

LAH 3931, LAS 4935

***Cuba & Puerto Rico:
Colony, Nation and Diaspora***

Introduction to this History:

When the U.S. military invaded the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Puerto Rico in 1898, the U.S. government promised to grant them liberation from Spanish colonial rule as well as to respect their right to political independence. As Cubans and Puerto Ricans quickly discovered, however, U.S. intervention into their political and economic affairs did nothing of the kind. As Puerto Rico became an official "territorial possession" of the United States ruled by U.S.-appointed governors for most of the Twentieth Century, Cuba saw its political evolution shaped by repeated U.S. military occupations and diplomatic "mediations" meant to protect U.S. investments in Cuba. In both cases, protecting the expansion and rights of U.S. business interests came at the cost of the local citizenry's right to make and enforce its own laws and state agendas. And, in both cases, US military bases, established at point of arms in the wake of 1898, endure to the present day.

Cubans and Puerto Ricans reacted to foreign domination in divergent ways: by the mid-Twentieth Century, Cuba had launched a stridently anti-imperialist socialist revolution that ruptured all ties to the United States while Puerto Rico accommodated to a U.S.-conceived model of political and social dependence. Similarly, despite their radically divergent historical paths—Puerto Rico toward greater dependence on the United States, Cuba toward greater isolation from the United States—both experiences prompted a massive exodus to the United States in nearly the same period (1950s to the 1970s). One million Cubans would arrive in the United States between 1959 and 1980. By the early 1980s, the same number of Puerto Ricans would live in the United States as lived on the island. Yet, Cubans and Puerto Ricans are, in many ways, equally "nationalist", just as U.S. approaches to their societies, whether political, economic or cultural, are equally imperialist. Moreover, in each case, both the diasporic and the national communities on the island are deeply relevant to U.S. domestic and foreign policymaking.

In part, these differences were due to Cuba and Puerto Rico's distinctive colonial paths of development under Spain's rule from the sixteenth century through the mid-nineteenth: while Cuba's emergence as a fabulously wealthy sugar colony in the late eighteenth century ensured it would become the jewel of the Spanish Crown, Puerto Rico retained its character as a colonial backwater, even after experiencing a relative degree of prosperity thanks to booms in both sugar and coffee. However, as we will find, Cuba's legendary image as the "rebel" and Puerto Rico's reputation for political "passivity" do not derive from differences in national character, as traditional myths maintain. Elites in both places were equally repressive of their poor majorities, particularly in the rural areas where slaves once produced many "cash crops" and large estates prevented non-enslaved workers from advancement by acquiring land; in turn, Cuba and Puerto Rico's oppressed majorities were equally rebellious. Nonetheless, both before and after the US invaded in 1898 and forever altered Cuba and Puerto Rico's destinies, struggles for achieving democratic freedoms and a greater share of wealth tended to succeed in Cuba where in Puerto Rico they failed.

Since the 1950s, however, each island's political culture responded to Cold War pressures in surprising ways: while Cuba transformed into a Communist state over the last sixty years, Puerto Rico's renegotiation of the US colonial "pact" has seemingly made Puerto Rico even more colonial. Their diasporas in the US also took radically divergent paths in ideological terms, with rightwing Cuban exile activists and leftwing US-based Puerto Rican activists relying on bombs, assassination and terror in the 1970s for their respective causes.

Today, their political and economic paths appear to have diverged radically, with Cuba always seeming to teeter on the verge of another revolution or US invasion and Puerto Rico poised *not* to become the 51st state. Yet Cuba and Puerto Rico still have far more in common than they have differences. Analyzing these common denominators, especially internal struggles over race, class and the role of imperial power on the islands and among their US diasporas, is a primary focus of this course.

Intellectual Goals

This course has three goals. First, it seeks to transform the way students understand concepts that they take for granted, helping them to recognize the relevance of historical, often violent social struggles over definitions of freedom, "nation", national sovereignty, economic justice and equality to their daily lives. In the context of its actions in Cuba and Puerto Rico, the United States often acted in contradiction to promoting the values of democracy, freedom of thought and the rights of individuals to pursue prosperity. This class examines these events closely and enables students to identify the differences between stated policy objectives versus their tangible results as well as how humans experienced both.

