How Many Sources Do I Need?

History Student: How many sources do I need to write this paper?
History Professor: As many as you need.
History Student: Could you give me some idea of how many that might be?
History Professor: I really couldn’t say. It depends very much on how much people have written on your topic.

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Many history professors have participated in a conversation of this kind at least once or twice in their careers, with the best of intentions in most cases. I’ve delivered these same words myself. I wanted my students to begin making professional judgments about how to do research and to convey the reality we all experience, which is that to write a good history paper, you need to read very widely. The result of such instructions, however, was seldom a good paper. The student would find ten or eleven or more sources and list them in the bibliography, but as I read the paper, I would often find that the student had relied on one or maybe two sources and included a few references to the rest rather like the sprinkles on a nonpareil. I came to realize that the above conversation might be construed rather differently, in Translations from the English style.¹

Student: I don’t really understand how to write a history paper or how historians think, so I don’t know how many sources I need. You’re the expert. You need to tell me.
Me: You’ll need to figure this out for yourself. It all depends. Go read a whole lot of things. Don’t stop reading until you run out of things to read.

Student: If I could figure it out, I wouldn’t be asking you. I’m writing this paper for you anyway. What do you want?

Me: Sorry. You’ll have to learn by trial and error. I did.

All parts of this hypothetical interpretation could use some further unpacking. The last sentence of this interchange is particularly significant because it is the simple truth. Very few of us currently teaching history have ever received explicit instruction in historical thinking. As undergraduates, at best, we received procedural instructions, without much explanation for those procedures. Most of us developed our understanding of historical thinking in graduate school, where we became involved in the situated cognition particular to historical thinking, underwent our true cognitive apprenticeships, and joined the historical community of practice.2 Even in graduate school, little was explicit. The anthropologists Lave and Wenger, who formulated the theory of situated learning, noted that the apprentice tailors they observed received little explicit instruction from the master tailor, but were often guided by more advanced apprentices; this is not an exact parallel to the experience of graduate school, but does reflect many people’s experience. A great deal was learned tacitly, by imitation, or through a task that developed skills, without much specific instruction about what those skills were.3

Because we learned tacitly, we tend to teach what we’ve learned tacitly. Such tacit knowledge is a major educational issue. As David Perkins points out:

Recognizing the presence and the role of tacit knowledge is a fundamental challenge for educators. Polanyi (1958) and many later writers have underscored the importance of tacit knowledge in human thought and action. In normal practice, a great deal of the discipline “game” of what counts as a good question, what inquiry looks like, what serves as evidence, and so on, is likely to be tacit. There are of course important efficiencies in relegating routine expectations and patterns of practice to the undercurrents, as Polanyi emphasizes. Moreover, the normally tacit operation of this game is not so much of a problem in apprenticeship situations, including the kinds of doctoral study where students participate in ongoing research. There, the
rich social context can enculturate the young learner. However, in more formal settings, even at university level, the tacit game of the discipline is likely to be much less in evidence and many students simply miss out on it.4

But when people learn something tacitly, they often don’t remember not knowing it or how they learned it. We saw this quite clearly in the History Learning Project, when we began interviewing history faculty about difficulties their students were facing. The project, created by Arlene Díaz, Joan Middendorf, David Pace, and myself, used the Decoding the Disciplines methodology developed by Joan and David to plumb the “disciplinary unconscious” (to use a term David favors) and to uncover the mental operations—the moves in the epistemic game—that experts in a discipline deploy tacitly. We began by interviewing nearly half of the Indiana University Bloomington History faculty about places their students got stuck as a way of beginning to render faculty tacit knowledge explicit so that lessons might be designed to teach epistemic moves in history more deliberately and clearly. A grant from the Spencer and Teagle Foundations helped us bring in additional faculty members and a series of graduate students over the three years of the project to experiment iteratively in the classroom and assess our students’ learning. This paper is based on one of my own experiments for the project.5

When the History Learning Project interviewed historians in 2007 about places where their students got stuck, none of the historians interviewed could remember when they learned how to think like historians. Because memory of experience is often seamless, to preserve our sense of the continuity of our identities, we may think we learned to think like historians in college.6 Certainly, we made the choices that led to our becoming historians then. But we, like many others entering graduate programs, were probably quite novice-like in our thinking. I certainly was. I entered history because of my love of the content and learned to think like a historian because that was required to continue to work with the content, but I never received explicit instruction about what was expected of me. My grad school colleagues who could not intuit the rules well enough did not complete dissertations. I should hasten to point out, though, that historical understanding is not tacit because it is unexpressible. Recent scholars have provided many descriptions of what it means to
think historically, and if they do not entirely concur, their reflections define a “horizon of expectations” that is very useful.\textsuperscript{7}

But the hypothetical student’s question is also important in this exchange. Implicit in the question about sources is an assumption and a misconception about history, as well as some actually well-founded assumptions about education. In the student’s previous experience, papers have often been school activities, undertaken in the context of schooling and having no purpose beyond.\textsuperscript{8} The teacher must have some target number of sources in mind because that is how school products work—to formula. There must be five paragraphs in a five-paragraph essay, not seven or three. The student is, after all, writing a paper for the teacher, because that’s what the teacher wants; the student is not writing a paper because he or she has chosen to do so. The purpose of writing a paper is not to express ideas or to learn things. It is a ritual process.\textsuperscript{9} College teachers, however, refuse this representation of what is being asked. We think we are requesting a junior version of what a historian might produce.\textsuperscript{10} We want our students to own the product and write the papers for themselves, so that they can learn from doing so.

