WRITING HISTORY

A Guide for Students

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Writing History Faithfully

In the first century BCE, Cicero said, "The first law for the historian is that he shall never dare utter an untruth. The second is that he shall suppress nothing that is true." The spirit of these laws remains the same, even if some of the conventions for writing history have changed—such as the present convention for writing in language that is gender-neutral.

Good historical writers always question authorities, even formidable ones like Cicero. One question comes immediately to mind: How do historians know what is true? They may never know the answer to such a question because sources often present contradictions and silences. Even so, historians recognize certain rules of representing the past faithfully. Like the law, these rules are written down but are also subject to variation and interpretation over time. Historians do not take a Hippocratic oath to uphold any particular body of rules, yet a broad consensus exists among historical writers about what is right and what is wrong.

Collect and Report Your Sources Carefully

There is more to honesty than simply having good intentions. Historians must be faithful to sources by collecting and reporting them carefully. Scholarship relies heavily on trust because scholars all build on the work of others. Above all, it is important to report accurately on the people and events of the past.

Sloppy note taking can cause you to misrepresent history. Even if your misrepresentations are inadvertent, readers may still accuse you of dishonesty. To avoid any such misunderstanding, apply some basic rules to your note taking:

- 1. Every Note Should Contain a Citation. Every time you jot down a note, write the bibliographic reference next to it. Every note card, computer entry, and piece of paper should indicate where you got the information. Always include page numbers. If you are pressed for time, do not cut corners in your notes; work out a system of abbreviations. This will help later, too, when you may need to look back for a specific quote that suits your argument.
- 2. Make a Clear Distinction Between Your Words and Your Source's Words. Always put direct quotations in quotation marks. When you paraphrase someone else's words, make sure your own words are distinct.
- **3. Watch Your Word Processor**. Ages ago, when historians wrote with quill pens and typewriters, writing and revising drafts was a painful process. The smallest alterations made it necessary to rewrite or retype the entire manuscript. Nowadays, word processing makes it easier to compose and revise while you consult sources. This is convenient, but word processors do present some organizational challenges. Always keep your notes in a separate file from your writing. Be especially careful when cutting and pasting source materials from the Internet. If you keep notes and text in the same file, you will run the risk of confusing your own words with someone else's. Writing technology has changed, but the standards for evaluating plagiarism have remained the same.²
- **4. Consider Using Online Organizers.** The introduction of word-processing software made it easier to write and revise history. It sped up note taking, too, but it did not change the organization of notes. Historians sometimes use database and spreadsheet software to keep track of information. Increasingly, historians are turning to online

project management software to organize research and note taking. There are several types of software available, and one program has been developed with historians in mind. The Center for History and New Media at George Mason University has created a program called Zotero, which helps historians collect, organize, and cite their sources. The program plugs into conventional web-browsing and word-processing software and is available for free at http://www.zotero.org.

Incorporate the Ideas of Others with Care and Respect

When you conduct research and write papers, you will have to engage the ideas of fellow scholars. Much of the time you will be interpreting subjects that others have interpreted before you. Even if you are the first person to write a history of something, chances are you will have to place your own ideas in the context of a broader historical literature.

All historians know that writing is hard work. Therefore it is important to acknowledge the work of others respectfully. Historians have conventions for quoting, summarizing, and paraphrasing the works of other scholars. Keep these conventions in mind while you are taking notes; that way you will not have to go back and check your sources while you are writing.

Know the Difference Between Summaries and Paraphrases

Technically speaking, a paraphrase restates another writer's words in about the same number of words; a summary reduces another writer's words to a more concise number of words. Historical writers often paraphrase and summarize the ideas of others. Paraphrase when you think it is important to discuss someone else's work but you think you can say the same thing more clearly in about the same number of words. Summarize when you think you can say it more clearly and more concisely, or when the longer version is inappropriate. A summary or a paraphrase indicates to your reader that you have digested another author's work to the point where you can restate it in your own words.

In historical writing, paraphrasing is not as common as summarizing, but paraphrasing still has its uses. This is particularly helpful when you must translate an archaic or complex quotation into standard English. For example, in *To Keep and Bear Arms: The Origins of an Anglo-American Right*, historian Joyce Malcolm analyzes passages from William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, the eighteenth century's most famous interpretation of the law. Blackstone wrote, "In a land of liberty, it is extremely dangerous to make a distinct order of the profession of arms." Malcolm precedes this slightly archaic quotation with her own paraphrase: "As for standing armies, Blackstone recommended they be treated with utmost caution." Malcolm's paraphrase helps readers understand Blackstone's somewhat old-fashioned terminology.