Second, this course will provide a deep knowledge of the complex realities of Cuban and Puerto Rican societies, helping to reveal how slavery, racial ideologies of white superiority, imperialism, the rise of corporate capitalism, socialism, communism and anti-communism affected what was—and *is*—politically and economically possible to achieve in these countries. Finally, this class promises to challenge students at every level, honing their intellectual creativity and forcing them to use it.

Skills & Learning Objectives (a.k.a. "Student Learning Outcomes")

This class teaches students how to explain major events, pivot points and long-term processes in the history of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Spain and the United States by using historical evidence and weighing the importance of multiple factors in order to understand the construction, consolidation and erosion of power. That means we look at the development and internal struggles in these societies in relationship to each other and from as many social angles as we can.

Students will learn:

- *to assess secondary-source works of historical scholarship in order to learn both the history and the methods of historians* in assembling, organizing and articulating narratives based on evidence and facts

- **to write their own historical arguments that explain the past** by selecting evidence, citing specific examples and developing their own precise interpretations that engages the ideas of other scholars (including the original lectures Professor Guerra presents in class)
- **to craft concise, grammatically clear and “brain-only” (NOT AI-generated) persuasive prose.** This class teaches students to become historians by thinking for themselves, generating ideas for themselves, evaluating evidence or the use of the evidence by others and considering other societies’ documented experiences. **Nothing but your brain is required or allowed for the completion of any assignment.**
- **to present their ideas in open, public discussions** guided by Socratic methods
- **to collaborate with others in generating ideas and presenting observations from shared readings and other assigned materials** (like films) within the short time frame and improvisational setting of the classroom
- **to create individual, impromptu reflections (“warm-up” writing) by handwriting their responses** on paper to questions on assigned readings at the start of class and before group discussions
- **to analyze key primary sources** in order to access the motivations, interests, attitudes and beliefs of people in the past. These primary sources include traditional texts like government documents, speeches, contemporary press accounts, and propaganda as well as visual and literary “texts” like art and poetry.

Course Requirements

(Note: Rubrics and grading scale for assessments may be found at the end of the syllabus)

I. Participation 25%

- **Participation will be assessed through:** graded “warm-up” writing; regular verbal contributions to class discussions of assigned readings that clearly cite examples from the reading and other materials; one 500-800 word critique of two assigned films
- **A student’s verbal contributions** to discussion must demonstrate that they have completed the assigned reading, critically engaged the evidence and arguments presented, and understood (or attempted to understand) it.
- **Attendance** is not a guarantor of a good participation grade but a good participation grade is not possible without attendance. Unexcused absences will result in a zero for the day.
- **Taking notes** in Professor Guerra’s lectures also constitutes an indicator of participation.
 - **Note-taking is a critical skill for historians because it requires reproducing data and creating an “internal” mental narrative about that data in real time.**
 - **Taking notes in class lectures is critical to student success for two reasons:**
 - **First,** Professor Guerra’s lectures are based on original interpretation of primary and secondary sources. *Much of the material in lectures cannot be found elsewhere in the class.*

- **Second, lectures provide the framework and detailed facts** for understanding the chronology and historical struggles at play. They serve as models for how to evaluate sources, construct arguments and present information to explain and illuminate the past.
- **Lectures teach students how to write good papers** and make strong arguments: listening to good lectures and processing them through note-taking allows students to develop their own skills and produce unique, accurate stories about the past.
- **Lectures inform students' understanding** of all assignments and readings.
- **Internet surfing, texting, checking of email, or other tasks** unrelated to note-taking during lecture, discussion or other classroom activities is **prohibited**. Professor Guerra will confiscate the cell phone or laptop of any student found engaging in these activities for the duration of class and s/he may be asked to leave the classroom. A second violation will result in disciplinary sanction that includes the deduction of 5 points from the student's final grade for the class. A third violation will be reported to the Department.
- **All cell phones must be turned to vibrate** at the beginning of class.
- Participation will be assessed on a tri-weekly basis and grades will be provided by email to every student.