This brings me to the second sort of assumption or misconception. If a student conceives of history as a data set of facts which together provide an account of what happened, the student’s question is perfectly reasonable. How many sources does the student need to read to provide him or her with an appropriate set of facts to tell the teacher what happened? Wikipedia, or an encyclopedia the teacher finds more palatable, may suffice to find out what the facts are. Therefore, from the standpoint of the student, paraphrasing one reading and drawing on others to sprinkle in whatever facts cannot be found in the main source makes perfect sense. It may be puzzling to students that some sources include certain facts and others do not, but to the degree that students see what they read as factual rather than argumentative, they have no real basis upon which to explain these differences, except that some historians are “better” or “more interesting” than others. This may explain the tendency of some students to see textbooks, with all their facts neatly organized, as more authoritative than historians—they are certainly more useful for factual description—and the tendency of other students to see primary sources as more “accurate” because, after all, the authors were “there.”\textsuperscript{11}
We historians, of course, conceive of history entirely differently. While not all historians see history as an inherently indeterminate discourse about the past, that is, take a post-modern approach, even historians operating from a purely disciplinary approach will recognize that history is interpretive and that historians make arguments not only about what happened, but also about what the events mean. Competent historians read to the point that our reading is, in some sense, complete when we are no longer encountering significant unfamiliarity. At this point, we recognize the names of the scholars in the notes (we look at the notes) and the arguments being made, and we have a sense that we know most of what is going on in relation to a particular topic. We then situate ourselves in this conversation. What we expect students to do, then, is to read enough to understand the arguments surrounding their topics and to figure out where they stand in them. We don’t expect the same thoroughness we might expect, for example, in a doctoral dissertation, but we expect more than parroting one author’s position. But we often don’t explain this to students at all.

How to solve this conundrum and which misconception to tackle first? Because I learned how to write history largely tacitly, I wasn’t aware that students were bringing to the table different conceptions of their task than I had, even though in retrospect it is clear that I began from a position very similar to theirs. I became a medievalist because I read Josephine Tey’s *Daughter of Time*, a mystery about the disappearance (and undoubtedly murder) of little King Edward V (1483) and his brother, a murder generally attributed to their uncle Richard III (r. 1483-1485). Although the detective had to consider evidence and interpret it, the author had to provide a solution to the mystery in a rather positivist vein. In other words, I went into history to solve mysteries, to determine “the facts”—the popularity of the television program “History Detectives,” which is highly fact-oriented, suggests I am not alone. Only later did I move from being concerned solely with “what happened” to the question of what the past means, a process by no means complete when I left graduate school.

Most of my students, however, are still primarily interested in the factual inquiry/mystery-solving aspect of research. They want factual answers, which they assume are univocal and easy to find. I want them to recognize the complexity of the past, our role in
determining its meaning, and how much digging is required to be able to put together a coherent picture. To give a narrative of facts is relatively easy; to select them, organize them, and explain their meaning is demanding. As I examined what it would take for my students to turn in a successful performance on a history paper, the more complicated the process seemed to be. It wasn’t just that the students needed to read a number of sources, they needed to read those sources deeply and thoroughly. They needed to understand that all the factual information they found in those sources was shaped and conditioned by the argument the author was making about the past, in the case of secondary sources; or by the positionality of the author, in the case of primary source narratives; or by the purpose of the document, in the case of documentary evidence and laws; or by the aesthetics of a given time and place, as in the case of images; or by the technological infrastructure or lifeways of a given time and place, in the case of material culture. Then they needed to figure out how to insert themselves into arguments about the past, which means they had to have a question that they wanted answered, and they had to take a position original for them. In other words, they needed to think like a historian, which, as we now all know, thanks to Sam Wineburg, is an unnatural act. None of my students had been even remotely trained to do this in high school, so it was no wonder that many of them had no idea of how to do it. Moreover, within the press of a semester, they often put the research off until the last minute, frequently producing dreadful work, if not plagiarized papers. I wasn’t solving the problem by not telling them how many sources they needed; I was refusing to teach them something they needed to learn.

“Three”

If I wanted students to learn to write papers in something like the way historians write them, I was going to have to teach them to do it. I was going to have to sacrifice the notion of wide reading—which they often did superficially—to bring about deep reading, to slow students down. I was also going to have to teach them how to read a piece of scholarly writing and figure out its parts (summaries of sources, whether primary or secondary; factual information, whether drawn directly from primary sources or via secondary
sources; generalizations; and the author’s arguments). That might help them understand why a given historian might include material while another historian did not.

Instrumental in this change in my understanding was an interview the History Learning Project had with a history professor about a difficulty one student had had in his class. In the interview, the professor described how the student had misread an article by a scholar, taking what the scholar said summarizing a speech in Thucydides as an expression of the scholar’s judgment; he then realized that he had never explicitly told students that articles *had* arguments. I was one of the interviewers and made the same realization along with him—I was asking students to act upon understandings they hadn’t developed and I hadn’t taught them.¹⁷

A different approach was in order. Instead of having students do an unguided research project, which ended up with poor, if not plagiarized, papers, students would do two short papers, for each of which they would read *three* scholarly articles or chapters from different scholarly books on a single topic. They would write what I came to call an “article review” for each article they read, which they would do as a weekly homework assignment (see Appendix A for the rubric for the first iteration article review). The review assignment required students to write about 500 words, providing a specific identification of the subject of the article, the argument of the article, any counter-arguments acknowledged by the author, and the types of evidence the author was using. In addition, the students were asked to identify two citations in the footnotes to works that might be worth reading and explain why they might want to read them and to ask one question that the article raised in their minds. Each of the parts of this exercise was based on my analysis of what I actually do as a scholar and where my students went off the track.¹⁸

I would read their homework assignments each week and check on the quality of their work as necessary, giving them feedback as they went along. They would then synthesize the three articles they read, that is, compare what the articles had to say—another homework assignment—and write their papers, which would be expected to have an argument of some sort, to acknowledge controversies among scholars, and to evaluate evidence.

