BUILDING HISTORICAL THINKING SKILLS IN THE U.S. SURVEY

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As a history educator I am constantly reminded of the gulf between how I think about history and how my students think about it. Sophisticated historical thinking, Sam Wineburg has suggested, involves using the facts of history as knowledge that is "organized in interconnecting networks of meaning and significance," or, he suggested in an earlier article, as "subtext." Historians have disciplined themselves to see the connections; students are just beginning this training. To bridge the "breach," I have found that a project-based approach that teaches some basic disciplinary skills, primarily critical thinking and writing skills, increases student involvement in their history courses and aids retention of the material.

This method has students working in small groups of no more than four students each. Within each group, students discuss the assignment and develop in-class written responses to six problem sets during each semester. I use a primary source reader to provide students with documentary evidence, but because the questions and problem sets that are included in readers often require more work than can be accomplished in a single class period, I have developed my own procedures for their use. The project workbook I use is William Bruce Wheeler and Susan D. Becker, *Discovering the American Past*, but any set of documents, photographs, advertisements, and the like from any source, including the World Wide Web, can be used. For instance, in one project I have assembled five short pleas for abolition in the Northern states circa 1770s and 1780s from the documents in "The American Journey Online." My criteria for the project material is that there should be about ten to twenty pages of evidence that students should read and examine outside of class, and thus come prepared to work with their group-mates in analyzing and writing about the evidence.

¹Sam Wineburg, "Beyond 'Breadth and Depth': Subject Matter Knowledge and Assessment," *Theory into Practice*, 36 (Autumn 1997), 255, 260; Samuel S. Wineburg, "On the Reading of Historical Texts: Notes on the Breach between School and Academy," *American Educational Research Journal*, 28 (Fall 1991), 498. Wineburg makes a similar distinction in his "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts," *Phi Delta Kappan*, 80 (March 1999), 488-499.

²William Bruce Wheeler and Susan D. Becker, *Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence*, two volumes, sixth edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2007).

³The American Journey Online (Detroit: Thompson Gale, 2005), http://www.thomsonlearning.com/content/Thomson_American_Journey_Online_Empowers_Students_to_Interpret.aspx

I have found that group projects increase student involvement with the material and texts. Mark Newman's "Big Picture" model to teach world history puts "students in control of the learning process by giving them responsibility for making and justifying decisions." My project-based method likewise shifts the focus from teaching to learning because students must process historical materials and produce a written assignment. They need to come to class prepared, having familiarized themselves with the evidence, because a single class period is too short to waste class time reading the assignment. Furthermore, general education requirements at my university emphasize that instruction in introductory courses should teach fundamental concepts and techniques used in the discipline. My approach breaks down what I want students to learn about the discipline of history into individual lessons. For students to understand that history is a vibrant discussion, I need to introduce students to how historians think about the past.

My project-based method focuses on four skills: constructing a historical problem, contextualizing the problem (historicization), relating the problem to the present (presentism), and using/citing primary sources. I have practiced this project-based history instruction method for the past four years at Eastern Michigan University. I have achieved good results and good student engagement with the subject matter.

Constructing the Historical Problem

The historical problem is a set of facts and questions that we have about the past and for which we seek to establish a cause. The historical problem, I explain, comes from a set of data. We know, for instance, that the United States fought in World War II. The historical question arising from this data—the question that seeks a cause for this condition—is "Why did the United States enter the Second World War?" Some historical problems are easy to solve, such as this one. Other questions such as "Why was there a Great Depression?" are more difficult to answer. And the best historical questions, such as "Why does racial (or gender) inequality persist in the United States?" are profoundly difficult to answer, but also shape the daily social and cultural world of our students. I think it vitally important for students to see the present as the legacy of past choices and how those choices caused the present. As a legacy of choices, students of history also need to see how the social and cultural contexts of individuals shape the choices they make. To ask 'Why were these choices made?" is to seek a cause not only for the past but for the present as well.

The historical question is also very democratic in that it does not require a great deal of prior knowledge. It is a starting point for learning history. Students know enough, no matter what their background, knowledge, or skills, to form a question that

⁴Mark Newman, "The 'Big Picture' Model for Learning World History, or Slipping Between the Rocks and Hard Places," *Teaching History*, 29 (Fall 2004), 61.

seeks to find a cause for some phenomenon. Thus, initial questions can be very simple and present-focused: "Why did the United States invade Iraq?"

