why Zinn is careful in this chapter with the way he affects his readers’ emotions with his prose and his points, and yet he is caught between this recognition and the thing that ties the premise of *A People's History* down: his epistemic warrant.

Structure. Knowing that the Second World War was one of the first wars in his book that up to half of his readership would remember, Zinn knows that he has to keep his Central Question in front of his readers, else they lose track of his point as he describes the corporate and political interests working behind the scenes during the war. While Zinn’s CQs usually make their appearance within the first few pages and lay the foundation for the structure of the rest of the chapter, in “A People’s War?” Zinn uses the title of the chapter, which appears at the top of every odd-numbered page, to introduce the question and then repeats a variable of the same concept five times throughout the chapter. Because there are so many questions in the chapter, I have provided them in the table below instead of listing them in this paragraph:

Table 1

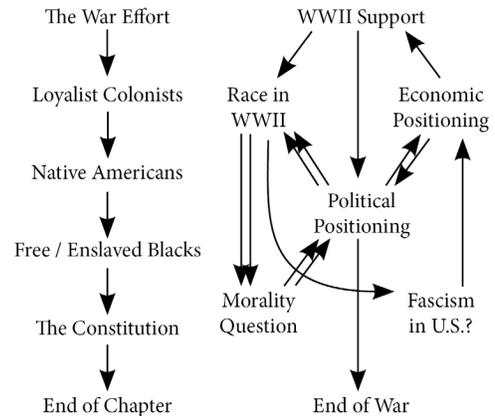
| | |
|-----------------|--|
| p. 407 | All Americans were in agreement... this was indeed a people’s war. / Was it? |
| p. 407 | ...could this be considered a manufactured support, since all the power of the nation.... was behind the calls for an all-out war? Was there an undercurrent of reluctance; were there unpublicized signs of resistance? |
| p. 407 - 408 | And yet, did the governments conducting this war ... represent something significantly different, so that their victory would be a blow to imperialism, racism, |

| | |
|-----------------|---|
| | totalitarianism, militarism, in the world? |
| p. 410 | Was it the logical policy of a government whose main interest was not stopping Fascism but advancing the imperial interests of the United States? |
| p. 411 - 412 | Once joined with England and Russia in the war... did the behavior of the United States show that her war aims were humanitarian, or centered on power and profit? Was she fighting the war to end the control by some nations over others or to make sure the controlling nations were friends of the United States? |
| p. 415 | Was the war being fought to establish that Hitler was wrong in his ideas of white Nordic supremacy over “inferior” races? |
| p. 421 | The Fascist powers were destroyed. / But what about fascism—as idea, as reality? Were its essential elements... now gone? Or were they already absorbed into the already poisoned bones of the victors? |

Each of the variations on Zinn’s CQ is phrased to open a new thread of inquiry, and the implication to the reader is that the answer to each of them is “no.” Zinn, in a kind of historical-political Socratic method, doesn’t ever directly answer the rhetorical questions with a “yes” or “no” answer: he lets the reader decide whether or not his proposal is plausible. Doing so insulates the author from some criticism by not inviting anger directly, but by putting the brunt of responsibility on the reader to answer his questions; this struggle pits the reader’s emotions, whether they be anger, sadness, or shame, against themselves and their own sense of American Self, instead of against the author directly.

Zinn’s overall structuring of “A People’s War?” is distinct from its presentation, for example, of iconic American victories like the American Revolution. Whereas his presentation of the Revolution was blocked off into sections, his chapter on the Second World War is structured in circular waves of narrative instead of talking about an entire issue and laying it aside. **Figure 2** to the right shows this very structure. Though the chapter begins with public support for WWII, it comes back to the subject later in the chapter. The political positioning

done by the United States during the war is a topic that returns three times after its initial introduction, and the experiences of different racial groups are addressed in four ways: two sections detail the black experience of the war, one those of the Jews in America and Europe, and one of the Japanese Americans (on the chart above, this section is addressed by Zinn as the parallels between European fascism and U.S. reflections of it: “Fascism in U.S.?”). The effect on the reader is like the boiling frog fable. (For a linear, page-by-page visualization of the structure, see **Figure 4** in **Appendix A**).



Warrant. Zinn’s warrant (that in every moment of American history, in every facet of American life, there was someone resisting) makes the chapter on a war that the majority of the American public favored at the time—and that a majority of the American public at the time of his writing had a favorable memory of—one of the most crucial chapters of *A People’s History*. Zinn’s epistemic warrant locks him in, though: he cannot afford to loosen up on his forcefulness that Americans resisted even the most popular and successful of the U.S.’s armed conflicts in the 20th Century.

Zinn finds his resistance in unorganized movements: Japanese-American resistance to internment, unorganized Black resistance to the war motive, and individual conscientious objectors to the war (draft evaders). To back up his warrant, Zinn makes special use of two kinds of sources: emotional first-person testimony and literature about the war. “Michi Weglyn was a young girl when her family experienced evacuation and detention,” Zinn writes, “She tells... of *bungling* in the evacuation, of *misery, confusion, anger*, but also of Japanese-American *dignity*

and fighting back” (p. 416, emphasis mine). By appealing to Weglyn’s testimony, Zinn does not tell the reader what to feel about internment; he invites the reader to learn how the people who experienced internment felt at the time. He does the same thing when he cites black students and literature:

A student at a Negro college told his teacher: “The Army jim-crows us. The Navy lets us serve only as messmen. The Red Cross refuses our blood... Lynchings continue. We are disenfranchised, jim-crowed, spat upon. What more could Hitler do than that?”

In January 1943, there appeared in a Negro newspaper this “Draftee’s Prayer”:

Dear Lord, today

I go to war:

To fight, to die,

Tell me what for? (p. 419)

While the citation of academic and literary sources is also an appeal to logos and ethos, Zinn’s use of the quotations and block quotes off-shores the responsibility of conveying negative emotions to primary sources, preserving him from culpability for stirring the reader’s feelings. Zinn fulfills his obligation to his epistemic warrant, and executes it strategically.

Logos, Ethos. Zinn’s approach to justifying his arguments that (1) some Americans *did* resist the war effort and that (2) the political establishment’s motive for joining was not as altruistic as it seems comes down to a logical appeal to a common dualism in American politics even today: the presentation of an event versus the true political motive. After the war, Zinn argues, both the USA and the USSR “went to work—without swastikas, goose-stepping, or officially declared racism, but under the cover of ‘socialism’ on one side, and ‘democracy’ on the other, to carve out their own empires of influence” (p. 424). “Pearl Harbor was presented to

the American public as a sudden, shocking, immoral act,” Zinn says, appealing to this dualism. “Immoral it was, like any bombing,” he concedes, “but not really sudden or shocking to the American government” (p. 411).

Why not? Enter Zinn’s second logical appeal, one that is usually understood as the conservative explanation for world events: the economy. Zinn quotes Yale political scientist Bruce Russett, saying “In initiating economic sanctions against Japan the United States undertook actions that were widely recognized in Washington as carrying grave risks of war” (p. 411). Zinn’s appeal to the economy is on almost every page of his chapter about the Second World War, from the necessary acquisition or protection of oil (p. 413), to the founding of the International Monetary Fund (p. 314), to industrial mobilization of women and handouts to corporations (p. 416-417), and so on.