In asking students to be very specific about the topic of an article, I was addressing a student tendency to think about the past in broad,
hazy categories. For example, I found that a student researching thirteenth-century women in England might well choose to read an article about fifth-century women in Byzantium, without being aware of a disconnect—after all, the topic and the article are both about “women” in “Europe” in the “Middle Ages.” I wanted them to avoid squandering one of their three articles on something that would not help them. In asking them to identify the subject of the article, I was asking them to learn to be very specific (in iterations of the course after 2011, students were asked to summarize what they read). In asking students to find the argument in the article, I was both requiring them to do something I now do almost without thinking about (and don’t remember learning to do!) and also calling their attention to the fact that what they read is positioned to make an argument. Students are used to thinking about historians as “telling all about” something, and certainly there are some history essays that do just that, but good ones make arguments and are part of an ongoing discussion about the past in which historians make claims and stake positions. Furthermore, when students read a historical article, they are frequently stepping into the middle of some argument about the past, and they need to be able to see what the argument is about, hence the requirement that students think about counter-arguments that might be made. Requiring the students to look at the evidence the scholar had used called their attention again to the argumentative nature of most historical writing, as well as the role that evidence plays in supporting such arguments. It also was intended to help them to do one of the tasks of the synthesis, which is to compare arguments, again, a task historians engage in all the time.

Several parts of the review required students to look at notes, something they have not been taught to do and usually do not do unless prompted. While articles sometimes make explicit reference in the text to the sources of the evidence the authors are using, sometimes this appears only in the notes, so looking at the notes is necessary to see what material the author is deploying. And the question about two works that students might find it useful to read also sent them to the notes to find the bibliography, another typical move in my own research—developed in a pre-electronic world when that was how one built a bibliography—but not one students typically engage in and one that is, despite all of our new tools, still useful. The last question was intended to address something
historians take for granted, but students generally are blind to—that history, in common with all disciplines, is driven by questions, not answers. This disconnect is at the heart of what Gerald Graff calls the “problem problem.”

To score the article reviews, I used a rubric that broke down the tasks of the review and awarded points for each part, which also allowed me to track student performance on each part of the assignment for the semester (Spring 2009). As Figure 1 shows, students’ abilities to review articles effectively generally improved across the semester, with a notable dip at the start of the second round of papers, but with a very quick recovery, particularly in their ability to extract the argument of historical articles. The dip should not be surprising. This is partially a problem of transfer—that is, until they were prompted, the students didn’t recognize that they needed to deploy the same skills they had before. In addition, the students were starting a new project and were less familiar with the material and hence the kinds of arguments that might be made.

**Figure 1:** First Iteration—Student Abilities on Article Reviews
about it. In areas other than argument, their performance was less encouraging—in particular, their ability to frame historical questions of their own. While disappointing, this wasn’t entirely surprising. Students, after many years of the rituals of school activities and acculturation to the notion that learning is about answers, take a while to learn to question.23

The tasks of the article synthesis were slightly different from the tasks of the individual reviews, although they were related. In the synthesis, students were to state a research question based on the three articles they had read; to discuss what the articles they had read contributed to that question; to examine how the arguments of the articles they read were related to each other (if they were) or to explain clearly why they were not; to compare how the authors went about making their arguments; to determine which argument they found most convincing and to explain why; and to identify any holes in their research—that is, places where they knew they needed to know more. All of these are activities historians routinely go through as they are reading and evaluating material. As Figure 2 shows, students struggled with the notion of a research question, actually doing less well on the second assignment than the first, but they did well with arguments and generally improved from the first assignment to the second.

In both cases, the papers the students produced were surprisingly good, given that they had only used three sources. The sources were interspersed with each other, meaning the students moved freely between the articles they had read, and all the articles were referenced more or less equally. This was a good result. From the students’ point of view, there was also a good result—they got satisfactory grades, even though the grades were based on wider criteria than either the reviews or the synthesis.

“Six”

This experiment obviously worked well enough to get students to produce higher quality work, at least as rated using the guidelines of my rubrics, but it wasn’t entirely satisfying. First, students sometimes still chose inappropriate readings and it was hard to recover from an error of this kind when they were only reading three articles. Second, the projects, although they obviously involved

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inquiry, were too junior a version for a 300-level class in history, even done twice. The students ought to have been reading more and they ought to have been working with a primary source or primary sources—something every historian does, if not all to the same extent—which this project didn’t require them to do. Therefore, in 2011, I redesigned the course entirely, using backward design to build the course around a primary source inquiry project. The paper the students produced would be similar to the shorter papers the earlier group of students had produced for the class, in that they would write article reviews (now six of them), which would form part of their homework.
Because I wanted them to work with primary source analysis, I decided upon a microhistorical examination of a text or image (which in class we called “anecdotes”) from the High or Later Middle Ages as the basis of their project (for the paper assignment, see Appendix B). The class would begin by reading and discussing an example of a microhistory (Robert Bartlett’s book, The Hanged Man) and then students would get an assortment of objects for inquiry to choose from. I selected objects I thought would induce puzzlement or curiosity, or as the song would have it, “things that make you go, hmmm.” For instance, I included, among other things, Froissart’s account of the madness of Charles VI of France; the story of St. Vitalis whipping Robert of Mortain for beating his wife, from the life of St. Vitalis; the Melun Diptych by the artist Jean Fouquet, which shows the Virgin Mary nursing her child, where the Virgin is a portrait of Charles VII’s mistress; Orderic Vitalis’s account of a priest’s encounter with the penitential ride of Hellequin; and Walter Map’s series of nasty and funny stories about the Cistercians. Students were welcome to propose their own objects, although most students did not do so. I vetted objects to make sure there was enough material in English to support their study, as very few students had a pertinent second language.