The historical question also provides an opportunity to discuss the nature of history and to differentiate it from other fields where argumentation and critical thinking are also valued. "Why am I here?" "Why is there life?" and "Why do objects fall?" are all good causal questions that could stimulate students to refine their argumentative and critical thinking skills, but these are not historical questions. So the purpose here is to help students develop a historical consciousness, to think in terms of historical causation. In doing so, they come to see how history differs from the sciences, social sciences, and humanities.

To get to this way of thinking, I encourage students, both in exercises and in lectures, to get away from thinking about history as a litany of dates, people, battles, policies, treaties, and so forth. This material is important, of course, and it forms the core of my examinations, but it is not why historians have taken up the study of history. Historians, I point out, are rarely interested in discovering what happened because that does not change. In any history book that you pick up, slavery always comes to the Americas; the United States always declares its independence from Great Britain; the Confederacy always loses the American Civil War; reformers always struggle against the changes brought by industrialism and immigration during the latter half of the nineteenth century; the Great Depression always devastates the United States and other industrialized economies. No amount of historical research will uncover a fact that will revolutionize history in the way that the Copernican revolution overthrew medieval facts about the construction of the solar system. No amount of historical research can change "the past." So why study history?

Historians study the past in order to understand what the past means. We seek the meaning of slavery, the meaning of the Declaration of Independence, the meaning of the Civil War, and so on. Fundamental to understanding the meaning of events is coming to understand causation. If we understand what causes events, we can understand their meaning. If we see that the cause of the Civil War was race slavery, then we can see the meaning of the Civil War as a conflict over the definition of freedom. It is this transformation in thinking about history from "what happened" to "why did this happen," from, what one of my most-remembered history teachers said, "the what" to "the so-what," that makes history an engaging subject. Students also readily understand this distinction. One student wrote that the method works "by giving you a different look at certain historic events or meanings." Another told me that "It is one thing to memorize dates and facts, but it is another to understand the people during these times and how they actually felt." "5

⁵All student responses in this essay are from anonymous and voluntary evaluations I asked students to do regarding the projects. I asked students about how effective the projects were at teaching the core course (continued...)

The First Problem: Causation

Understanding and seeing causation are a part of an historian's way of thinking about the past. Desmond Morton, for instance, defined historical understanding as "the fundamentals of causation, sequence, and relationships" of events and people in the past. It is a sophisticated way of thinking about them that is part and parcel of the historian's training. Jacques Lacoursière suggested that historical understanding was an appreciation for the "mechanisms of change and continuity" of interests, beliefs, and societies. I model the method in lecture. For instance, in the pre-Civil War survey, I begin with two widely known facts about American history: that the Americans declared their independence from Great Britain and that the Spanish, following Columbus, was the dominant European power in the Americas. This data immediately sets up a historical question: "What caused the switch in dominant powers?" or "Why did the English become dominant in North America?" My lectures then answer this question.

While I lecture from this problem-based approach, my students do not practice the method until we are well into the material. The first project in the pre-Civil War survey is themed around Anne Hutchinson. (By this time I have lectured on exploration, early Spanish, French, Dutch, and English colonization, and the Reformation.) For this project, that data set includes transcripts of Hutchinson's trial, as well as the students' knowledge about Puritanism, John Winthrop, John Cotton, and the antinomian crisis that they gained through reading and lecture. The project asks students to develop a historical question around this information. Some are the obvious questions: "Why was Anne Hutchinson banished?" or "Why did Winthrop feel threatened by Hutchinson?" Others seek greater meaning. One group asked "Why in such a religious society were Puritan women equal in the eyes of God but not treated equal in the community?" Questions such as "Why wasn't John Cotton punished for his de-emphasis on preparation to receive God's grace, when that is basically what Anne Hutchinson was put on trial and banished for?" show high student involvement with the texts.

For the second survey, the first project revolves around the African American response to Jim Crow. By this point, we have been through Reconstruction, the West, industrialism, and the agrarian revolt, so students have knowledge of a broad current of

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concepts (problem, historicity, contextualization, use of primary evidence, and citation), how the projects could be improved, what they like best/least, and which project taught them the most content.