Schweikart and Allen’s Second World War.

Pathos. The Second World War, as presented by *A Patriot’s History*, is a crescendo of American triumph. As in previous chapters, the pathos with which the authors convey to the reader that what they are reading about is consequential is woven into the fabric of *A Patriot’s History’s* prose, but it is in the Second World War chapter that their appeals to the emotional importance of every action taken on either side are the most explicit as well. Take, for example, the emotional language of the first paragraph:

World War II presented an *unparalleled*¹ challenge to the United States because, *for the first time*², two *capable*³ and *determined*⁴ enemies faced America simultaneously. These *foreign*⁵ enemies were not *merely*⁶ seeking to maintain colonial empires, nor were they

interested in *traditional*⁷ balance-of-power concerns. They were, rather, *thoroughly and unmistakably evil foes*⁸. (p. 613, italics and notes mine).

This topic paragraph for the chapter conveys several emotional situations to the reader: first, that for the authors, the war was specifically and distinctly separate ⁽¹⁾ from other wars the United States had fought on the basis of its novelty ⁽²⁾ and of the qualities ^(3,4) and the motivations ^(6,7) of its rivals. Second, the authors convey a duality: a united nation versus the outside enemy ⁽⁵⁾, even though America was made up of immigrants and their descendants from both nations. Third, it conveys the claim that the War was more than just a military operation; it was a *moral* fight ⁽⁸⁾ (p. 613).

Schweikart and Allen don't want to give the reader the wrong impression, however, that the war of the United States (the other Allies are given little screen time in comparison to the U.S.) against the Nazi-Japanese coalition (and very little mention is made of the Italians) was against the odds: on the contrary. For Zinn and Schweikart, an American victory in the Second World War was virtually inevitable. There are two possible reasons: first, the choices that the Germans and Japanese made along the way, their "recklessness" and the "utter lunacy" of all-out war against the U.S., pointed towards an American victory (p. 614). The second possibility receives even more focus: that the American industry, morals, leaders, and people were intrinsically better from the outset. Schweikart and Allen continue to tow this emotional line: that although America was destined for success, "the delusion of Japan" "came within a hair of succeeding" (p. 615), setting the readers up for not just a review but a *story* to match the scale of the war effort itself.

Kairos, Warrant. The timing of *A Patriot's History's* publication is of great benefit to the authors. The book's initial publication in 2004, as has been described, fits into a timeline of

American soul-searching following the 9/11 attacks and the start of the War on Terror during which many Americans clung to events of national pride as the hope for the future. The book's re-release in 2014 is coincidental, but notable: the 10th-anniversary edition aligns with the 75th anniversary of the beginning of the Second World War in 1939 (though the U.S. did not join the war until 1941). At the dates of both releases, though, the population of Americans who remember and served in the war is significantly aged: census data from 2004 indicates that a vast majority of Americans weren't alive to remember the war as they were in 1980 when *A People's History* was published (U. S. Census Bureau, 2004). On the other hand, a significant portion of Americans at the time of the release of *A Patriot's History* are of Baby Boomers who grew up in the economically-prosperous aftermath of the war, what Schweikart and Allen call "America's Happy Days" (p. 657). The positive emotional relationships that Americans have with the Second World War, as a result, are a large part of the rhetorical appeals Schweikart and Allen make in their chapter covering it, especially due to their epistemic warrant.

Warrant. Schweikart and Allen's warrant hinges on the cornerstone of values that serve as their makeup of American greatness: character tied to Christianity, liberty, and property protected by the free market. In their chapter about the Second World War, the authors appeal to these aspects of American life, not just to the events of the war itself, to convey the odds of American success in the war (close, but in the U.S.'s favor). In appeals to the character of the American nation, Schweikart and Allen explicitly respond to "A few contemporary liberal scholars" who "continue to call the Japanese American internment camps concentration camps" (p. 633). First, they concede that Roosevelt's Executive Order was "an unfair and mistaken policy" and qualify it as: "not... a policy of 'hysterical racial repression,'" but "understandable precautions to protect national security" (p. 633). Then, having earlier established the evil of

Hitler's rule and the Japanese as "every bit as vicious" as the Nazis with an account of the Bataan Death March (p. 632), Schweikart and Allen juxtapose the concentration and P.O.W. camps of the Axis powers with the Japanese American internment with three precise rhetorical questions:

Can anyone honestly compare the American camps—where perseverant, brave, and industrious Japanese Americans grew vegetables and flowers, published their own newspapers, established schools, and organized glee clubs and Little League baseball teams for their children—to Auschwitz or the Japanese camps in the Philippines where the Death March prisoners languished? Can anyone forget the brave Nisei men who, despite the wrongs they suffered, left the camps to join and fight bravely in the U.S. Army's European theater? Moreover, had Germany won the war, does anyone actually believe the inmates in the Nazi camps would have been released—let alone paid reparations? (p. 633).

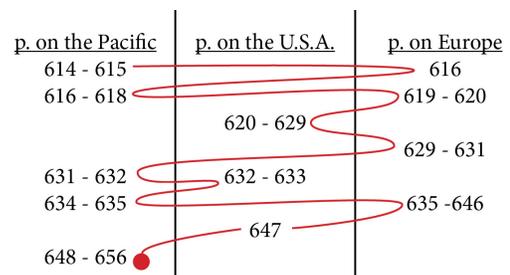
Without having to make any explication, Schweikart and Allen make their moral point clear, praise the Japanese Americans who peacefully endured internment and who joined the war, and insinuate to the reader the moral or mental unreliability of those who would disagree, an effective emotional appeal.

Other emotional appeals serve Schweikart and Allen's, especially approaching cultural and economic differences between the U.S. and Japan (who receive most of the focus in the chapter). In the authors' pathos-heavy section titled "Democracy's Industrial Tsunami," "\$80 billion from Uncle Sam" helps "'Capitalism, U.S.A.' bur[y] the fascists and imperialists under a mountain of fighter planes, tanks, and ships"; "Yankee factories turned out war materials at nearly incomprehensible levels" (p. 623) *A Patriot's History's* use of colloquial euphemisms like

“Uncle Sam,” “Capitalism, U.S.A.,” and “Yankee” is a diction choice that appeals rhetorically to the friendliness of the authors, and their use of metaphors like “mountain” and hyperbole such as “nearly incomprehensible levels” in these sentences invite the reader to feel a sense of marvel at the U.S. war effort.

Structure. As **Figure 2** of the **Quantitative Data** section shows, *A Patriot’s History’s* narrative about the Second World War, “Democracy’s Finest Hour, 1941-45” is the narrowest time span the chapters cover, only four years. This chronological account is not shortened, however, by the shorter time span the chapters cover: of the other chapters about wars that this thesis covers, it is of median length (shorter than the American Civil and Vietnam Wars’ chapters and longer than those about the Spanish-American and American Revolutionary Wars). The chapter’s Timeline, however, starts in September 1939, to allow the authors space to provide the context of WWII before the United States entered the war at the end of 1941. Schweikart and Allen want to allow the reader to bask in the story of the Second World War from an American perspective; they spare no detail, statistic, or battle from their narrative. The works’ focus shifts back and forth between three fronts: the Pacific stage, the European stage, and the home front (this hopscotch can be seen in **Figure 3** to the right); yet on each front, the authors provide heroes of strategy, economy, diplomacy, and industry.