I chose microhistory quite deliberately because of its potential. The original scholars of microhistory were trying to get at the history of “the people without history”—in other words, people who were too unimportant to have left much trace in written records. The objects they chose for those histories were not typical people—that is why they left a historical trace, whether in legal records, or narratives, or even personal documents like diaries. For instance, the miller Menocchio chronicled by Carlo Ginzburg in The Cheese and the Worms was by virtue of being a miller a privileged and well-to-do member of village society, and he was literate, so not typical. The story of the disappearance of Martin Guerre, a southern French peasant, an impostiture by another man, and then the dramatic reappearance of the original man caught the attention of a society deeply preoccupied with issues of identity and identification; this family’s experience was far from typical, however. Martha Ballard, the midwife whose diary formed the object for Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, was the sister of a minister, the wife of a surveyor and proprietor of a saw-mill, and the great-aunt of Clara Barton.
But because these people were in contact with more typical people, through the experiences of these individuals who had contact with the voiceless, one could see something of the unwritten world.

My adoption of microhistory, however, was far more pragmatic than philosophical. If students chose stories that allowed them to see the voiceless, all well and good, but I cared more about them being engaged. Good microhistorical objects have an intrinsic interest, rather like the lively images that medieval illuminators used to make the contents of texts memorable.30 Because they are embedded in lived experience, they have a powerful reality effect, giving students the sense that they could know the people involved. And if well chosen, the objects are well connected to issues and concerns larger than themselves.31 Finally, important from the teacher’s point of view, microhistories are by the nature of the objects limited in time and place. A student could read six articles and really feel confident in saying something about the object.

In class, I had the students create concept maps of different lenses through which to study their object—so, for instance, a court case involving a man arrested for dressing as a woman and having sex for money with priests might be examined as an example of legal proceeding or local governance, or the student might choose to look at sex and the clergy, or gender roles, or attitudes toward prostitution.32 They then had a library session to help them formulate a bibliography of fifteen scholarly items providing readings on their different lenses. Although the students would read only six articles, I wanted to ensure they had enough pertinent and scholarly readings to choose from, so that they did not have to read something only tangentially related to their topics; to that end, they got feedback on their bibliographies as well, a process that clarified for me that students also frequently do not understand the distinction between scholarly material and other sorts of material they might encounter and that they struggle to differentiate different sorts of scholarly writing as well (for instance, confusing review essays and book reviews with articles).33

For the paper, the students were to read two articles for each of the three lenses they chose (see Appendix C for the article review assignment, second iteration). If the text they were working on had an identified author or the image had a known artist, the author and/or work had to be one of the lenses. Otherwise, the lens would be the genre of the work (this was, however, uncommon). The homework
fell in pairs, as the students were assigned to read two articles on one lens before moving on to a second lens. In the second of the paired homework assignments, students were asked to compare the two articles. When the students completed all six of their articles, they did an article synthesis, in which they revisited what they had read. For each of the lenses they had chosen, they had to compare the articles in four ways: the contents, the arguments, the modes of argumentation, and the holes the articles left in the students’ understanding.

In changing the nature of the assignment, I also changed the grading of the homework, although the rubrics remained largely the same. I use a subtractive rubric, in which the errors a student might make are identified and highlighted (see Appendix D for the rubric for the second iteration of the article reviews). Rather than giving points to each part of the assignment (which made possible the figures presented from the first iteration), the assignment was graded based on overall performance, with 3 points as the highest possible score (roughly equivalent to an A, or mastery of all or the most important of the tasks of the assignment) and 0 as the lowest possible score (a score of 1 was roughly equivalent to a C). All students who turned in the homework on time were welcome and encouraged to redo it for a higher grade if they wished. This reflects both my understanding of intellectual work—one doesn’t always get it the first time—and also my belief that students may learn as much or more from correcting their own errors as from simply trying again with different material. Homework grades were cumulative, and a penalty of one point was assessed for each homework not turned in. This was because in previous classes, I had noticed that sometimes students would simply stop doing the homework when they had achieved the number of points they desired, and this would undermine the whole process.

The change in scoring meant I had to change how I evaluated my students’ understanding of how historians frame arguments and use evidence. I used the article synthesis to do this, scoring each of the responses for each pair of articles for each of the four questions I posed to the students (for the Article synthesis assignment, second iteration, see Appendix E). This scoring was done when the course was over and was independent of the grade the student received on the assignment. An entirely satisfactory response received a score of 2; a partially satisfactory response received a score of 1, while an inadequate response received a score of 0. The scores in each
category were then added together, for a possible total of 6 points. A student who offered a satisfactory response to all four questions for each of the pairs of articles would receive 24 points.

As should be obvious from this scenario and assignment, student persistence in doing all or nearly all of the homework was essential to complete the synthesis. This is an appropriate and authentic requirement, because professionals of all types work steadily at their tasks. The research paper where the student does the research in the week before the paper is due is a school activity, not an authentic one, for many reasons. For one thing, it doesn’t give the students time to reflect on what they are reading, and students seldom have time to do the slow, deep reading that authentic research requires. However, many students used to the punctuated stasis of the two-midterms-and-a-final classroom seem to find the discipline of weekly homework assignments difficult. Of the twenty-nine students in the class in the second iteration, only sixteen did all of the assigned homework in the course. Five students missed only one or two assignments, not fatal to the final paper or the course, particularly when the missed assignment occurred early on in the course, before students began working on their papers. But eight students missed multiple assignments. In one case, the student became so ill that the class could not be completed, while another had a personal crisis; both ended up finishing the work in following semesters. But some students simply tried to turn in the papers anyway and some simply gave up.

This explains why, in Figure 3, there are effective results from only twenty students (one student did all the homework assignments, but failed to follow the instructions on the synthesis, rendering the assignment unscorable). On the whole, the students did well, ranging from 13 points to a full 24 points. Twelve of the twenty-one students who completed the synthesis were consistently able to explain the contents of the articles they had read coherently (rather than say what the articles were “about” or provide random material from the articles). Sixteen of them were consistently successful at identifying arguments in the articles they had read and discussing how those arguments were related to each other. They performed a little less well in explaining how those arguments were put together: only ten students could do so consistently, although only one student was unable to do it in all three cases required by the synthesis. Twelve students were able to explain consistently what holes they had noted
in their own research, an important move for historians to be able to make, although one student who otherwise did quite well completely omitted that question.