⁶Desmond Morton, "Teaching and Learning History in Canada," in Knowing, Teaching, and Learning History, edited by Peter N. Stearns, Peter Seixas, and Sam Wineburg (New York: New York University Press, 2000), 58; Jacques Lacoursière, et al., Learning from the Past: Report on the Task Force on the Teaching of History (Quebec: May 19, 1996), 3.

Wheeler and Becker, sixth edition, Vol. 1, Ch. 2.

trends at work in American society by the 1890s. The primary source material includes excerpts from the works of W.E.B. Du Bois, Booker T. Washington, Ida B. Wells, Henry McNeal Turner, and Francis E.W. Harper. For this project, each student group picks one author and develops a historical question around the excerpt. Students' questions include "Why did Wells believe that if blacks owned rifles lynching would go down?" or "Why did Washington want Americans to cast down their bucket?" or "Why did Du Bois emphasize education so much?"

In both surveys, the first step is to have students begin thinking in terms of historical causes. The historical question seeks a cause for events or phenomena and comes from what students already know about the past. Thus the first project is surprisingly simple: All I am looking for is a question that looks for a *cause* for some event or choice. I incorporate the method in all student work throughout the semester. Each subsequent project asks students to first form historical questions. Later projects ask them to answer them as well. Newman is quite right that repetition is the key towards making the material familiar and known.

I model the question method in lecture, but most importantly I ask students to apply the method when reading the survey and project textbooks. The project textbook has an introductory section to each chapter. I ask students to read the chapter introduction and then pause to reflect on the information that they have just learned. Then I ask them to think about a causal question relating to that information. As they proceed in the remainder of the text, reading or examining the primary evidence, they should look for answers to their question. As a guide to reading and research, knowing the question they are to answer helps students identify what is important. Information that answers their question is important, but the rest is not, even though it might be valuable in answering other questions. Thus, they approach the text *looking* for answers.

Subsequent Projects: Contextualization and Historicization

Sam Wineburg has suggested that historical understanding exists between the two poles of historicism and presentism. On the one hand, historians try to understand the past in its proper contexts, but on the other they see familiarity and resonances between the past and the present. Ocntextualization is putting an historical event into its proper place and time. Historicization is the process of understanding past events as the participants of those events understood them. Historicization makes the past, in Caroline Walker Bynum's words, a past that is unexpected and strange, a past whose

⁸Wheeler and Becker, sixth edition, Vol. 1, Ch. 2.

Newman, 67.

¹⁰Wineburg, "Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts."

lineaments are not what we first assume." The wonder for a historian is seeing the past a strange place, a "foreign country." But it goes beyond this as well. Carl E. Schorske noted that historicism differentiates history from other disciplines that deal with the past. It "relativizes the subject, whether personal or collective, self-reflexively to the flow of social time." So as a mode of thinking, historicism is fundamental to historical understanding. In classroom terms, historicization enhances the meaning of the students' historical question by making it relevant to time and place. It also stresses to and understanding of primary sources.

When students start thinking about putting their questions (and answers) into historical time and place, they begin the process of turning a good causal question into a meaningful question. I have three criteria for assessing meaningful questions. First, the question must be a question about causation according to my historical-question method. It must ask something akin to "Why did this happen?" or "What caused this?" The second criterion is that it must be a meaningful question and, third, it must be answerable given the primary sources at hand. Some questions, while they seek a cause, simply are not meaningful. Questions, such as why Woodrow Wilson liked the color blue or why Elizabeth Cady Stanton liked sunsets, are trivial. While the answers to these questions might help us to understand something about these Americans, they are not as helpful towards understanding United States history as asking "Why did Wilson develop the Fourteen Points?" or "Why did Stanton advocate woman suffrage?"

To assist students in generating questions that meet these first two criteria I encourage students to narrow their topic as much as they can and to try to understand the problem as the participants understood it. I encourage them not to think about English settlers when they want to be thinking about Massachusetts colonists; not to think about Massachusetts colonists when they want to think about Puritans; not to think about Puritans when they want to think about John Winthrop, Anne Hutchinson, or John Cotton. The question "Why did Americans want to fight Germany in the late summer of 1941?" is a very different question than "Why did Franklin Roosevelt want to fight Germany in the summer of 1941?" The more specific the question, the more answerable and meaningful it can be and the more it can inform students' understanding of historical times and places.