Logos, Ethos. One of the most emotionally effective rhetorical appeals in *A Patriot’s History* is a list that appears on page 620, as Schweikart and Allen begin describing the American war effort in a section called “Putting the Ax to the Axis.”



In it, the authors list more than fifty famous American cultural figures and their contributions to the war. Paragraph by paragraph, names familiar in the American lexicon, including Julia Childs, Van Heflin, Charlton Heston, and Desi Arnaz, appear alongside those of presidents Eisenhower, Johnson, Nixon, Bush, and Kennedy, and celebrities in the writing, music, sports, and television industries (p. 621). Each of them, Schweikart and Allen seem to say, has a place in history for their service in *this* war, despite what else they did in their lives before and after. Schweikart and Allen later go on to describe how every aspect of American life was pivoted to benefit the war effort, down to documentary film, Disney animation, and jazz (p. 622).

The account of the American industrial effort is rhetorically assisted by the statistics of production that Schweikart and Allen make the focus of the paragraphs following the list of stars who were a part of the war. They list the amount of each ship in the navy, the American GDP growth, the number of tanks and planes the U.S. owned (p. 624), but they also give a page to the productivity of the American citizen, from the “farmers [who] pushed their productivity up 30 percent,” to the victory gardens and “a thirteen-year-old in Maywood, Illinois,” who “collected more than 100 tons of paper from 1942 to 1943” and the 40 percent of retired Americans who got back to work (p. 626). Overall, these lists have little to do with the advancement of the *plot* of the war, but the authors leverage them to push forward the war *narrative*: that “It was as close to a total war effort as the United States has ever seen” (p. 626). In the discussion section of this paper, I will discuss the implications of the differences between this narrative and Zinn’s.

The Vietnam War

Zinn’s Cold and Vietnam War

Ethos. In *A People’s History’s* chapter on the Vietnam War, Zinn relies upon two major appeals to ethos: his role as a professor and his prominence as a figure of the antiwar movement. For his ideal audience, there is likely no conflict here; students and adults who agreed with the

antiwar movement will trust Zinn two-fold. For an audience of people who were in favor of the Vietnam War, or were at the least opposed to the anti-war movement, however, Zinn must further establish his credibility. Zinn himself notes in his afterword, written for a revised edition that came out after 1980, that his involvement in civil rights and antiwar movements “were hardly a recipe for neutrality in the teaching and writing of history” (p. 683). For some readers, Zinn is telling their story; for others, Zinn is recording what they had put effort into preventing.

Because of the risk that Zinn might be painted as an untrustworthy storyteller of the Vietnam War narrative because of his activism, Zinn continues to set himself outside of the narrative, inundating the text with block quotes and quotations from books, journals, interviews, newspaper and magazine articles, and government records. Zinn’s dual audience compels him to craft a citation balance between sides. At the same time that he quotes the Vietnamese Declaration of Independence, he quotes the U.S. Defense Department’s study (the Pentagon Papers) (p. 470); after quoting Ho Chi Minh’s letters to President Truman, he quotes a National Security Council Memo (p. 471). He does the same thing when presenting domestic issues during the Vietnam War period: Robert McNamara’s words appear in the same paragraph as student protestors’ (p. 484). Last, Zinn knows that just representing individuals and their words doesn’t go all the way in establishing broad opposition to the war, so the words of nonpartisan groups like the Gallup poll, polling data from the University of Michigan, and a Madison, Wisconsin, ballot resolution’s results all indicate broad support for the end of the war (p. 491-492). These appeals balance Zinn’s direct involvement in the war with his work researching it.

Kairos. When *A People’s History* was released in 1980, the Vietnam War had ended less than a decade prior. Anyone with a working memory who was older than six years old would have remembered the war, remembered seeing it on their TV screens, known someone in the

war, or maybe even lobbied against the war themselves. Americans in intellectual circles would know that Zinn was not just participating in the debate against the war, but also actively protesting against it. In the introduction to the 35th-anniversary edition of *A People's History*, Anthony Arnove cites “the first champions of *A People's History*” as “the thousands of students who had been a part of Howard [Zinn]’s classes at Spelman College and Boston University, and many others who heard him speak on their college campuses and at antiwar rallies” (p. xvii). As a result, both the public memory of the Vietnam War and Zinn’s celebrity as a professor and activist definitely played into an initial reader’s understanding of his narrative and into Zinn’s own ethos as an author.

Structure. As with his chapter on the Spanish-American War, Zinn has two fronts on which to talk about resistance to the American war effort: the resistance of the Vietnamese, and the resistance of the American public. Zinn establishes this focus in the first two paragraphs of this section:

When the United States fought in Vietnam, it was organized modern technology versus organized human beings, and the human beings won.

In the course of that war, there developed in the United States the greatest antiwar movement the nation had ever experienced, a movement that played a critical part in bringing the war to an end. (p. 469)

Zinn deals with one, then the other, not oscillating between the home front and the foreign front as he does with other wars. First, he details the events leading up to the Vietnam War; then he addresses the home front. Zinn’s Central Question for the Vietnam War is uncharacteristically short—“Why was the United States doing this?” (p. 471)—“this” being financing the war effort against Ho Chi Minh. The importance of the CQ stands in contrast to the premise of the running

header, the title of the chapter: “The Impossible Victory.” Zinn’s CQ might have been a representation of what antiwar Americans reading *A People’s History* were asking about the past twenty years of American foreign policy on Vietnam. If so, it is an expert appeal to ethos to establish common ground with the reader that Zinn, as the historian, is asking the same question as his readers.

Warrant. Zinn’s account of the Vietnam War is one that most explicitly lines up with his epistemic warrant, that throughout history the people have resisted the actions of the powerful. For a contemporary reader, Zinn’s chapter about the period is its own kind of common ground, a launchpad from which the author can say, “You see what happened here five years ago? It’s been happening all along.” Zinn’s warrant especially comes into play in the closing paragraphs of the chapter:

It was the first clear defeat to the global American empire formed after World War II. It was administered by revolutionary peasants abroad, and by an astonishing movement of protest at home. From a long-range viewpoint, something perhaps even more important had happened. The rebellion at home was spreading beyond the issue of war in Vietnam. (p. 501).

In his 1980 introduction, Zinn had noted his desire to recognize when resistance happened, “even if in brief flashes,” and not “simply to recapitulate the failures that dominate the past... in an endless cycle of defeat” (p. 11). The Vietnam War is both the opposite of a brief flash of resistance and an example of an event that broke a certain cycle of defeat for resistance movements in the United States. Zinn’s warrant about the past holds that Americans will continue to protest (see Zinn’s predictive chapter, “The Coming Revolt of the Guards”), the

success of resistance in Zinn's telling of the Vietnam War testifies to ethos when he predicts the future of American resistance.