II. Two analytical papers 25%: Due Friday 2/13 and Friday 4/10

- each must be a minimum of 5 pages, double-spaced, 12-point font in length
- these papers respond to questions/prompts provided on Canvas one week in advance of the due date (see below)
- Students are not allowed to use generative AI such as Chat GPT, Character AI or *any* AI program to create, edit, organize or otherwise author any aspect of their written assignments for class, whether completed in class or outside of the classroom.
 - This class considers the use of AI in writing assignments to be “cheating” and plagiarism, that is, as fabrication and misrepresentation of another’s work as one’s own.
- *Both papers are due in hard copy (printed on paper) to Professor Guerra’s office where you can hand them to her or slip them under her door. NO digital papers (delivered via email or internet) will be accepted* unless the student is physically unable to deliver the hard copy paper on time. Students will still be required to provide a hard copy of the paper regardless, unless otherwise authorized by Professor Guerra.
- Students will write each paper in response to one or more questions on previously assigned readings provided by Professor Guerra. *Essay prompts/ questions will be provided one week before the paper is due.*

Papers must respond to / answer questions through a standard essay format in which a thesis statement is clearly stated (or even underlined for the purposes of clarity) and supporting evidence primarily derived from readings provided. If essential to an argument, an example may

Lillian Guerra, Ph.D.
Professor of Cuban & Caribbean History
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Flint, Rm. 119

be drawn from lecture and the date of lecture cited. The more specific the examples given to support the argument, the better the paper will be.

Quality of the prose represents 50% of a paper grade. Quality of evidence and argument represents the other 50%. Criteria for judging quality are [see rubrics for further detail]:

- creative use of specific evidence from the readings with footnotes or parenthetical citations
- the clarity of argument and its evolution through evidence/examples
- coherence of the writing and grammatical correctness
- analytical “movement” toward a point

III. Examinations: In-Class Midterm 25% (3.13.2026) & Final 25% (4.29.2026)

Students will take an in-class midterm examination **on Friday, March 13th**, as well as a cumulative final exam **on Wednesday, April 29th**, emphasizing material from the second half of the course, on the date and time assigned by the College. **STUDENTS ARE REQUIRED TO PURCHASE AND BRING 2 BLUEBOOKS and PENS TO EACH EXAM.**

The in-class midterm exam will consist of two parts.

- Part one of the midterm exam will require students to identify 3 out of 5 terms and locate 8 out of 10 items on a blank map provided. Part two of the midterm exam will ask students to write *one* essay in response to one of two question options. Both questions will be provided in advance. Students will not bring an outline to the midterm. The midterm will be conducted in class, during the course of a regular 50-minute session.
- Fully half of the items on the midterm, as on the final, will derive entirely from the reading and half from the lectures.

A two-hour final exam will follow the same format as the midterm.

- The final exam will consist of short-answer identifications of terms, events, names and ideas; a map quiz; and two essay questions. There will be a greater number of identifications on the final and students will choose to *write two essays* in response to *three* options provided in advance. Students will be allowed to bring in a handwritten, “skeletal” outline for each essay, provided that both outlines fit on one page.

Course Materials:

1. Required books for purchase, reading and use in papers and exams:

- Ada Ferrer, Cuba: An American History (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2023).
- Jorell Meléndez-Badillo, Puerto Rico: A National History (Princeton, NJ: Princeton Planeta, 2024).

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- Aracelis González Asendorf, Dressing the Saints (Black Lawrence Press, 2024).

2. Scanned readings, scholarly journal articles and primary source collections will be available for downloading, either through Canvas or library course reserves for this class on the Smathers Libraries' website. They are assigned and cited below in the class schedule.

3. Lecture outlines in the form of Power Point PDFs will be posted weekly to Canvas. Please note that Power Points contain valuable imagery, tables, terms for identification (such as proper names, dates and events) plus other data provided in lecture **but they are no substitute for note-taking.**

Policies and Information: This course complies with all UF policies. For information on those policies and for a list of campus resources, please see this page: <https://syllabus.ufl.edu/syllabus-policy/uf-syllabus-policy-links/>.