A summary of someone else's work is usually more convenient than a paraphrase because historians write to express their own original ideas, even when they are engaging the ideas of others. Summaries are everywhere in historical writing, most commonly in works of synthesis. In a survey of colonial American social history, *Pursuits of Happiness*, Jack Greene summarizes the work of Perry Miller, an earlier historian who wrote some classic studies of New England:

Although, as Perry Miller has emphasized, New England religious culture remained vital and adaptable throughout the years from 1670 to 1730, it lost its former preeminence in community life.

Greene then summarizes some of Miller's evidence in a few more brisk sentences. Even though Miller's work was both stimulating and extensive, Greene has a limited amount of space to devote to it. Still, he has given a fair summary. Readers who want to know more about Miller may use Greene's citations as a guide to further reading.⁴

👔 Learn How and When to Quote

Most often, historians demonstrate their familiarity with sources by summarizing and paraphrasing, but occasionally they find that a direct quotation is the best way to make a point. Use a direct quotation when the language of your source is vivid and you cannot possibly do justice to it by summarizing or paraphrasing it. Also quote a source directly when key points of interpretation depend on the exact wording in the source. Otherwise, try to limit your use of quotations. Readers are reading your writing principally to find out your own original ideas.

There are two kinds of quotations. Most of the time when historians quote, they run the quotation into their own text. Typically, they begin the sentence by telling the reader who is speaking; then they insert the quotation. Imagine that you are writing about the nineteenth-century French philosopher Pierre Joseph Proudhon. You write,

At a time when the French middle classes were growing, Proudhon was quite brave to declare that "property is theft."

Notice that in this sentence it was not necessary to separate the body of the sentence from the quotation by using a comma or a colon. These punctuation marks should be used with a quotation only when the punctuation is necessary for the grammar and syntax of the sentence.

The second kind of quotation is called a block quotation. When it is necessary to quote a passage that is longer than three lines, they indent five spaces from the left margin and type the quotation in a block set off from the text. The sentence before the quotation should introduce it; the sentence after the quotation should link it to the text that follows. For example, in his pioneering social history *The Making of the English Working Class*, E. P. Thompson used block quotations to give readers a flavor of English discourse on the subject of labor during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. Thompson used the words of the activist Francis Place to define some key terms. Thompson wrote:

Such diversity of experiences has led some writers to question both the notions of an "industrial revolution" and of a "working class." The first discussion need not detain us here. The term is serviceable enough in its usual connotations. For the second, many writers prefer the term working classes, which emphasises the great disparity in status, acquisitions, skills,

conditions within the portmanteau phrase. And in this they echo the complaints of Francis Place:

If the character and the conduct of the working people are to be taken from reviews, magazines, pamphlets, newspapers, reports of the two Houses of Parliament and the Factory Commissioners, we shall find them all jumbled together as the "lower orders," the most skilled and the most prudent workman, with the most ignorant and imprudent laborers and paupers, though the difference is great indeed, and indeed in many cases will scarce admit of comparison.

Place is, of course, right: the Sunderland tailor, the Irish navvy, the Jewish costermonger, the inmate of an East Anglian village workhouse, the compositor on *The Times*—all might be seen by their "betters" as belonging to the "lower classes" while they themselves might scarcely understand each other's dialect.⁵

Thompson connects his own ideas to the ideas of Place by seamlessly integrating the block quotation with the preceding and following paragraphs. Thompson uses the quote as a vivid illustration of a point. Most historians use block quotations, but they tend to use them sparingly. Too many block quotations tend to diminish the author's own voice, while summaries and paraphrases highlight an author's skills at analysis.

Use Ellipses and Brackets, But Do Justice to Your Sources

When historians insert quotations in their writing, they often abridge the quotation so that it reflects the needs of their own writing more precisely. Historians indicate these changes by marks of ellipsis, which look like three periods (. . .) and also by using square brackets like these: []. One basic rule governs the use of ellipses and brackets: any abridged quotation must be faithful to the original, full quotation.