Logos, Pathos. - While Zinn forgoes placing himself in the narrative in the interest of maintaining his Virgil-like historical guide status, he does not forgo using pathos to communicate the triumph of populist movements at home and abroad in this chapter. The first sentence of the chapter uses an arsenal of parts of speech to enhance the emotion of its message: "From 1964 to 1972, the *wealthiest and most powerful*¹ nation *in the history of the world*² made a *maximum*³ military effort, *with everything short of atomic bombs*⁴, to defeat a nationalist revolutionary movement *in a tiny, peasant*⁵ nation—and *failed*⁶" (p. 469, italics mine). The adjectives and prepositional phrases qualifying the United States and Vietnam (^{1,2,5}) serve a triple purpose: they build a logical context for Zinn's narrative, they raise the emotional stakes of the war, implying that it should have been so easily won, and they establish common ground with the reader, that America is the wealthiest and most powerful nation in the history of the world. Zinn also uses an appositive (⁴) to concede that the U.S. didn't do *everything* it could have done to win the war (implying that it could have, another common ground) and an em-dash to jar the reader with what actually happened: the U.S. lost the War.

Zinn is able to appeal more to pathos in this chapter than any other because of the fresh memories that every American has of the events: they were published in every American newspaper every morning and televised every night. Zinn doesn't sacrifice the logical plausibility of his account of the Vietnam War when he uses language like "The heavy bombings were intended to destroy the will of ordinary Vietnamese to resist, as in the bombings of German and Japanese population centers in World War II—despite President Johnson's public insistence that only 'military targets' were being bombed" (p. 481). Why? Because the readers themselves

might have followed the Pentagon Papers case in the Supreme Court, known a Vietnam veteran who told them about their own My Lai experience, or seen the photograph of Vietnamese people who had been napalmed that shook America. Because Zinn's readers are so familiar with the events of the war, Zinn's compilations of all the reports, books, data, and U.S. admission of failure would increase his ethos.

Schweikart and Allen's Cold and Vietnam War

Ethos. *A Patriot's History's* chapter on the Vietnam War, "The Age of Upheaval, 1960-74," makes several appeals to ethos on both the explicit and the implicit level. One implicit appeal to ethos in their chapter on the Vietnam War comes from the authors' experience of the war and their uses of footnotes. Allen, for his part, is a Vietnam veteran who served as a Marine Corps artilleryman. Schweikart was a student of political science at the University of Dayton until he graduated in 1972. Another implicit appeal to ethos is that Schweikart and Allen draw from 205 sources to synthesize their narrative, 40 more sources than its closest comparison, according to their bibliographical "Notes" section (pp. 938, 900). The section on the Vietnam War also has 52 individuals from which the authors use direct quotations, which is between 20 and 31 more distinct sources than the other chapters on war in this thesis.

The authors' more ambitious appeal to ethos in this chapter is an appeal to the moral high ground, which is an aspect of the authors' warrant but takes on a separate claim in this chapter. "Every aspect of America's fabric, from national image and reputation to family life," Schweikart and Allen say, "experienced distasteful side effects from the upheaval that began when John F. Kennedy won the presidential election over Richard Nixon" (p. 695). "The Age of Upheaval" makes morality and its decay in America one of its central through lines for the 60s and early 70s that the chapter covers, from the perspective (as shall be elaborated more fully) of

the good patriot. The Good Patriot is the archetype that Schweikart and Allen narrate from, the one the authors cast themselves in, and the one their ideal audience relates with, establishing a common ground that the reader can trust.

Kairos. In their narrative of the Vietnam war, Schweikart and Allen's ethos is significantly aided by their distance from the event itself. Upon *A Patriot's History's* initial publication in 2004, it had been thirty years since Nixon pulled the last American troops out of Saigon, and significant research, as well as the retrospectives, memoirs, and biographies of those involved in the war, had been published since. Furthermore, though this only applies to the 10th-anniversary edition, the total declassification of the Pentagon Papers in 2011 allowed for greater research to be done about the time. Of the 205 citations in *A Patriot's History's* bibliographical "Notes" on the chapter, more than eighty of the dated citations were from sources published after 1990, almost thirty of those after 2000.

The publication of the "The Age of Upheaval" in *A Patriot's History* correlates with questions of patriotism in the 2000s and 2010s, as well, times during which Americans were deciding the worth of American involvement in conflicts in Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Syria. It also plays into the authors' prose when they describe impeachment and Keynesian economics. *A Patriot's History* explicitly compares "Hillary Rodham's zealotry" in Nixon's impeachment to "her husband and his advocates" two decades later (p. 748-749). The authors also compare "Nixon's paradoxical legacy" of "kill[ing] Keynesian economics... until 2008 when a politician of more radical inclinations would revive and celebrate it," hinting at President Obama's 2008 stimulus package (p. 740). By connecting arguably the two most-hated people in Conservative politics to this chapter, Schweikart and Allen send an ethos-signal to their ideal audience.

Structure. As much as *A Patriot's History's* chapter on the Vietnam war is about Vietnam, it is also largely about the major socio-political shifts happening during the 60s and 70s. Johnson's resolution to Congress officially involving Americans in the conflict receives the longest lead-up of any of the conflicts seen in this thesis, covering the Kennedy administration and assassination and Johnson's election and Great Society legislation. Schweikart and Allen trace the "Origins of the Vietnam Quagmire" back to JFK, and as Schweikart tweeted, they "put ALL of VN on JFK" (Schweikart, 2017). "When, after the disastrous decade-long Vietnam War resulted in public criticism and assignment of responsibility, Kennedy should have been at the top of the blame list," *A Patriot's History* says; "Why he was not is itself an interesting twist in American history" (p. 705). The authors give this question thought ("the Kennedy image machine" is one consideration) and address conspiracy theories around Kennedy's assassination, which they discredit. What follows are profiles of Johnson, whose skill as Senate majority leader is unmatched (p. 709), but whose morals are more questionable than Barry Goldwater's, who the authors see as "the most ideologically 'pure' candidate since William Jennings Bryan" (p. 710). In the last portion of the lead-up to the war, Schweikart and Allen detail the Civil Rights Movement's pros—Martin Luther King, Jr., and his speech at the March on Washington—and cons: "communist elements, which sought to radicalize" the movement, and the Black Muslim movement (p. 712-714), all of which are characterized by violence and the "Origins of Welfare Dependency" (p. 715). The Vietnam War and a description of the cultural forces behind the antiwar movement take up the entire second half of the chapter, except for the last four pages, titled "America's Second Constitutional Crisis": the Watergate scandal. The benefit of this structure to the authors' ethos is the same one that recurs throughout *A Patriot's History*: rather democratically, the authors give equal weight to each issue in its positives and negatives, as well

as equal “screen time” to both the political and social movements of the 1960s and those of the early 70s, assuring the reader that the successes and failures of a single movement, program, or person are not the ends of the story.

Warrant. Schweikart and Allen’s narrative of the Vietnam War centers on the same question as Zinn’s Central Question for the period: “Why Vietnam?” (p. 719). The epistemic warrant of *A Patriot’s History* leads Schweikart and Allen to analyze the chapter differently (see **Discussion**), specifically through the lenses of skilled moral leadership, a flawed prior description of the war by misguided historians, and their cornerstone of American greatness (Christian liberty and free-market property rights). In the arc of events that occur between 1960 and 1974, the authors find little of the first, much of the second, and an attack on the third.