For the students who did all or most of the homework, the process worked well, even given the variability of actual performance on the homework assignments. The papers these students wrote were generally consistent with their performances in the synthesis exercise, as shown in \textbf{Figure 4}. Two of the students did much better on the paper than on the synthesis, and the student who failed to follow the instructions did more poorly on the paper than other students (not surprisingly). Otherwise, performance on the paper roughly correlated to the level of understanding the students showed on the synthesis exercise, although as the trendline shows, the synthesis exercise tends to overpredict performance on the final paper; this may be because when students are asked to recognize and/or articulate concepts, particularly when the elements of the concepts are scaffolded by the assignment, it tends to produce a higher performance than when students must apply these concepts to their work.\textsuperscript{34}

For the remaining students, however, the experience was disastrous. Five students had not done enough of the homework
assignments to submit the final paper at all, and the papers of the remaining three were weak. When we talk about the engaged classroom or the learning-centered classroom, we often speak of the intellectual advantages that accrue to students, but it is only fair to observe that this emphasis on doing rather than listening leaves the less engaged student in a quandary. If a student actually expects to do out of class in total for all their courses what they report expecting—twelve hours a week—this approach is a very rude awakening.\textsuperscript{35} And yet, regular, steady application is what employers will expect of them to be able to do, and even more than that, will help make students more competent adults. This aspect of training students may be no less important than teaching them historical ways of thinking. We want students to be self-regulating, but it isn’t enough simply to tell them to be. Walking them through the process may well help some of them learn to set reasonable goals for themselves in time.

**Conclusions**

While it is tempting to think of ourselves as masters teaching future masters (I heard Lewis Elton use this apt description at a conference presentation), and to insist that intuiting the game is for these students a necessary entry test, the first of these things is seldom the case and...
the latter seems rather more like hazing than teaching. Most of our students not only won’t become historians; they don’t want to become historians. But they have things they can learn from studying history. I often say to my students that when they leave my course, I want them to see the newspaper or The Daily Show or a news program as a primary source that requires interrogation. I also want them to know how to assess the historical claims being made daily about the world. Is the war in Iraq like the Crusades? Was America founded as a Christian nation or for freedom of religion? Was the Civil War about slavery? History is an important tool on which we build identity, and I want students to deploy that tool in the world in which they live. This has been a crucial plank in the defense of history instruction.36

However, what of future masters? Both those who plan to teach history in K-12 and those who want to go on will need a more prolonged and deeper immersion than this. In one of the classes I teach for preservice teachers, I use a similar assignment, but the students choose their own object. These students write weekly research reports for which they are expected to read at least two articles or the equivalent and then design a lesson around their objects. Even very familiar objects, such as John Gast’s painting “American Progress,” reveal unexpected insights when examined in this way, not least when two students both working on the painting discovered at class presentation time that they had taken completely different approaches to the painting.

A few students in my classes are deeply interested in history and are, perhaps, entertaining the possibility of becoming historians. But even these students don’t seem to consider this project elementary. I make it clear that six articles are required and sufficient, but that students may read more if they choose. One student did just that, compiling an impressive bibliography (although the six required articles were more integrated than the other readings—this student was one of the underpredicted outliers in Figure 4). Another student in a later iteration came back the following semester wanting to work more on the paper; this student eventually published an expanded version of the paper in our undergraduate history journal.37 Others simply dig in deeply, extracting as much from their readings as is possible, creating very deep and rich readings. For those students who do want to go on, these papers map out at least a mode of procedure and perhaps a starting place, because they are rooted
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in junior versions of the historian’s authentic task. To be sure, the
assignment still occupies a hybrid place between the outside world
and the world of school. But the mix is different and closer to the
real intellectual world.

Finally, although I chose microhistory as the paper project for
my students (and have continued to do so), it is possible to envision
organizing student projects in this way with any sort of endeavor
rooted in authentic historical inquiry. The microhistory papers
basically ask students to do three things: to look for facts and
information (particularly when researching the text or image or its
creator); to find out what some scholars have said about two other
topics related to the object; and to explain how they themselves see
things. These are three basic things that historians do. The significant
part is the staging and pacing of the work, allowing regular feedback,
revision, and development of ideas, a necessity for all intellectual
work. This model can be applied, with appropriate additional
scaffolding for skills not required in my assignment, to almost any
sort of historical inquiry at almost any instructional level with almost
any number of sources. As we all know, there is no magic number of
sources that we need. We use as many as we need for the purpose.

Notes

I would not have written this article without the support of my fellow History
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Catherine Brennan did the original first iteration charts.

1. Robert Paul Smith, Translations from the English (New York: Simon &
Schuster, 1958). This book is one source of the famous dialogue between teenager
and parents: “Where are you going?” “Out.” “What are you doing?” “Nothing.”

2. On situated cognition, see Jean Lave and Etienne Wenger, Situated
Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation (New York: Cambridge University

3. For example, Charles Cole, “Inducing Expertise in History Doctoral Students via Information Retrieval Design,” *The Library Quarterly* 70, no. 1 (January 2000): 86-109, describes how having graduate students compile bibliographies did, in fact, increase the expertise of those students. But graduate students have committed themselves to joining the community of practice, which is not the case for undergraduate history students.


History 92, no. 4 (March 2006): 1358-1370. I have borrowed the term “horizon of expectations” from Hans Robert Jauss, Toward an Aesthetic of Reception, trans. Timothy Bahti (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1982). Jauss was talking about literary expectations of genres, but it strikes me as a useful way to think about how tacit knowledge functions within epistemic communities.