Unit I. From Colonial Backwaters to Imperial Meccas: Cuba & Puerto Rico in the 15th to 19th Centuries

M 1/12 Lecture 1: Why Study Cuba and Puerto Rico? An Introduction

W 1/13 Lecture 2: Cultures and Counter-Cultures of Early Colonial Cuba, 15th Century to 1760s

F 1/16 Reading for discussion: Ferrer, 9-32 [required book]; Letter of Columbus & Journal of Columbus in Wild Majesty: Encounters with Caribs from Columbus to the Present Day. An Anthology. Peter Hulme and Neil Whitehead, eds. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 9-28. [available through “Files” on Canvas]

January 19th NO CLASS to celebrate Martin Luther King Day

W 1/21 Lecture 3: The Cuba that Might Have Been and the Cuba that Was: From Tobacco & Free Labor to Sugar and Slavery, 1710s to 1830s

F 1/23 Lecture 4: From Fortress Frontier to Royalist Refuge: Puerto Rico from the 15th Century to 1840s

M 1/26 Reading for discussion: Meléndez-Badillo, 1-27 [required book]; “The Costly Colony”, “Criollos and Blancos” and “The Xivaros” in The Puerto Ricans: A Documentary History. Kal Wagenheim and Olga Jiménez de Wagenheim, eds. Maplewood, NJ: Waterfront Press, 1973, pp. 27-44 [available through “Files” on Canvas]

W 1/28 Lecture 5: Cuba, 1844: Sugar, Slavery, Free Coloreds, Planter-Aristocrats and the Year of the Lash **FILM SCREENING, Smathers Library, 6:00-8:00 PM:** UF will be hosting a film screening of the documentary **“Walking the Cuban Tightrope” (2024)** and Professor Guerra will be leading a discussion afterwards **with the film’s French-Canadian director, Margaux Ouimet.** *This is the first of two films we are required to study in this class. You must write a 2-*

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page response to one of them. All those who choose to write about this film should bring their responses in hard copy to class on Friday 1/30.

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F 1/30 Lecture 6: Cuba's "Abolitionist Planters"? The Tropical Wing of Manifest Destiny and the Ten Years' War, 1840s-1870s

M 2/02 Reading for discussion: Ferrer, 67-117 [required book]

Unit II. Crucibles of Nation in Cuba & Puerto Rico Before 1898

W 2/04 Lecture 7: El Grito de Lares and the Rise of Colonial Collaboration in Puerto Rico

F 2/06 Lecture 8: "More than Black or White": Independence, José Martí & the Making of Revolutionary Cuba, 1880s-1890s. **FIRST PAPER PROMPT WILL BE DISTRIBUTED VIA CANVAS. DUE Friday 2/13**

M 2/09 Reading for discussion: Ferrer, 129-166 [required book] and José Martí, "My Race", originally published in *Patria* (February 1893) [available through "Files" on Canvas in Spanish and English].

Unit III. The Age of Americanization in Cuba & Puerto Rico, 1898-1940s

W 2/11 Lecture 9: US Imperialism and the Invasion of Puerto Rico, 1898

F 2/13 Lecture 10: Americanization: The Political & Economic Transformation of Puerto Rico, 1898-1918. **FIRST PAPER DUE TODAY 2/13 IN CLASS.**

M 2/16 Readings for discussion:

1. Truman R. Clark, "'Educating the Natives in Self-Government': Puerto Rico and the United States, 1900-1933," The Pacific Historical Review, Vol. 42, No. 2. (May, 1973), pp. 220-233 [available through "Files" on Canvas]

2. Eileen J. Findlay, "Free Love and Domesticity: Sexuality and the Shaping of Working-Class Feminism in Puerto Rico, 1900-1917" in Identity and Struggle at the Margins of the Nation-State. Aviva Chomsky and Aldo Lauria-Santiago, eds. Duke University Press, 1998, pp. 229-259. [available through "Files" on Canvas]

W 2/18 Lecture 11: Poverty, Imperial Pacts and the Paradox of the Political System in Puerto Rico, 1920s-1930s

F 2/20 Lecture 12: US Imperialism and the Problems of "Plattist Cuba", 1898-1906

WATCH BEFORE CLASS: 20-min Film clip for discussion: "The War of 1898" [available through "Files" on Canvas]

M 2/23 Readings for discussion: Ferrer, 129-181

W 2/25 Lecture 13: Stillbirth or Birth of the Cuban Republic? 1906-1912

F 2/27 Lecture 14: Silencing Nation, Recrafting Colony in Puerto Rico, 1920s-1930s

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M 3/02 Reading for discussion: Aline Helg, Our Rightful Share, Chapters 6-7 [**available through “Files” on Canvas**].