For example, they take a lengthy break from the events of the war to describe how at its start, “the administration had lost a tremendous psychological patriotic edge” (p. 724), and how this loss affected American demographics and subcultures significantly. First to come under focus are the doves, split between “die-hard communists, dropouts, social outcasts, militant anti-American revolutionaries, or disaffected youths who... were ignorant of the most basic elements of foreign policy” and the “pragmatic wing” of the doves, liberal Democrats (p. 725). To the authors, these doves represent a lack of skilled moral leadership (missing one of the two qualities). Then, Boomer student demonstrators from a “background of abundance, self-centeredness, and permissiveness” (p. 726) took over public universities where, Schweikart and Allen say, the thinking went, “Who’s to say what’s right or wrong?” (p. 727). For the authors, it is the uber-liberal historians who teach at and emerge from these universities and corrupt the story of America. Last, Students for a Democratic Society and the Free Speech movement, “steeped in revolutionary tactics and filled with an ideology of terror attempted to impose its

world view on the majority by shutting down facilities” (p. 729), and all the aspects of hippie, yippie, counterculture, homosexual, drugged, or otherwise radical life “repel and alienate mainstream American society” (p. 729-734).

Yet, for the authors, there exists an exception to the “Age of Upheaval’s” list of cultural erosions: “rock music (and its cousins, blues, gospel, country, and jazz) embodied the essence of American freedom in its very structure, beginning as a group, ending as a group, but always inserting somewhere in the middle the epitome of individuality, the guitar or keyboard solo” (p. 734). This characterization of the music industry, which “came entirely from ‘the people’ and that the government had absolutely nothing to do with” and “posed a challenge to those who insisted on the necessity for a National Endowment of Arts or ... the Humanities” (p. 733-734), likely stems from Schweikart’s ethos as a drummer who toured in rock bands and opened for Steppenwolf and the James Gang between his bachelor’s degree and his master’s program (*Dr. Larry Schweikart – Bio*, n.d.). Nevertheless, all of the characterizations that Schweikart and Allen apply to counterculture movements are tied to the epistemic warrant of *A People’s History* as it was described in their introduction, whether they are tied to the negative (“Without responsibility and virtue, freedom becomes... an incomplete licentiousness”), or to the positive (“in America, corruption is viewed as the exception, not the rule”) (p. xviii).

Logos, Pathos. One of the biggest challenges, consequently, for Schweikart and Allen, in “The Age of Upheaval” is to continue to plausibly support the claim that “if the story of America’s past is told fairly, the result cannot be anything but a deepened patriotism” (p. xv) and to appeal to that patriotism emotionally at a point in American history when the “traditionalists and conservatives... all faded into relative nonexistence from the media’s perspective” (p. 734). In the chapter, Nixon’s failures weren’t his own fault, but the result of “the anti-Nixon media,” in

the case of public perception of the antiwar effort (p. 737, 747); the release of the Pentagon Papers, in the case of Hanoi's perception of the American military position (p. 742); and the restriction of the EPA, in the case of the economy (p. 738-739). The authors' presentation of Nixon's success with China and Russia (p. 743-745), the steadfastness of the Silent Majority in the election of 1972 (p. 745), and the American success in "every major military encounter in the war" (p. 746) all stand in the face of the forces working against American greatness throughout the chapter. Further, they all make an emotional appeal for the through line of American exceptionalism, even in exceptional times. In the **Discussion** section of this thesis, I will comment on the differences between *A Patriot's History's* perspective on the Vietnam War and *A People's History* account.

Discussion

In the **Data & Results** section of this thesis, I performed a rhetorical analysis and a quantitative analysis of my two primary texts. In this section of my thesis, I will compare the two texts based on the data collected in the prior section and, as outlined in my **Methodology**, identify the successfulness of the two works based on the section titled "**What makes a 'popular' history 'popularly' successful?**" That section identified three markers for success: (1) a consistent, well-defined narrative intent, (2) readability and reader connection, and (3) ethical scholarship. These markers for success will be held up to the authors' ideal readers, the kind of readers that "[respond] to challenges and mysteries," (Parker p. 333), as well as the authors' implied readers, the kind of reader we can discern based on "implicit assumptions that it [a text] makes about its readers, what they know and believe"—or what they don't (Parker p. 334).

Consistent, Well-Defined Narrative Intent

Both of my primary texts, as my rhetorical analysis of the **Introductions** to each of the works demonstrated, have very clearly outlined historiographical lenses. Zinn stated that his intent is to account for resistance across history (p. 11), and Schweikart and Allen declared that their intent is to write a narrative that inspires patriotism in their readers, focused on a set of moral and political values (p. xv-xviii). Across the span of their chapters on war, *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* fulfill their narrative intents to the fullest; however, depending on the audience of each work, the result is less clear-cut.

Ideal Readers. In my primary texts, the ideal readers are those who will work with the texts as they are presented, and glean the knowledge from each of them without being taken advantage of by the persuasive rhetorical structures of each text. In the case of *A People's History*, the ideal reader will bring their prior knowledge of American history to the book with them when they begin reading. In doing so, they can respond to the rhetorical questions Zinn presents, like “Are the *conditions* of slavery as important as the *existence* of slavery?” by acknowledging that the answer may be more nuanced than a “yes” or a “no” answer, but still come away from the chapter on the Civil War with a much more informed understanding of the scholarship conducted about the institution of slavery in the U.S. On the other hand, the ideal reader of *A Patriot's History* would appreciate the national pride that the authors intend to inspire in their readers, yet understand that each of the nation's battles was not a single-issue conflict, but a combination of socio-economic, socio-political, *and* moral forces.

Implied Readers. The implied readers of each of my primary works are not mutually exclusive from the ideal readers; however, distinct contextual factors affect the way a reader may characterize them. Schweikart and Allen imply strongly, especially in their introduction, the sections of society who are *not* a part of their intended audience: Marxists (p. xv), a certain large

portion of academics (p. xvi), and left-wing historians (p. xvii). They imply that other groups are “serious threats to both liberty and public virtue,” thereby excluding readers who align with them from feeling as though they are part of the intended audience: “the modern environmental and consumer safety movements,” for example (p. xviii). They also view “the emphasis on diversity” as a “line of attack,” a “campaign to separate virtue from talent, to divide character from success” (p. xvii). “Foreigners” are not viewed as a negative demographic by the authors, but they are referred to as an outside group who regard America as weak (p. xviii). *A Patriot’s History’s* clearest definition of the intended audience occurs earlier on the same page: “as *Americans, we alone* remain committed to both the individual and the greater good, to personal freedoms and to public virtue, to human achievement and respect for the Almighty” (p. xviii, emphasis mine). *A Patriot’s History* serves these implied readers, these God-fearing, principled Americans, by reminding them what the authors believe “makes America great.”