This is not as easy as it sounds. Marks of ellipsis and brackets can be tricky to use faithfully. Imagine that you are writing a five-page essay about Thomas Jefferson's "Declaration of Independence." You have decided to analyze Jefferson's complaints about how King George III treated the American colonial legislatures. Jefferson enumerated these complaints:

- He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the Public Good.
- He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.
- He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.
- He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.
- He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.
- He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

Jefferson's language is unique and vivid; therefore you wish to use quotations to support your point. But as much as you would like to quote Jefferson in full, you are writing a short essay, and a full quotation would take up too much space. For this reason, you decide to convey Jefferson's main points by abridging his writing with marks of ellipsis:

Jefferson listed five complaints about the ways in which King George III treated the colonial legislatures: "He has refused his Assent to Laws . . . He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance . . . He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large

districts of people... He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual... He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly ... He has refused for a long time ... to cause others to be elected ..."

But notice that your sentence does not flow well into the quotation: there is a jarring difference between your verb tense and Jefferson's. You could eliminate the problem by removing the word "has," except that you would be stuck with the incorrect form of the verb "to forbid." In addition, writing "King George" and then having the quotation repeat "he" as the subject sounds unnatural. To solve these problems, you may wish to insert some bracketed words so that your sentence flows naturally into the quotation from Jefferson. The brackets say to your readers that these are not Jefferson's exact words, but they still convey Jefferson's exact meaning. You may decide to write:

Jefferson listed five complaints about how King George III treated the colonial legislatures, namely that he "refused his Assent to Laws ... [forbade] his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance ... refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people ... called together legislative bodies at places unusual ... dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly ... [and] refused for a long time ... to cause others to be elected ..."

This quotation is faithful to Jefferson's exact meaning, even though it abridges his quotation with ellipses and brackets. It would have been unfaithful to use ellipses in this manner: "He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people... for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures." This would be unfair to Jefferson, because the first portion of the original quotation was followed by an entirely different set of ideas: "unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only."

It also would have been unfaithful to Jefferson to use brackets this way: "He has forbidden his Governors to pass [important] laws ..." This changes the sense of the original quotation, "He has forbidden his Governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance ..."

If you need to be so concise, summarizing Jefferson in your own words would be preferable to inserting different words directly into Jefferson's original writing.

3F

Learn How to Use Quotation Marks

After apostrophes, quotation marks probably cause more confusion than any other form of punctuation. This is partly because American practice differs from British practice. Most of us probably read historical works from all over the English-speaking world. When it comes to your own writing you may indeed have grounds for confusion.

1. American Style for Quotation Marks. When you run a quotation into your text, place the words of the quotation inside double quotation marks:

Eisenhower warned against the "military-industrial complex."

For a quotation within a quotation, use single quotation marks:

In his history of the Space Age, *The Heavens and the Earth*, Walter MacDougall writes that Eisenhower feared "the assumption of inordinate power and influence by a 'military-industrial complex' and a 'scientific-technological elite.'"

Notice also how the other forms of punctuation are placed in relation to the quotation marks. Periods and commas should be placed *inside* the quotation marks. If you use question marks and exclamation points, place them inside the quotation marks only when they formed part of the original quotation. If you are adding your own question marks and exclamation points after the quotation, then place them outside the quotation marks. Colons and semicolons also go outside the quotation marks.

2. British Style for Quotation Marks. The British use quotation marks in the opposite way from Americans. When a quotation is run into the text, the words of the quotation are placed in single quotation marks:

Eisenhower warned against the 'military-industrial complex'.

For a quotation within a quotation, double quotation marks are used:

In his history of the Space Age, Walter MacDougall writes that Eisenhower feared 'the assumption of inordinate power and influence by a "military-industrial complex" and a "scientific-technological elite". 7

Notice also that in British usage all other punctuation marks are placed *outside* the quotation marks.

36

Don't Plagiarize

Historians find unfaithful quotations disturbing, but they reserve the harshest condemnation for plagiarists. In the ancient Mediterranean world, *plagiarii* were pirates who kidnapped young children, among other misdeeds. When plagiarists claim someone else's ideas as their own they steal someone else's brainchild. And contrary to folk wisdom, there is no honor among thieves. Historians do not tolerate plagiarists. Universities punish them.