Finally, good historical questions must be answerable by primary sources available to students in their assigned materials. This requirement also encourages students to think about smaller questions. "What caused the Civil War?" is an excellent

¹¹Caroline Walker Bynam, "Wonder," American Historical Review, 102 (February 1997), I, and David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹²Carl E. Schorske, *Thinking with History: Explorations in the Passage to Modernism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3. But see his comments about history's relationship with other disciplines on 16.

historical question and one over which historians have been battling for decades. But a student cannot answer such a historical question well in a two-to-three page paper with but a dozen pages of evidence presented in a survey reader. On the other hand, smaller events yield smaller, more answerable questions as well as more manageable evidence sets. "Why did the British troops fire on Bostonians on March 5, 1770?" is much more concise and answerable given the transcripts of the trial that followed.¹³

Students work at historicizing events in a variety of ways, often by looking for changes in the evidence or by using biography to reflect on individuals in history. By looking for change over time, students come to see the influence of ideas and events. For example, my third project in the pre-Civil War survey asks students to understand the arguments for abolition of slavery within the context of the American Revolution. ¹⁴ I assign readings of five petitions and state laws plus the Declaration of Independence. The pre-Declaration petitions argue for abolition on moral and religious grounds. The post-Declaration petitions, however, introduce arguments of natural rights and equality missing from the earlier documents. The purpose of the exercise is to encourage students to think about ideas in time and to discern changes over time. Thus, as they think and write about early abolitionism, they can contextualize it within the Revolutionary Era.

In the second half of the survey, the historicization project involves American attitudes towards imperialism as shown by the 1903-04 Louisiana Purchase exposition. The aim of this project is for students to understand American attitudes regarding U.S. acquisition of the Philippines by identifying and examining biases in posters and photographs from the exposition. One poster reproduced in Wheeler and Becker shows an anthropological typology of man. Is In the center of the poster are two women. One, dressed in European clothing, is holding a torch in one hand and a book in the other, representing enlightenment and fruits of knowledge. The other is dressed in rags and cowering in the shadows. Some students understand this portrayal as showing how Americans understood their role in the world. As one student wrote, "The white woman has come to her [the cowering woman] to show her the ways of the west and [to] bring her into the light. Americans felt that it was their responsibility to spread American ways and to westernize [them]." Another group wrote, "This is depicting the American mentality of needing to guide the uncivilized to civilization." For a picture showing Filipino women wearing rags and washing their clothes in muddy water, one student

¹³Wheeler and Becker, sixth edition, Vol. 1, Ch. 4.

¹⁴This project does not use the Wheeler and Becker Discovering the American Past, but documents in The American Journey Online.

¹⁵William Bruce Wheeler and Susan D. Becker, *Discovering the Past: A Look at the Evidence*, two volumes, fifth edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), Vol. 2, 115. Wheeler and Becker deleted this section from the sixth edition.

explained, "I believe that this photograph definitely would have assisted the government's cause for going to the Philippines. Not only are the conditions sickening, but for a culture which holds the delicacy of women and children with such high regard, this photograph must have been shocking." A third group also commented on the exhibitors' bias towards showing the filth and unsanitary conditions of the Filipino societies. In these photos, Americans "are seen as wanting to civilize and educate the tribe in things such as hygiene. Perhaps wanting to educate and improve the tribe was justification for Americans to gain control of territories. They are seen [as] not interested in power but in improvement." So this project has students deconstructing photographic evidence in order to historicize it, placing it and American attitudes regarding imperialism in their historical context.

Students readily understood the importance of contexts. One student explained, "I had to go into the historical time and try to understand what they felt then." Another wrote, "It helped me understand motivations of people throughout American History." By seeing ideas and events as the products of the people who develop them, coming out of their pasts, or "how things/issues effected certain outcomes," we can understand the truth of each individual and see that truth is a matter of context.

Presentism

At Wineburg's second pole, that of presentism, we can empathize with past choices because we can see ourselves in similar situations. The project that focuses on presentism gives students opportunities to make this connection between the past and the present and to empathize with historical individuals and times. A student reflected that through their presentist understanding of the past, "We were able to better connect what we read to the real world." While I do not argue that historians should throw their present concerns and biases onto the past, I do stress that historians' interest in the past is shaped by their concerns in the present.