W 3/04 Lecture 15: Renewing the Republic and Reviving Revolution in Cuba, 1912-1933

F 3/06 Lecture 16: Neutralizing Revolution, 1930s-50s: Puerto Rico’s *Estado Libre Asociado*

M 3/09 Reading for discussion: Meléndez-Badillo, 87-132. **Midterm exam inclusive of 3/09.**

W 3/11 Lecture 17: From Batista to Batista, 1934-1952

F 3/13 IN-CLASS MIDTERM EXAMINATION. BRING IN 2 BLUE BOOKS.

SPRING BREAK 3/14-3/22. Assignment for Spring Break: WATCH: documentary film “Manos a la Obra: The Story of Operation Bootstrap” (The Center for Puerto Rican Studies, 1983). Available on Youtube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xkLtvEQ1uM>. **NOTE:** This is the second of two films required in this class. You must write a 2-page response to one of them. Now is the time if you did not write earlier. Responses to this film should be handed in when we return to class from spring at the start of our class meeting. **READ:** Meléndez-Badillo, 119-149 [required book]

M 3/23 Film & Reading Discussion: “Manos a la Obra” and Meléndez-Badillo, 119-149.

W 3/25 Lecture 18: Making Revolutionary Cuba, 1952-1959

F 3/27 Lecture 19: Unanimity, Socialism & the Rise of Cuba’s Communist State, 1959-1961

SECOND PAPER PROMPT WILL BE DISTRIBUTED VIA CANVAS. DUE Friday 4/10

Unit IV. Anti-Imperialism, the United States and Cold War Struggles for Change in Cuba & Puerto Rico, 1960s-1990s

M 3/30 Reading for Discussion: Ferrer, 289-333 [required book]

W 4/01 Lecture 20: Internal Struggles for Freedom in Cuba, 1961-1971

WATCH REQUIRED FILM FOR FRI 4/10; you may quote from the movie’s narrator, subjects or scenes in your paper. We will discuss at start of class 4/10:

- “Buenos días, Compañeras!” (Canada, 1974). Link to view on Prof. Guerra’s archive: <https://vimeo.com/592427632?share=copy&fl=sv&fe=ci>
- Password for viewing this film: LILYGUERRA@CubaLibre2023

F 4/10 Lecture 21: Communist Cuba, or “The Era of the Fat Cows,” 1971-1989. **SECOND PAPER DUE TODAY 4/10 IN CLASS.**

M 4/13 Lecture 22: Corporate, Cultural & Political Claims to a Puerto Rican Nation, 1970s-90s

W 4/15 Reading for Discussion:

1. Meléndez-Badillo, 150-189 [required book]
2. Pedro Pietri, “Puerto Rican Obituary” (1973) [poem available through “Files” on Canvas]
3. Willie Perdomo, *Where a Nickel Costs a Dime: Poems* (New York: WW Norton & Company, 1996), selected poems & audio [three poems & audio available through “Files” on Canvas]

F 4/17 Lecture 23: “None of the Above”: Neoliberal Communism or Neo-Colonialism in Cuba?

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M 4/20 Reading for Discussion: González-Asendorf, 63-84; 97-154. **[required book]** *Note: Don't panic! These pages encompass four short stories that are very easy to read!*
W 4/22 Final Lecture: Why Study Cuba & Puerto Rico? Lessons of the Class

STUDY SHEET FOR FINAL EXAM DISTRIBUTED OVER CANVAS ON 4/23.

FINAL EXAM 4/29/2026 from 10:00 AM till NOON. BRING PENS & TWO BLUE BOOKS!

Grading Scale:

93-100	A	89-87	B+	79-77	C+	69-67	D+	Below 60	Failing
92-90	A-	86-83	B	76-73	C	66-63	D		
		82-80	B-	72-70	C-	62-60	D-		

Grading Rubrics

Participation:

A/A- Contributions, written or verbal, cite the assigned readings/films in an original way; interpretation of evidence or argument cited shows thoughtful analysis; engagement of key concepts; shows clarity of expression; ideas articulated are exact and developed

B/B- Contributions, written or verbal, cite assigned readings/film but commentary tends to reproduce precisely what the author or reference itself says; interpretation relies on abstractions or generalizations; little engagement of key concepts; ideas expressed are clear but underdeveloped and slightly imprecise

C/C- Contributions, written or verbal, do not cite the assigned readings/films or do so in a superficial and unoriginal way; interpretation relies on abstractions and generalizations; ideas conveyed appear not to arise from the materials taught/assigned but from general knowledge, stream-of-consciousness