I will not claim, as might be easy to do, that the implied readers of *A Patriot’s History* are opposite the implied readers of *A People’s History*, nor will I claim that the implied audience of the latter might not be part of the implied readership of the former. This is because the text of *A People’s History*, especially Zinn’s first-person point of view Afterward, is intentional in its implications. Zinn takes the position of “we the people,” of “all of us—rich and poor and middle class” (p. 684), with some exceptions. “What we learn about the past... may cause us to look deeper than the glib statements made by *political leaders* and the “*experts*” quoted in the press,” Zinn remarks (p. 684, emphasis mine). He implies that his work is set up not in the interests of “the few [who] decide on war,” but the “citizens” who “ask in whose interest are we doing what we are doing” (p. 685). After this, Zinn pivots his Afterward to apologizing for the lack of Latinx and LGBTQ+ representation until a 1995 revised reprint, and restating his commitment to

inclusive history. Zinn's implied audience is explicitly stated: it is everyone. Yet even "everyone" is qualified; he rejects "corporate wealth and military power and two antiquated political parties" and divides the remainder into two groups: "we can all choose to participate, or just to watch" (p.688). Zinn's implied readership, then, is made up of both readers who will act on the content they read and readers who will not act, but it is not the national economic, political, or military leadership. *A People's History* serves both readerships well: the inactive readers will learn completely new information, and the active readers will be moved to anger and conviction by the accounts of oppression and suppression across the nation's history.

Hostile Audience. However, *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* are both founded on the assumption that their premises are the antithesis to something: Zinn to the political, economic, and military establishment, and Schweikart and Allen to the "neo-Marxist/New Left interpretation" of American wars (p. 366). Since the premises of their works reject those who do not make up the implied audience, an audience hostile to the premises of one or both my primary texts will find them insufferable. This is a factual statement, not an interpretive one: Schweikart and Allen despise Zinn's *A People's History* and declare as much, and as the **Literature Review** showed, many historians and columnists share equal disregard for *A Patriot's History* (Gewen, 2005; Weigel, 2013).

Readability and Reader Connection

The primary texts of this thesis are both effective at tying their readers to the text, and though they represent different points on the ideological spectrum, they frequently make use of the same rhetorical strategies to keep their readers engaged. This section will identify some of those rhetorical strategies and discuss their effect on the reader.

Rhetorical Questions. The structure of rhetorical questions in the two primary texts is often identical. Both books use them to make points that appeal to ideological interpretations of an event, and they do so with the same syntactical framework. Compare these rhetorical questions from the authors’ sections on the Second World War, first *A Patriot’s History*:

Can anyone honestly compare the American camps—where perseverant, brave, and industrious Japanese Americans grew vegetables and flowers, published their own newspapers, established schools, and organized glee clubs and Little League baseball teams for their children—to Auschwitz or the Japanese camps in the Philippines where the Death March prisoners languished? (p.633)

Next, *A People’s History*:

But could this be a manufactured support, since all the power of the nation—not only of the government, but the press, the church, and even the chief radical organizations—was behind the calls for all-out war? (p. 407)

Both of these rhetorical questions are representative of the many rhetorical questions throughout the two works. Both seek to impact the reader emotionally and lead them along a train of thought to the conclusion the authors have in mind—they construct an enthymeme. Popular histories like *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History* depend on enthymemes, inferential reasoning lines of thought common to persuasive writing, because they are high-context, persuasive texts. Compare the enthymemes below, which are constructed based on the rhetorical questions above:

| | <i>A Patriot’s History</i> | <i>A People’s History</i> |
|---|--|---|
| Premise 1 , part of the question | “Death March prisoners” languished in Japanese camps, <i>inferred connotation of</i> Auschwitz | “All the power of the nation... was behind the calls for all-out war” |
| Premise 2 , | American Internment camps had | The Government + the press + the |

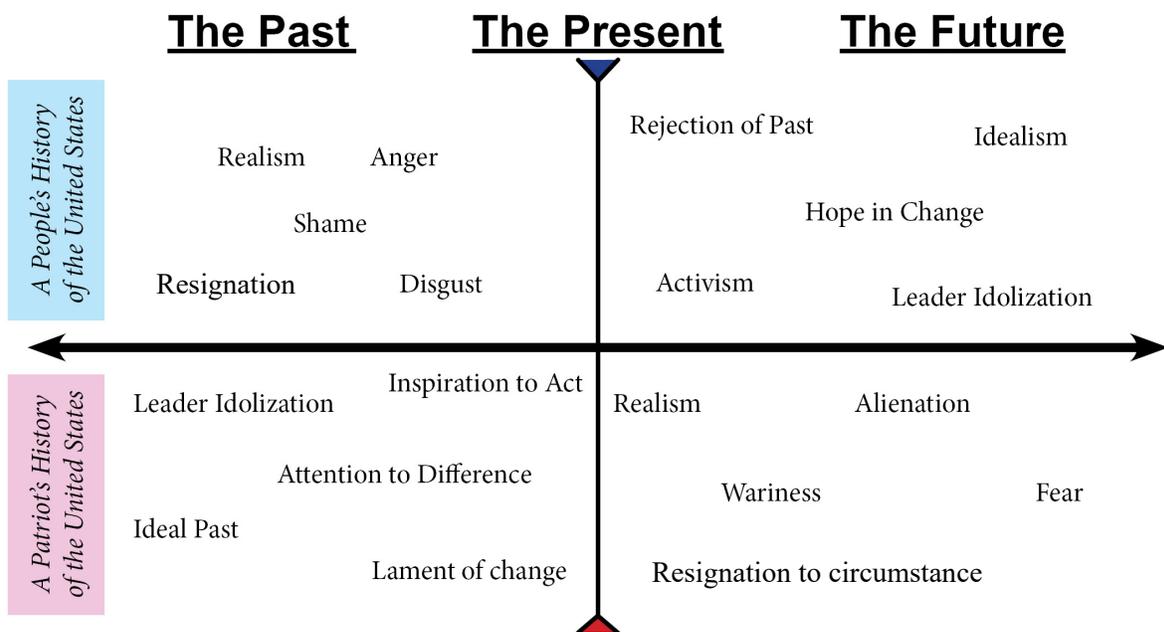
| | | |
|---|---|--|
| introduced by em-dashes | gardens, newspapers, glee clubs, and baseball teams. | church + chief radical organization = all the power of the nation |
| <i>Inferred Premise</i> (unspoken assumption) | Forced relocation camps, if their living conditions were different, cannot be compared | Support incited by mainstream leadership is “manufactured” and therefore not truly popular |
| Conclusion | American internment camps cannot be compared to Japanese and German concentration/POW camps | The American public’s support for WWII may be false / not really popular / manufactured |

The answers to the rhetorical questions that these enthymemes represent do not depend on fact; they depend on the inferred premises of the text. A reader from the opposite side of the ideological spectrum from the authors *could* argue that despite their differences, Japanese and German camps are comparable to America’s internment camps, or that the public support for the Second World War was legitimately popular despite the fact that mainstream organizations projected their own support for it. Rhetorical questions and the enthymemes they represent directly involve the reader and are a kind of acceptable fourth-wall break to them. “What do *you* think?” they ask, with a layer of inference. My primary texts’ rhetorical questions are preceded and followed by paragraphs that inform how the reader may answer the question.

Appeals to Morality. Both *A Patriot’s History* and *A People’s History* appeal intrinsically to moral arguments about America’s actions, and they sometimes do so in ways that parallel one another. In 1980, Zinn was writing from a central argument that revolves around the moral resistance to the wealthy and powerful people’s exploitation of the marginalized (p. xv). In 2004, Schweikart and Allen’s work likewise hinges on moral resistance, except they frame the social strata differently: not as the powerful versus the marginalized, but as the character of middle America and a few good men against the pragmatist and secular Intellectuals (p. 478). Both of my primary texts, as a result, exist on a pathos timeline with reversed emotional effects.