An exercise in the second half of the survey asks students to make connections between past and present. This involves the Committee on Public Information (CPI), the propaganda office of the U.S. government during World War I. After students develop historical questions around the CPI's activities and the propaganda that it produced, I ask students to discuss and write about whether or not they thought the government's efforts at controlling speech and information were proper. Students see the connections. One group reflected on how officials perceive issues and how they use propaganda: "All these ads can be tied to the present because, just like today, the enemy is viewed as evil and Americans view themselves as saviors of the world. Americans still use propaganda to glamorize war in hopes of recruiting the next generation." Another saw connections between World War I and Iraq: "The overall theme throughout the sources seems to encourage all Americans, whether male or female, black or white, [to] support the war and not become cowards. This can even be seen in America today [where] there are constantly ads and promotions that encourage society today to support the troops in Iraq. There is constantly a push, then and now, to spread

freedom and support that cause despite danger and fear." These students find the familiar in the past and can readily understand the choices and decisions Americans faced in World War I.

Primary Sources and Citations

A continuing point that I stress with the projects is the use of primary sources. The past is not made up. Historians' opinions about what happened, how people felt, what their ideas were, and from where those ideas came are suppositions or inferences that historians make by examining evidence. Thus, I have a couple of projects that stress the relationship between the evidence and the claims historians can make about the past. One project asks students to discern the values of the emerging urban middle class by looking at turn-of-the-century advertisements. Another asks students to compare the deck log of the USS *Greer* (a destroyer that was fired upon by a German U-Boat in September 1941) with the claims that Franklin Roosevelt made about what happened in the North Atlantic. When drawing conclusions from evidence, I require a quotation in order to fully demonstrate that a particular person actually thought the way that the student claims they thought. Thus, when claiming that Roosevelt had certain ideas about Nazi Germany, I expect a quotation from a Fireside Chat, or when students write that workers believed that the Lowell factory system protected a woman's virtue, I expect a quotation from the *Lowell Offering*.

The projects therefore encourage students to see the limits of the types of claims they can make about the past and to sculpt their arguments to remain true to the evidence. These projects on evidence bring students close to sources and "actually make you think and analyze the materials," as one remarked. Many students had not thought much about the primary sources of history: "The class projects were extremely helpful in gaining hands-on experience with primary sources. I have never in my college experience had a chance to really dig into primary sources." This also tests students' fealty to the evidence. My project on nineteenth-century Native American removal asks students to analyze the views of various politicians and participants. Often, students struggle with the intellectual problem of attempting to figure out what might be the good and bad repercussions of Andrew Jackson's or Thomas Jefferson's policies. But I stress that, if the politician or participant did not discuss these repercussions in the writings that the students have read, then the student is going beyond the evidence into the realm of speculation. Some students have discovered the perennial problem of historians: "The projects were sometimes annoying if I couldn't find evidence I was looking for." What we can claim about the past must be supported by evidence.

Last, my advocacy for citation increases throughout the semester. By the end of the course, students know that every claim and certainly every quote must be cited. They know that I have zealousness for it. But this harping on citation serves to underscore what is taught in other disciplines, that credit must be given where credit is due.

Student Evaluation

Students generally like the projects. Some readily understand the methodological purpose of the projects. One wrote that "The class projects were an interesting and hands-on method of introducing students in a first-year history course to basic concepts necessary to the formulation of a cogent historical argument." Others understood the critical thinking aspect: "The projects forced me to look at the material from a more critical perspective instead of just memorizing data."

Complaints, though, commonly fall into two categories. First is the time problem. Many students complain that they do not have enough time to complete the project (one even suggesting using two class periods for them). In a 75-minute class period, I usually spend about fifteen minutes lecturing on the details of the event or situation. Students then have about sixty minutes to complete the work. I have observed two types of group interactions that might account for these feelings of haste. First is the dynamic group. This group has four energetic and informed individuals who spend most of the time discussing the events, people, and arguments they want to make and spend their time that way. One student who felt rushed commented that "The class projects allowed you to discuss, question, and argue various points of view," while another found it "interesting to hear everyone's perspectives." In some cases it got to be a problem. As one student said, "Our group tended to do a lot of discussion." But this is not such a bad problem.