Cases of plagiarism happen infrequently because there is such a powerful consensus against it. It is so pleasurable to share ideas honestly and to write history faithfully that real historians should never feel an urge to plagiarize. Historians share this commitment to honesty with writers across all the disciplines.

- **1. Direct Plagiarism.** Direct plagiarism occurs when one writer takes another writer's exact words and passes them off as his or her own. Direct plagiarism is very easy for an informed reader to spot.
- **2. Indirect Plagiarism.** Indirect plagiarism is more difficult to recognize and it is also more insidious. Indirect plagiarism occurs when writers paraphrase someone else's work too closely. The basic structure of the sentence or paragraph is retained, and the plagiarist substitutes an occasional new word or phrase to make the writing slightly different. For example, here is an original passage taken from Thomas Holt's book about emancipated slaves in Jamaica, *The Problem of Freedom*. Holt writes:

Presiding over this sparkling court was Elizabeth Vassall Fox, who had inherited her estates in 1800 from her grandfather

3H

Florentius Vassall. Yet Lady Holland was as staunch a Whig as her husband and shared many of his libertarian sentiments.9

The following passage is an overly close paraphrase that would be an example of indirect plagiarism:

Elizabeth Vassall Fox presided over this brilliant court. In 1800, she had inherited several plantations from her grandfather, and yet, like her husband, she was a Whig and a libertarian.

And the following paragraph would be indirect plagiarism even if the author gave a citation to Holt. The paraphrase is too close to Holt's original text to be considered the author's original writing.

This salon was led by Elizabeth Vassall Fox, also known as Lady Holland. She was a noted Whig and libertarian whose family fortune derived from plantation slavery.

3. Inadvertent Plagiarism. What if you accidentally forget to put quotation marks around a passage from someone else's writing? What if you forget to provide a citation when you summarize someone else's writing? Think for a minute about your audience. When they read your work, all they see are the words in front of them. They do not see how you were frantically putting your essay together at two in the morning. By the time you tell them that you were in a rush and made some mistakes, they will not care. When your readers detect a misstep on your part, they will instinctively form the worst possible impression of you.

Recently, two popular historians, Stephen Ambrose and Doris Kearns Goodwin, have had to defend themselves against plagiarism: they have admitted to sloppy research practices. This is a common defense against charges of plagiarism. It is also an embarrassing way to defend oneself. In the case of Ambrose and Goodwin, the "sloppiness" defense highlights the relationship between plagiarism and lack of self-discipline. Historians must avoid situations that may be conducive to plagiarism. Do not wait until the last minute to research and write historical essays. Be sure that there is plenty of time to document historical sources correctly.

In history you are guilty until proven innocent. To make matters worse, it will be easy for your readers to prove your guilt, and it will be difficult for you to prove your innocence. Perhaps this is not fair, but this is how your audience thinks.

4. Academic Dishonesty. Plagiarism means you are passing off someone else's work as your own. Therefore, it should go without saying that you should not submit an essay someone else wrote for you. This includes buying a paper from a disreputable company on the Internet, or submitting a paper from a fraternity file. If you do these things you are a plagiarist because someone else did your work for you.

There are other acts of academic dishonesty that closely resemble plagiarism. Submitting the same paper in two courses means you are passing off work done in one course as work done in another course. Usually, dual submissions require the permission of both instructors. In addition, an instructor's permission is usually required if you want to submit a paper that you wrote in collaboration with another student. You should not pass off the other student's writing as your own writing. It is usually appropriate for you to discuss a paper assignment with another student, but when it comes to writing, do it alone.

Be Honest, But Don't Give Unnecessary Citations

It is conceivable that after reading the preceding section on plagiarism and dishonesty, you will be so frightened that you will provide a citation in every sentence you write. Don't go overboard with citations. Include a citation when you quote directly, when you paraphrase or summarize someone else's ideas, or when you are consciously imitating the structure of someone else's writing. There is no need to give a citation for a piece of information that reasonable people consider to be general knowledge, for example, that the Allies landed at Normandy on June 6, 1944, or that railroads played a significant role in British industrialization. These pieces of information should be obvious to everyone who has studied history. Of course, if you are unsure whether something is common knowledge, play it safe and offer a citation. ¹⁰

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Choose a Citation System That Suits Your Audience

All scholars agree to use sources responsibly. Two rules apply to all citation systems: be consistent, and make it easy for your readers to check your sources. There is less agreement among scholars about specific formats for citing source materials. This is for a variety of reasons. Some publishers and editors may require special methods for citing sources, and some college instructors may have special requirements, too. For this reason it is important for historians to find out which format their audience expects them to use.