Figure 1 below demonstrates how each work inspires similar emotional reactions, but with different direct objects; whereas *A People's History* might inspire idealism about the future, *A Patriot's History* inspires idealism for the past. The inverse is true for an emotion like shame or an outlook like resignation.

Figure 1
Spectrum of Effects to Appeals to Pathos Regarding Different Points in Time



Ethical Scholarship

The third section of this discussion hinges on history book standards and historiographical best practices as they have been defined by the AHA, the MLA, and the OAH (see **Methodology**, ***Ethical Scholarship***). I will first describe the quantitative comparison between my two primary texts at the theoretical and the statistical levels; then I will apply the data yielded by my rhetorical analyses and the statistical data below to the standards of each professional society. The standards listed by the AHA deal specifically with textbooks, which Howard Zinn's *A People's History* has become, and which Larry Schweikart and Michael

Allen's *A Patriot's History* was intended to be. Because its criteria are so directly tailored to textbooks, of the three organizations, I will spend the most time on the standards of the AHA

Analysis of Quantitative Data

Quantitative differences between my primary texts represent different outlooks on scholarship in the historical field. For example, Schweikart and Allen provide their 80-page bibliographical “Notes” section; compare this to Zinn’s comparatively brief bibliography at the end of the book. At first, there seems to be a disparity between the two works. However, Zinn’s work cites authors and their works, as well as quotations, in-text, while Schweikart and Allen’s prose is mostly their own, with footnotes to the “Notes” section. If Zinn were to write all of his own prose, and footnote to the Bibliography, perhaps his text *would* look more like *A Patriot’s History*, and vice versa: if Schweikart and Allen were to quote their historical and monograph sources in-text, their notes section might be less dense.

There are many ways of expressing the difference between the number of subjects that were mentioned and quoted in each work. I have reproduced the data for both subjects mentioned and quoted in each of my primary texts in the table below:

Table 1
Comparative Numbers of Subjects Quoted and Subjects Mentioned in *A People’s History* and *A Patriot’s History’s* Chapters About Wars, with Comparative Proportions

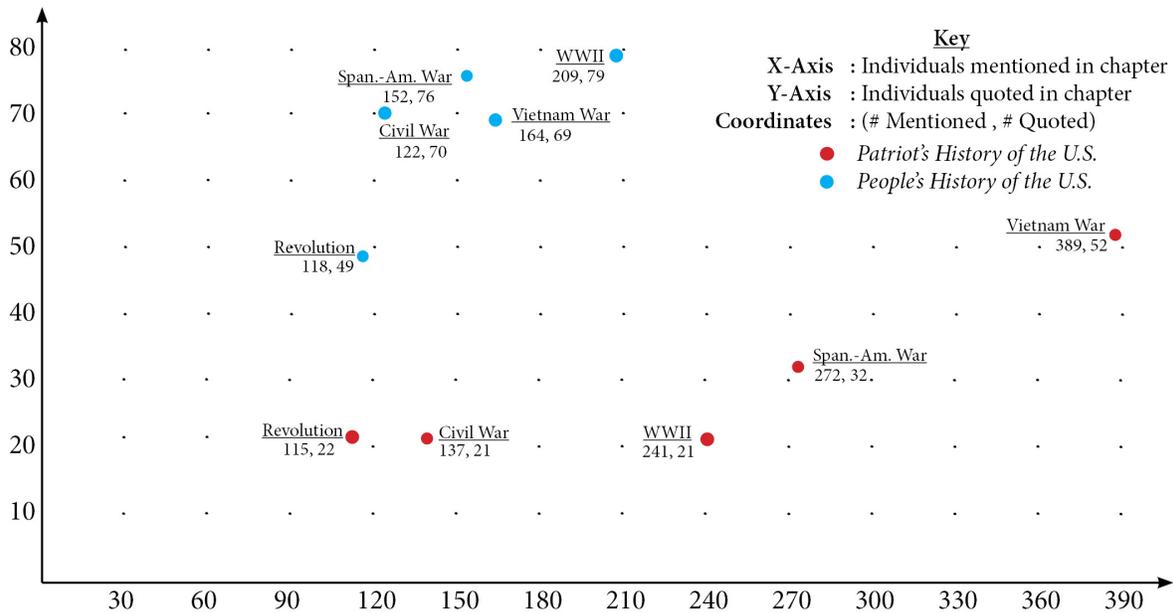
| Section of Book | <i>A Patriot’s History</i> | | <i>A People’s History</i> | | Proportions | |
|-------------------|----------------------------|--------|---------------------------|--------|------------------|-----------------|
| | Mentioned | Quoted | Mentioned | Quoted | <i>Patriot’s</i> | <i>People’s</i> |
| Revolutionary War | 115 | 22 | 118 | 49 | ≈ .1913 | ≈ .4153 |
| Civil War | 137 | 21 | 122 | 70 | ≈ .1533 | ≈ .5738 |
| Spanish-American | 272 | 32 | 152 | 76 | ≈ .1177 | .5 |
| Second World War | 241 | 21 | 209 | 79 | ≈ .0871 | ≈ .378 |

| | | | | | | |
|-------------|------|-----|-----|-----|-----------------|-----------------|
| Vietnam War | 389 | 52 | 164 | 69 | $\approx .1337$ | $\approx .4207$ |
| Total | 1154 | 148 | 765 | 343 | $\approx .1283$ | $\approx .4484$ |

On the far right of the table, decimal numbers express the proportion of the mentioned sources that are also quoted sources (to express this relationship as a percent, move the decimal number twice to the right). Overall, 1 in every 7.8 mentioned subjects is quoted in *A Patriot's History*; 1 of every 2.23 subjects is quoted in *A People's History*. However, *A Patriot's History's* chapters on war mention almost 400 more subjects than *A People's History* does, though its chapters also run longer than any in *A People's History*. This data becomes clearer when we plot the data as (x,y) coordinates on a plane, as I have done in the graph below:

Graph 1

Scatter Plot Graphing Historical Figures Mentioned (x) to Individual People Quoted (y), by War.



As the graph shows, the chapters in *A Patriot's History* trend toward the extremities of the x-axis, the number of individuals mentioned, and *A Patriot's History* trends toward the extremities of the y-axis, the number of individuals quoted in each chapter.