8. Brown, Collins, and Duguid, “Culture of Learning,” 34. “School activity too often tends to be hybrid, implicitly framed by one culture, but explicitly attributed to another. Classroom activity very much takes place within the culture of schools, although it is attributed to the culture of readers, writers, mathematicians, historians, economists, geographers, and so forth. Many of the activities students undertake are simply not the activities of practitioners and would not make sense or be endorsed by the cultures to which they are attributed. This hybrid activity, furthermore, limits students’ access to the important structuring and supporting cues that arise from the context. What students do tends to be ersatz activity.”


11. For the preference for textbooks, see Sam Wineburg, “On the Reading of Historical Texts,” in Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001), 63-88, at 67. For a brilliant discussion of the difficulty students have shaking the authority of the textbook, see Bain, “Rounding Up Unusual Suspects.” Keith Barton, “Primary Sources in History: Breaking Through the Myths,” Phi Delta Kappan (June 2005): 745-753, at 746, identifies the belief that primary sources are more reliable or accurate than secondary sources as a common myth (one believed by secondary school teachers as well as students).


13. Josephine Tey, The Daughter of Time (New York: Berkley Medallion, 1960), but many times reprinted. Interestingly, some of her conclusions, such as that Richard III was not hunchbacked, have been proven incorrect by the discovery of a seriously scoliotic skeleton under a British carpark which has now been shown to be Richard’s, a conclusion she drew in part because she brought presentist assumptions about the meaning of physical impairment to her thinking about the Middle Ages.

14. The connection between the forensic approach and the historical approach (particularly in the positivist form that has so deeply influenced historical practice) is very close. One could argue that the tools historians use for source critiques and examining evidence developed from legal and theological inquiry developed in the Middle Ages by people like Bernold of Constance, Abelard, and Gratian.
Modern historians frequently use the analogy of the courtroom to explain how historians judge and weigh evidence.

15. See any of the essays in Wineburg’s collection, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*, cited above, but particularly the title essay.


17. Interview with Professor U, October 2010.

18. I owe this approach to the Decoding the Disciplines methodology, which poses a seven-step process to “decode” aspects of disciplinary thinking. Examining what the professor does to avoid the mistakes the students are making is Step 2 of the process. Step 3 is modeling. By asking students to interrogate their reading in this way, I was guiding them through a process or modeling what I wanted. On Decoding in general, see David Pace and Joan Middendorf, eds., *Decoding the Disciplines: Helping Students Learn Disciplinary Ways of Thinking, New Directions for Teaching and Learning*, no. 98 (Summer 2004).

19. Keith Barton and Linda Levstik have explored this primarily with reference to primary school students’ understanding of time, but it is present in college students as well. See Barton’s article, “Narrative Simplifications in Elementary Students’ Historical Thinking,” in *Researching History Education: Theory, Method, and Context*, ed. Linda S. Levstik and Keith C. Barton (New York: Routledge, 2008), 183-208.

20. In iterations of the course after 2011, students were also asked to summarize what they read, something that many students initially had considerable difficulty doing.


22. The History Learning Project is authorized by the Indiana University Institutional Review Board as exempt study protocol #1307011940.

23. Bain discusses this issue in “Rounding up Unusual Suspects”; even having themselves developed the tools to question the textbook’s account, students did not spontaneously do so.

24. On backward design, the important text is still Grant Wiggins and Jay McTighe, *Understanding by Design* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall, 1998). There is an expanded second edition (2005), but the essential understandings are the same.


31. I have taken these points about microhistory from István Szijártó, “Four Arguments for Microhistory,” *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice* 6, no. 2 (2002): 209-215. The term “reality effect” comes from Roland Barthes, who used it scornfully to highlight the fact that narratives about the past are not, in fact, lived experience. Roland Barthes, *The Rustle of Language*, trans. Richard Howard (New York: Hill and Wang, 1986), all of chapter 4, but particularly 141ff. But the reality effect is important because it addresses the emotions and permits students to take the perspectives of people in the past. On the significance of the emotions to learning, see Mary Helen Immordino-Yang and Antonio Damasio, “We Feel, Therefore We Learn: The Relevance of Affective and Social Neuroscience to Education,” *Mind, Brain, and Education* 1, no. 1 (2007): 3-10. Steven Bednarski makes a similar point to Szijártó’s about the attractiveness and comprehensibility of microhistory in his introduction to *A Poisoned Past: The Life and Times of Margarida de Portu, A Fourteenth-Century Accused Poisoner* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2014), although more about having students read microhistory than produce it themselves. In later iterations of the course, students have read Bednarski’s book.

32. This is the now famous case of John/Eleanor Rykener, whose hearing appeared in the London court records for 1395. See the Internet Medieval Sourcebook, “The Questioning of John Rykener, A Male Cross-Dressing Prostitute, 1395,” <http://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/1395rykener.asp>.

33. The databases the students tend to use do not help. Academic FirstSearch Premier, for instance, includes articles from *History Today* among its historical offerings; although the authors of these articles are often scholars, the articles themselves are not scholarly.

34. On this point, see Arlene C. Díaz and Leah Shopkow, “A Tale of Two Thresholds,” *Practice and Evidence of the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education* 12, no. 2 (forthcoming).


Appendix A

Article Review Rubric (First Iteration)

**Question (1 point)**

**Goal:** You have a clearly stated appropriate historical question that you can readily research.

**Problems:**
- The question is too vague.
- The question is not clear.
- The question makes assumptions that require demonstration.
- The question is not researchable or is not researchable given your skills.
- The question is not historical or is insufficiently historical or is metahistorical.

You didn’t do this part.

**Contribution to Research (2 points)**

**Goal:** You explain clearly what the three articles contribute to the question you are researching and what is not useful. You give a good sense of what each of the articles covers in relation to the others.

**Problems:**
- You don’t assess what is useful in each article or what is not useful.
- You don’t compare the contents of the articles to each other.
- You don’t provide a clear sense of what the articles contain.
- You don’t do this part.