D/D- Contributions, written or verbal, are based on generalizations, glossing over of facts, and do not clearly demonstrate knowledge of the assigned readings/films

E No contributions (silence) in discussion; written responses assigned for completion in class or outside of class not submitted or are submitted exceedingly late with no excuse

Analytical Papers

A/A- Exemplary articulation of argument in introduction; clear organization obvious from thesis statement; originality of both analysis and use of evidence from assigned sources; selection of evidence, facts, examples from assigned sources responds and supports directly the analytical point being made; prose is exceptionally grammatical; little or no use of passive voice, correct punctuation throughout; no run-on sentences; no contractions; colorful and active verbs;

no overreliance on “to be” verbs; citation of sources adheres to Chicago Manual of Style or MLA; absolutely no use of Artificial Intelligence.

B/B- Argument is clear in introduction; thesis is original; organization of paper is apparent, not implicit; clarity or originality of argument and use of supporting evidence is “uneven”; some points and examples are drawn mostly from what was peers said in class discussion or Professor Guerra said; prose is not always grammatical; passive voice appears more than once; punctuation is not perfect; run-on sentence or two; contractions; few colorful or active verbs; overreliance on “to be” verbs; citations are not precise or some footnotes/references to exact texts/scenes/ideas are missing; absolutely no use of Artificial Intelligence.

C/C- Argument is fuzzy, abstract, confusing; there is no obvious thesis statement; paper lacks organization or lapses into stream-of-consciousness style; some effort is made to provide examples draw from the assigned sources for the paper but examples are either too few or too generally referenced and left undeveloped; paper is driven by use of quotations from the authors whose works are assigned; citations are not precise and / or absent; absolutely no use of Artificial Intelligence.

D/D- There is no argument. Paper appears to arise from the student’s personal opinions rather than the materials assigned for the paper and taught in the course. Generalizations abound. Prose is pocked by errors of style, grammar, and sloppy writing. Artificial intelligence appears to have been consulted or was used to generate the paper.

E The paper does not meet requirements on any level.

Examinations:

Maps section: all locations are clearly identified and accurate. Each item is worth 1 point (midterm) or 2 points (final), with the midterm requiring the identification of 10 and the final requiring the identification of 12.

Identifications (ideas, names of historical figures, events, terms, concepts): Note that the number of points assigned to each is usually 10 points (midterm) or 25 points (final). For the midterm, students must respond to 3 of 5 Identifications; for the final exam, students must respond to 4 of 8 Identifications.

Full credit. Item is correctly and completely described with significant details. Time frame is given and correct. Discussion of the item is clear and well-organized. Relevance, impact and /or legacy is completely and accurately written.

Partial credit. Item is correctly but briefly described with few but still key details. Time frame is given and correct. Discussion of the item is partial, but not complete. Relevance, impact and /or legacy is either incomplete, slightly inaccurate or misleading.

No credit. Item is incorrectly identified or described with few or missing details. There is no time frame. Discussion is incomplete, inaccurate or missing. There is no clear explanation of relevance, impact or legacy.

Essays: I evaluate these essays, written by hand at the time of the exam, according to a less demanding set of criteria than I apply to evaluating formal papers, written outside of class on a computer. No citations are required, for example, and some leeway is allowed for the quality of prose, spelling errors and punctuation. Essays on exams are usually worth 60 points (for the midterm) or 100 points each (for the final).

A/A- Exemplary articulation of argument in introduction; clear organization obvious from thesis statement; originality of both analysis and use of evidence; selection of evidence, facts, examples from assigned sources responds and supports directly the analytical point being made.

B/B- Argument is clear in introduction; thesis is original; organization of essay is apparent, not implicit; clarity or originality of argument and use of supporting evidence is “uneven” with less fully developed and / or fewer examples.

C/C- Argument is inaccurate, abstract, or confusing; there is no obvious thesis statement; essay lacks organization or lapses into stream-of-consciousness style; there are few examples and some of them are misused, poorly curated and/or left undeveloped.

D/D- There is no argument. Essay appears to arise from the student’s personal opinions rather than the materials assigned in the course. Generalizations abound. Examples, if any, are inaccurate or “made up”.

E The essay does not meet requirements on any level.