The clearest way to discern whether these data points are actually significant, rather than arbitrary and inconsequential facts, is to perform a statistical comparison. To do so, first I performed a two-sample *T*-test comparing the ratios of subjects quoted to pages per chapter in each work; then I performed the same test comparing the ratios of subjects mentioned to pages per chapter at a significance level of .01. I have reproduced these data points in the table below:

Table 2

Data Plugged into Two 2-tailed *T*-tests For Significant Difference in Subjects Mentioned And Quoted In *A People's History* And *A Patriot's History's* Chapters About Wars.

| | Test 1 (av. mention / pg.) | | Test 2 (av. quoted / pg.) | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| War | <i>People's</i> | <i>Patriot's</i> | <i>People's</i> | <i>Patriot's</i> |
| Revolution | 2.61 | 3.71 | 1.11 | 0.71 |
| Civil War | 3.05 | 2.28 | 1.75 | 0.35 |
| Span.Am. | 6.33 | 7.56 | 3.17 | 0.89 |
| WWII | 5.81 | 5.48 | 2.19 | 0.48 |
| Vietnam | 4.97 | 6.95 | 2.09 | 0.93 |
| Mean | 4.55 | 5.2 | 2.06 | 0.67 |
| Standard Deviation | 1.48 | 1.97 | 0.67 | 0.23 |

The 5 chapters about wars in *A People's History* ($M = 2.06$, $SD = 0.67$), compared to the 5 chapters about wars in *A Patriot's History* ($M = 0.67$, $SD = 0.23$), quoted a significantly higher average of subjects per page $t(4) = 3.93$, $p = .0044$. There was no significant difference for average subjects mentioned per page, $t(4) = -0.52$, $p = .61$, despite the 5 chapters about wars in *A Patriot's History* ($M = 5.20$, $SD = 1.97$) having overall higher ratios of mentions per page than the 5 chapters about wars in *A People's History* ($M = 4.55$, $SD = 1.48$).

The statistical significance in the difference of subjects quoted between my primary texts has a bearing on the kind of scholarship each book represents: Zinn's heavy quotation of sources

and historical figures throughout his chapters about war compared to Schweikart and Allen's lesser dependence on quotation relates to their epistemic warrants, their approaches to telling the story of the United States, and the rhetorical structures that help them establish credibility and narrative plausibility.

Organization of American Historians Standards. The quantitative data produced in this study reflects directly onto the OAH's Statement of Honesty and Integrity, found in the **Methodology**, which acknowledges that past events are collected to inform the present and future. Specifically, *A Patriot's History's* moral arguments impress the importance that America select skilled, morally-right leaders else America be "taken... to the brink of collapse" or leave "legacies of frustration and corruption" (p. xvii). *A People's History's* accounts of how the public was leveraged to serve corporate and Establishment interests through clever rhetoric serves its readers' outlooks on the future. The **Quantitative Data** section of this thesis, with its recognition of the demographics of sources quoted by each works' chapters about American wars, speak to the OAH's recognition that students and readers have an "implicit trust" in the historian, something to which Zinn speaks in his Afterword: "Behind every fact presented to the world—by a teacher, a writer, anyone—is a judgment" (p. 684). This thesis has shown in its **Introductions** section how both of my primary texts appeal to the readers' sense of trust and, in the **American Revolution** section, construct their texts to be as plausible a narrative as possible.

American Historical Association Standards. The AHA identifies three significant criteria with which I will evaluate Zinn's and Schweikart and Allen's works: factual coverage, historical thinking, and supplementary materials (see **Methodology** for expansion on these). Recognizing that textbooks cannot contain one-hundred percent of all knowledge about even a single period of American history, the Association asks that the criteria for selection of sources,

events, and facts be clear. The sections of this paper about **Introductions** and about the **Spanish-American War** in this thesis describe the methods with which the authors defined their focus and stuck to it: Zinn uses central questions to determine each chapter's focus, and Schweikart and Allen appeal to an optimistic and patriotic view of the events that transpired, good and bad. Because it is the historian's epistemic warrant, Zinn's section on the **Second World War** especially fulfills the AHA's expectations that history textbooks represent the experiences of different groups, but Schweikart and Allen's work about this period also fully completes this expectation by listing, for pages, famous cultural and political figures who served in the war effort.

Next, the thesis's section on the presentations of the **Civil War** showed how the authors responded to their own historical moment through their presentation of the past, giving readers examples of how to draw connections between America's history and their own presents. Zinn does this by citing contemporary historiography almost exclusively in "Slavery Without Submission, Emancipation Without Freedom"; Schweikart and Allen do it by relating the differences between different contemporary interpretations of the Civil War period with the events that occurred during the war and a more patriotic interpretation. Both works themselves are applications of critical thought about history; Zinn's work inspires comparison, and Schweikart and Allen's work performs it.

Last, the Bibliography and Notes sections of each work provide starting points for each readership to explore history for themselves, and Zinn's work cites primary and secondary sources in-text. Furthermore, after their works were published, the authors of *A People's History* and *A Patriot's History* wrote supplementary materials for their own works, like *Voices of A People's History*, *A Patriot's History of the Modern World, Vol. 1 & Vol. 2*, *What Would the*

Founders Say? and accompanying curriculum for schools and homeschools (see **Literature Review**). Many of these resources are available online, like Schweikart's "Wild World of History" and the "Zinn Education Project," as well as in print.

Modern Language Association Standards. Guidelines from the MLA about ethical scholarship provide the standard that scholars borrowing from other works should "acknowledge the debt" (Modern Languages Association, 2004). Both Schweikart and Allen and Zinn do this, as Schweikart and Allen's Notes section and Zinn's in-text references and Bibliography show. While Schweikart and Allen consistently footnote their work, footnotes which total in the thousands, James Stripes's "Patriots and Peoples" project brought some of these citations into question (Stripes 2007-2016). Zinn's text, on the other hand, could be strengthened by a much closer annotation of sources than some of his work provides. In his chapter on the **Spanish-American War**, for example, he writes that "Early in 1901 an American general returning to the United States from southern Luzon said" and provides a long block quote of his statement, not providing a footnote for the information (p. 309). Zinn could have insulated himself from certain criticism by being more transparent about the exact location of that comment: was it a newspaper article? In another historian's book? Both authors take many steps to be honest with their readers about their sources, but both texts could be better cited in some areas.

The other side of the MLA's guidelines for ethical scholarship is their assertion that scholars who are "so out of sympathy" with a work "as to be unable to judge its merits without prejudice" should recuse themselves from commenting on such works. With this rule, it is objectively, Zinn who succeeds, and Schweikart and Allen who fall short. In his chapters about war, while Zinn comments on the past presentation of certain aspects of American historical events (see **Civil War, Structure**), Zinn does not make direct statements about a specific

historian's ideology or about the worth of someone's particular scholarship. Schweikart and Allen, on the other hand, appeal to their intended audience, the God-fearing American patriots, and issue low blows at various ideological and cultural groups, implying the immorality of historical, economic, and political groups and lines of thought (see **Vietnam War**) and suggesting the stupidity of adversaries to America (see **Second World War**). These pathos-heavy judgements do not align with the MLA's ethical conduct guidelines, though they are firmly grounded in the ideological cornerstone of free-market property, law-abiding liberty, and Christian morality that the authors found their work on.

Conclusion

Over the course of this thesis, I have performed a rhetorical and quantitative analysis of *A Patriot's History* and *A People's History*. Both works are rhetorically successful as popular histories and as textbooks, but they also both swing heavily into politically-loaded territories of thought, and ground the narratives of opposing ideologies by virtue of their epistemic warrants and the way that those warrants play out in the texts' rhetoric. Readers have much to learn from both texts if they approach them as narratives to be read from front to back, as both works deserve to be read, because they seek to tell a synthesized story, not just serve as ideological reference books. Readers who begin with the introductions will understand the authors' intents and glean valuable insights on untold history from *A People's History* and awe at the continued survival of the American project from *A Patriot's History*.

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