**Argument (2 points)**

**Goal:** You explain the argument of each of the articles and also how they are connected to each other (if they are). If the authors are arguing against each other, you make this clear.
Problems:
- You don’t explain the argument of one or more of the articles.
- You don’t explain how these arguments are related to each other.
- Your explanation is not sufficiently clear.
- You don’t do this part.

Modes of Argument (2 points)

Goal: You compare how each of the articles goes about arguing its case, noting whether the articles use the same sources or different ones, or rely on primary or secondary sources.

Problems:
- You don’t explain how each of the articles argues.
- You don’t explain which sources each article uses.
- You don’t compare the articles.
- You don’t do this part.

Evaluation and Taking a Position (2 points)

Goal: You evaluate which of the articles you find most convincing, and critique the articles that don’t convince you, using evidence from primary and/or secondary sources. You may qualify your approval of the article.

Problems:
- You don’t make a choice between the articles.
- You don’t offer evidence in support of your choice.
- You don’t critique the sources you are not choosing.
- Your reasoning is not clear.
- You don’t do this part.

Research Holes (1 point)

Goal: You are aware of any gaps in the evidence in relation to your research question and have some ideas about how to fill these gaps. If you don’t feel that there are gaps, you provide a convincing argument that you have all the information you need.

Problems:
- You incorrectly argue that there are no gaps in your information.
- You know there is a gap, but you aren’t sure what you might do to fill it.
- You don’t do this part.

Penalties

- Incorrect format for citation (2 points off)
- Excessive direct quotation (1 point off)

Score: _____
Appendix B

Microhistory Paper Guidelines

As you know, your final paper involves an “anecdote” from the high or later Middle Ages. Your job in writing the paper is to put the anecdote into its historical context. Or more properly, its historical contexts, because anything that a culture produces is acted upon by many forces present in the culture.

So, for instance, Superman recapitulates the story of Moses (set adrift in space by his parents who want to save him from the explosion of their planet), except that Superman can’t ever go home. So one could put him in the context of diasporic Jewish culture (his creators were Jewish). Or one could think about what Superman has to say about sexuality (the poor guy’s torn between Lana Lang and Lois Lane, one manipulative, the other a “career girl” not at all ready to settle down) in the middle years of the century. One could consider how the story could be related to small-town life and idealized American values. One could put him in the context of fears about the Nazis. And so on.

This is exactly what Bartlett does with The Hanged Man. He doesn’t present a theory of everything, but a stroll around the issues raised by the story of William Cragh. That is what I want you to do with your anecdotes. Your paper will stroll around your anecdote stopping to consider it from three different angles, through three different “lenses.” You will report what your articles say about the topic, and you’ll then find the correspondences with your anecdote and you’ll use the articles to set the anecdote in that context.

Think of your paper, in other words, as comprising three short chapters.

The final piece of the paper will be conclusions, in which you reflect on your three chapters and draw conclusions about how they are related to each other. Please note again—you don’t need a theory of everything. You can express different ideas, although you need to organize them clearly and coherently.

And then, like Jean Vaudetar giving the copy of his translation to King Charles V (father of the mad guy), you give it to me.
Appendix C

Article Review Assignment (Second Iteration)

Your article review should be around 500 words. The heading of the review should be the bibliographic citation, done in the Chicago-style format (this is the format used by historians). I have created a link to the online Chicago Manual from our website. Your review should cover these points:

1. What is the subject matter of the article? Be specific about the place and time covered by the author. If the article is about heresy in southern France between 1208 and 1226, don’t say the article is “about heresy.”

2. What is the argument presented by the author or the author’s point? Remember that scholars don’t write articles just to tell you “all about” something. Van Engen tells you many things in his article, but his purpose is to argue that although some scholars have argued that Benedictine monasticism entered a period of crisis after 1050, as new orders arose and there was considerable criticism of the Black Monks, using recruitment, revenue, the quality of personnel and leadership as measures there is reason to believe that there was not a “crisis,” although after 1150, the position of the Black Monks did slowly decline, not because of “decadence,” but because the services they had been developed to provide and their administrative techniques did not keep up with contemporary visions of what the religious life ought to look like.

3. What counter-arguments does the author acknowledge? This is tricky, because authors don’t always jump up and down to show what they are arguing against, but Van Engen does mention the work of Norman Cantor, who argued that Benedictine monasticism could no longer satisfy people searching for a rich religious experience. In your review, you should summarize the opposing viewpoint, and name the people who have written in support of that viewpoint. So in the case of the Van Engen article, you might write something like, “Scholars such as Jean Leclercq, Norman Cantor, Dominique-Marie Chenu, and Charles Dereine have argued that there was a crisis in Benedictine monasticism from about 1050 on, which led to people establishing and entering new religious orders and criticizing Benedictine monasticism for its wealth and decadence.” Please be sure to mention the scholars who are on the “other side.”

4. What evidence does the author use in support of his or her position? You don’t need to list the individual pieces of evidence, but the types. Van Engen nicely tells you that for the first part of his study, he is working with secondary sources (so the work of other scholars). For the second part of his study, he uses primary sources, the biographies of Benedictine abbots and saints, monastic chronicles, and monastic cartularies (collections of charters) from Italy, France, England, and Germany.
Materials for Further Research

5. **One question** that the article raises in your mind.

6. **Two works from the footnotes of the article** that might be worth reading. Don’t list any works in a language that you don’t read. However, in the case of primary sources, you may find that the authors cite works in the original that are available in translation. For instance, Van Engen (n. 81) makes reference to Radulph Glaber’s *Vita Willelmi (The Life of William of Volpiano)*, which is available in an English translation. Please include the note number (n. #) and give the full citation. The first time a work is mentioned in the footnotes, the author will give the full bibliographic information, so you may have to go back through the footnotes to find the first citation.