A second type of group would be very quiet and spend most of their time reading the text. A student commented that I could improve group efficiency "by teaching a class before each project dealing with subject matter of project because not everyone reads." Another suggested that I "find some way for everyone to actually read the text." But this rather defeats the purpose of the projects for they definitely stress being prepared for class. Some students readily understand this instrumental purpose: "The projects forced me to read and to understand more about individual incidents in American History."

A second major complaint about the projects is the free-rider problem. Many students see this as an opportunity to get credit for no work, and students complain about that: "As it is in most group projects, one or two people within the group tend to contribute all the work." Their peers are often frustrated at their lack of preparation and involvement. I now incorporate peer review into the projects. Students, at the end of the semester, assess and grade their group colleagues. The group peer review can affect grades by as much as half a letter grade. This has cut down on this type of complaint.

Conclusion

In problematizing the past, I teach students to see that Americans made choices within the social and cultural contexts that defined their world. Thus, I teach students to practice historicity, that is, to understand those choices in the way that the participants saw them. This encourages students to see problems through differing points of views, engendering in them a sense of compassion for others and their

struggles. I think I have been successful in this. Students report that "The projects really helped us think about history in a different way" and "taught [us] to think objectively without bias."

Overall, I think the project-based instruction has shown students some of the passion I have for historical research and has transformed history as a subject for them. As one student commented on the projects, "I feel like they [the projects] have taught me how to look at why things in history happen the way they did rather than just memorizing dates." It also opens a more refined and educated, and more professional, way to think about the past. As one student wrote, the projects "really helped me to see what a historian really does." This has encouraged greater student involvement with the past and with the texts. "I'm really glad that we did this project because it made much more sense reading the book. As you read, I didn't so much feel I was being taught history, but more of a story. When you assigned the project it was so easy to do, due to the fact that it was a giant history lesson. Overall the class projects are a good source of learning and thinking in a different way." And that has been my purpose.

Sample Project

Project #6: Historicity

Historicity is the historians' skill of understanding the actions of historical actors in the terms that the actors themselves understood their behaviors: "By attempting to get inside the minds of the historical actors, we can perhaps better understand why they acted as they did." In this exercise, you should write one or two paragraphs that demonstrate an understanding of antebellum American ideas or attitudes about women's roles, labor, and factories from the perspective of the participants.

The Historical Problem: We know that two significant trends were occurring in New England society after 1810. First, the economy was industrializing, and this required more labor to fill the textile factories that were being built. The factories were dirty and unseemly and threatened the republican virtue of self-sufficiency. Second, men and women adopted new cultural norms about the place and role of women in society; women should be spiritual guides for families and preserve their virtue. These two trends conflicted with one another. Thus, our historical problems for this exercise can be one of the three that Wheeler and Becker pose (see p. 150, but rephrased here):

- 1. How did this conflict affect men and women of Lowell? What did they do?
- What fears and anxieties did this conflict reveal or are revealed in the evidence?
- 3. How did the mill girls attempt to cope with this conflict?

¹⁶William Bruce Wheeler and Susan D. Becker, *Instructor's Resource Manual for Discovering the American Past: A Look at the Evidence*, fifth edition (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2002), 40.

Sometimes one effective method of identifying fears, anxieties, or the meanings of behaviors, actions, and conflicts is to look at, what Wheeler and Becker call, "prescriptive literature." Prescriptive literature, or more generally "advice," tells people what to think, how to behave, and what to feel. It often attempts to reassure readers, the recipients of that advice, that everything will be okay, that a world in turmoil will become stable. So, the method here is to reflect on that advice. If the advice says to stay sober, then the fear might be fear of drunkenness. If the authority assures parents that the boarding houses are clean and chaperoned, then the social fear might be about filth and licentious behavior. In short, affirming statements ("be good") often betray fears about their opposites ("we fear the world is becoming evil," or "we fear for your reputation").

Please limit your selection to sources 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22. 18

¹⁷Wheeler and Becker, fifth edition, Vol. 1, 151.

¹⁸These are sources (documents) from the Wheeler and Becker collection.