Students sometimes find citing sources to be confusing, often because history instructors have different rules from those of teachers in other disciplines. For example, many social scientists use a system where they place an author's name, date of publication, and page number in parentheses after a quotation, summary, or paraphrase. Sometimes historians find this system suits an essay or book particularly well. Nevertheless, most historians use sequential footnotes or endnotes.

Several guides to citations exist, but there is one that is widely recognized by historians: Kate L. Turabian, A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations, 8th ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013). "Turabian," as it is called, is a shorter version of the rules contained in the Chicago Manual of Style, which most historians consider to be the authoritative guide for preparing manuscripts. You will find that historians and their editors usually follow Turabian and the Chicago Manual in their professional publications.

Most history instructors prefer that students use footnotes or endnotes, which are easy to create in word-processing programs. The following rules apply to them. For special or unusual circumstances, refer to Turabian or the *Chicago Manual*, both of which can be found in any academic library. The *Chicago Manual* may also be accessed online. Keep in mind that if you choose Zotero software to manage your research and note taking, it will automatically format all your notes for you.

1. Formatting Footnotes and Endnotes on a Word Processor. It is usually possible to format a word-processing program to handle some aspects of noting automatically. Notes should be single-spaced in the

same font size as the main text. The first line of the note may begin with an indentation from the left margin, or it may also begin with a hanging indentation. The note number should be written as an arabic numeral. After it, insert a period and a space.

- **2. Citing a Book.** Endnotes and footnotes to books should be written like this:
 - 4. Robert K. Massie, *Dreadnought: Britain, Germany, and the Coming of the Great War* (New York: Random House, 1991), 183–85.

Notice what distinguishes a footnote or endnote from a bibliographic entry: in a note, the author's first name comes first, information about the publisher is placed in parentheses, and a comma precedes the page numbers. There is usually no need for a "p." or a "pp." in front of the page numbers, unless there are grounds for confusion with other numbers in the citation. Some electronic books do not feature page numbers. In such cases, cite a chapter or a section, doing your best to guide the reader.

- **3. Citing Different Kinds of Books.** Not all books have such simple publication information. In fact, the possible permutations are endless. Given next are examples of notes for some standard types of books that historical writers often cite: a multiauthor book, a multivolume book, an edited volume, and a revised edition. These four examples (and the others after that) open with made-up numbers as if they are from a list of notes.
 - 11. Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer, Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle, and the Experimental Life (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 244.
 - 12. Noël Deerr, *The History of Sugar*, 2 vols. (London: Chapman and Hall, 1949–50), 2:184.
 - 13. Maroon Societies: Rebel Slave Communities in the Americas, ed. Richard Price (New York: Anchor Press, 1973), 112–15.
 - 14. Roland Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Africa since 1800* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1967; 4th ed., 1994), 67.

- **4. Citing Scholarly Articles.** Scholarly articles by historians are usually published in either scholarly journals or edited collections. The form for edited collections resembles a book citation:
 - 37. Bernard S. Cohn, "Representing Authority in Victorian India," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric. Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 169.

Journal articles are cited somewhat differently. The author and title are given, followed by the title of the journal, its volume and number, the date in parentheses, and a colon followed by the page number. Here is a simple citation and then one that is more complex.

- 38. Jessica A. Coope, "Religious and Cultural Conversion to Islam in Ninth-Century Umayyad Córdoba," *Journal of World History* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 63.
- 39. Amy Wiese Forbes, "'Let's Add the Stomach': Satire, Absurdity, and July Monarchy Politics in Proudhon's *What Is Property?*" *French Historical Studies* 4, no. 24 (Fall 2001): 681.

Ordinarily, an article title is simply placed in quotation marks, followed by the underlined or italicized journal title, and the publication information. Observe that in the preceding example, we can see special punctuation marks. In the first part of the title, there is a quotation, placed in single quotation marks within the double quotation marks. In the second part of the title, there is a book title, which should be underlined or italicized. And in the second example, we also see that the comma between the article title and the journal title can be dispensed with because the title ends with a question mark.