Appendix D

**Article Review Rubric (Second Iteration)**

**Anecdote:**

**Article**

**Goal:** The author has selected an appropriate scholarly article or chapter from a book.

**Problems:**
- The article is not appropriate (it is not sufficiently related to the contents of the anecdote).
- The article is not scholarly.

**Same Theme as Previous?** Y N

**Subject**

**Goal:** The reviewer clearly and specifically explains the subject of the article/chapter, with explicit reference to time and geography.

**Problems:**
- The description is not clear.
- The reviewer is not explicit about the time period covered in the article.
- The reviewer is not explicit about the geographic area covered in the article.
- The reviewer is not explicit about the content of the article.
- The reviewer doesn’t do this part.
Argument

Goal: The reviewer clearly explains the argument in the article, giving the parts of the argument as well as the overall argument. If the article does not have a clear argument, the reviewer explains what the article does do.

Problems:
The reviewer doesn’t identify the argument in the article correctly (the argument as the reviewer has presented it doesn’t make sense).
The reviewer doesn’t explain the argument in the article clearly (I can’t figure out what the argument is from what the reviewer has said).
There is an argument, based on what the reviewer says about the article, but the reviewer doesn’t recognize it.
The reviewer leaves out parts of the argument.
The reviewer doesn’t do this part.

Counter-Argument

Goal: The reviewer recognizes and presents at least one of the positions the article argues against, mentioning at least one specific author or the reviewer correctly explains that the author of the article has not engaged the secondary literature and demonstrate this to be the case.

Problems:
The reviewer does not recognize any counter-arguments presented by the author.
The reviewer does recognize at least one counter-argument, but does not explain it clearly.
The reviewer doesn’t explain to whom at least one counter-argument belongs.
The reviewer doesn’t do this part.

Evidence

Goal: The reviewer identifies the types of sources that the author uses.

Problems:
The reviewer has difficulty identifying the sources.
The reviewer is not thorough in noting the sources.
The reviewer is not sufficiently specific in noting the kinds of sources.
The reviewer doesn’t do this part.

Relationship to Previously Read Article

Goal: The reviewer has written at least a paragraph explaining the relationship of this article or chapter to the material reviewed in homework 6. If the reviewer has been able to find another article on the same theme/topic as the article previously read, the reviewer has explored the connection between the two, noting whether the second article corroborates the first article, contradicts it,
or supplements it, explaining with some detail. If the reviewer has not been able to find another article on the same theme/topic as the article previously read, the reviewer has explored how the two articles together shed light on the anecdote the reviewer is working on in some detail.

**Problems:**

Instead of discussing the relationship between two related articles, the reviewer discusses how they apply to the anecdote.

The reviewer asserts a relationship, but does not explain it in enough detail or clearly enough.

The reviewer asserts a relationship, but does not support it well enough.

The material in the first review and the second review raise questions about the relationship the reviewer claims.

The reviewer’s assertions are perfunctory or unconvincing.

The reviewer has chosen an article on the same theme, but asserts that the theme is different and discusses how they apply to the anecdote.

The reviewer asserts that the two different articles shed light on the anecdote, but doesn’t explain how.

The reviewer doesn’t explain how the readings apply to the anecdote in enough detail.

The reviewer doesn’t do this part.

**Next Reading**

**Goal:** The reviewer has chosen the next item he or she will read and has provided a convincing explanation for why this might be the next reading.

The reviewer has given the full bibliographic information about the source.

**Problems:**

The reviewer doesn’t explain why he or she has chosen to read this item next.

The reviewer isn’t clear in his or her explanation.

The reviewer is perfunctory or superficial in his or her explanation.

The reviewer has not provided the full bibliographic information.

The reviewer hasn’t done this part.

**Comments:**

**Grade (3, 2, 1, 0): ____**
Appendix E

Article Synthesis Guide

The heading of the synthesis should be the bibliographic citations for all six of your articles or sources. Please follow a standard format, but I don’t care which one. Historians use Chicago Manual format, but any consistent system that contains all the pertinent information is acceptable. If you have read only five sources, please do the synthesis anyway. If you have read fewer than five sources, please do the missing homework before doing this assignment. If you wish to substitute an article that you didn’t use for a homework and you have submitted ALL of the homework, that is ok, up to two articles. Sources should be listed in alphabetical order by author (this is standard bibliographic presentation, no matter what citation style you use).

Please make sure your synthesis covers the following points and limit direct quotations to no more than two lines of your review. Quoting excessively is a bad habit many students have and it interferes with their learning. However, you are free to “quote” yourself, that is, to cut and paste material from your reviews into this document (no quotation marks necessary!).

1. What are the issues in your anecdote that you have chosen to research? How do these issues arise in your anecdote?

2. Which articles contribute to which aspects of your research? You may object that you have already told me this, and indeed you have, but you are now preparing for your paper, where you will need to tell me again (so that your paper is “freestanding”).

For each topic:

3. What have the articles on this topic told you about this topic? What is your sense of the topic from what the articles have said? Please be precise about time and geography in these remarks. What contents of the articles are you finding useful? What contents of the articles aren’t directly useful to you? Do the articles cover the same ground or somewhat different ground?

4. What is the argument of each article on this topic? How are the arguments in the articles connected? Are they on unrelated topics or do the authors argue against each other or agree with each other?

5. How do the modes of argument in each article compare to each other? Do the articles use different sources or the same ones interpreted differently? Are they reading the same secondary sources or different ones?
6. **What holes do these articles leave in your research question?** What do you want to know that isn’t covered in the research question? How do you intend to fill that hole? (Are there additional things you need to read? If so, what?)

**Reflection**

(It is very tempting to be perfunctory in answering these questions, but I urge you to take the time to reflect and write fully—it will enhance your thinking about your paper.)

7. **What connections do you see emerging between your topics, based on the materials you’ve read?**

8. **What do you still need to do to turn this into a strong paper?**