- **5. Citing Works of Journalism.** Articles in newspapers and magazines may provide less publication information than scholarly articles, but historians should still offer as much information as possible, in the order author, title of article, title of magazine or newspaper, date, and page number. For example,
 - 40. Diana Trilling, "A Visit to Camelot," *The New Yorker*, June 2, 1997, 56.

6. Citing the Internet. Standards for citing sources on the Internet have not yet evolved completely. Even so, Internet citations follow the same principles as other citations: they should give readers all the information they need to find a source. Internet citations should give the fullest possible Uniform Resource Locator (URL) address of the source, not just the homepage.

As much as it is important to follow the same principles as with other citations, it is also important to acknowledge that Internet citations differ from print sources. Print sources are usually permanent; they can almost always be located in a major research library. Internet sites may change or disappear.

Should a reader challenge your use of a source, it will be helpful for you to have a saved copy of the Internet site from the day on which you used it. When you consult a website, be sure to give the date of retrieval at the end of the citation. The website may change or even disappear.

There are also minor ways in which the Internet is different for purposes of citation. First you may give conventional citation information, such as author, title, and date of publication. But then you must also give the URL. Complete URLs are desirable, although steps may be taken to avoid URLs longer than two lines.

Let us take a look at a well-known historical website, *Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War*, edited by Edward Ayers, Anne Rubin, William Thomas, and Andrew Torget. This website contains reproductions of many primary sources, including photographs, letters, and newspaper articles that pertain to the U.S. Civil War. When citing a newspaper article from the *Valley of the Shadow*, here is the method for the first citation:

42. "Lincoln's Fiendish Proclamation," Staunton Spectator, 7 Oct. 1862, p. 2, col. 1. In "The War Years: Newspapers." Valley of the Shadow: Two Communities in the American Civil War, Virginia Center for Digital History, University of Virginia, http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/news/ss1862/ va.au.ss.1862.10.07.xml. Accessed Feb. 18, 2011.

- 7. Citing Films, Television Shows, and Audiovisual Sources. The general principle is to cite the title in italics. Then, in regular type, the name of the director is given, followed by the date. If a DVD recording is being used, the publisher and date should also be given.
 - 31. Lawrence of Arabia, directed by David Lean (1962; Sony Pictures DVD 2001).
- **8. Citing Interviews, Lectures, and Oral Presentations.** These kinds of citations should give the name of the source and the place and date on which he or she gave you the information. Courtesy dictates that private conversations should not be cited unless you have the permission of the person you interviewed.
 - 76. Ernest Hemingway, interview with the author, Key West, Florida, September 6, 1932.
- **9. Citing Archival Sources.** Each archive is organized differently, but citations should be included that will allow readers to trace your sources. Some archives, such as Britain's National Archives (NA), even furnish readers with standard guidelines for citing sources from their collection. Here is a source found in the NA, in the Colonial Office (CO) files labeled number 167:
 - 61. Lees to Knutsford, with minutes by Wingfield, Jan. 9, 1891, NA CO 167/661.

If you are conducting research in an archive, be sure to ask if there is a correct way to cite their sources. If not, be sure that your readers understand any abbreviations you may choose to use.

10. Citing Unpublished Secondary Works. Sometimes you will need to cite an unpublished secondary work. It is not unusual to discover useful unpublished theses and dissertations during the course of your research, although you may need to have the author's permission to read or cite one. (Ask the librarian whether you need permission.) Cite theses and dissertations according to this format:

8. Kristen Anne Tegtmeier, "Bleeding Borders: The Intersection of Gender, Race, and Region in Territorial Kansas" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2000), 144.

Historians also circulate unpublished papers or manuscripts to each other. Professional courtesy dictates that these may be used and cited only when the author permits it.

- 33. William K. Storey, "Science and the Making of a British Ideology of Development in Post-Emancipation Barbados" (unpublished manuscript in the author's possession), 14.
- 11. How to Repeat a Citation Without Using Latin Abbreviations. In the olden days, when historians wanted to cite a work for the second time, they used "ibid." if the citation followed the original citation immediately, and they used "op. cit." and "loc. cit." when the citation came after citations to other works.

No more! The *Chicago Manual* now considers *op. cit.* and *loc. cit.* to be archaic and obsolete. *Ibid.* may still be used, but when you revise an essay by cutting and pasting paragraphs, you may find that using *ibid.* in your notes will make it difficult to keep track of your sources. There is an easier, simpler system for shortening references. The first time you cite a source, give the full citation, but after the first time give an abbreviation: author's last name, abbreviated title, and page number. Here are some examples:

- 11. Denis Judd, Empire: The British Imperial Experience from 1765 to the Present (New York: Basic Books, 1996), 79.
- 12. Judd, Empire, 80.
- 13. Bruno Latour, We Have Never Been Modern, trans. Catherine Porter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 90.
- 14. Latour, Never Been Modern, 91.
- 15. Judd, Empire, 84.
- 16. Latour, Never Been Modern, 91.
- **12.** How to Place a Superscript Note in the Main Text. When you read, notice that most historians place a note at the end of a sentence, not

in the middle. Notes in the middle of a sentence are annoying and distracting. They should be used only when they are absolutely necessary to distinguish one person's ideas from another. Here is an example of a poorly placed note: "William McFeely suggests⁴ that racism is an insidious problem in American life." The note number really belongs at the end of the sentence, because at that point you are still discussing McFeely and his book *Sapelo's People* (New York: Norton, 1994). The only way it would be appropriate to place the number in the middle of the sentence would be if you had to distinguish McFeely's ideas from someone else's: "William McFeely suggests that racism is an insidious problem in American life,⁴ but other writers feel differently."

13. Citing a Quotation of a Quotation. Historians prefer to quote from original sources. If you see a primary source quotation in a secondary work and you want to quote it yourself, check the primary source and assess the accuracy of the quotation. When you go back and find the original primary source, this entitles you to cite the primary source.

Sometimes it may not be possible for you to find the original primary source. In this case, acknowledge the primary source, but say "as cited in" or "as quoted by" the secondary work. Imagine that you are reading about the execution of Louis XVI in Simon Schama's book *Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution*. Schama describes the scene, in part, by quoting from a memoir by Louis-Sébastien Mercier:

His blood flowed and cries of joy from eighty thousand armed men struck my ears ... I saw the schoolboys of the Quatre-Nations throw their hats in the air; his blood flowed and some dipped their fingers in it, or a pen or a piece of paper; one tasted it and said *Il est bougrement salé* ...

You may wish to use this colorful quotation in your own work, but unless you have access to a very large university library, you may have difficulty tracking down the original source. You are still welcome to use the quotation if you attribute the quotation in a citation that follows this format:

- 27. Louis-Sébastien Mercier, as cited in Simon Schama, Citizens: A Chronicle of the French Revolution (New York: Knopf, 1989), 670.
- **14. Discursive Notes.** When you read works of history, you will notice that some authors use endnotes or footnotes to introduce and clarify points of interpretation, or even to take digressions from their subjects. These discursive notes may be fine from the author's point of view, but readers often find them annoying. If something is important enough to say, why not say it in the main body of the text? Discursive footnotes should be restricted to comments about difficulties readers might have in locating or interpreting source materials.
- 15. Know the Difference Between Note Format and Bibliographic Format. Sometimes you will need to add a bibliography to an essay, especially if it is a long one. Here is a bibliographic format appropriate for books: the author's last name comes first because bibliographies are alphabetized, a period comes after the author's name and after the title, and there are no parentheses around the publication information. With articles, add the full number of pages after the final colon. Bibliographies also usually have a hanging indent, meaning that the first line of an entry is five spaces to the left of the following lines:

Esherick, Joseph W. Reform and Revolution in China: The 1911 Revolution in Hunan and Hubei. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1976.

Harrell, Steven. "Ethnicity, Local Interests, and the State: Yi Communities in Southwest China." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 3 (July 1990): 515–48.

For further questions about bibliographies and citations, see either Turabian or the *Chicago Manual*. These are the authoritative guides for historians.

In addition to covering footnotes and endnotes, two more guides bear mentioning that also offer advice on alternative styles of citation

Exercise: How to Cite

used less frequently in research-based historical essays: the Modern Language Association (MLA) style of in-text citation, commonly used in literature; and the American Psychological Association (APA) style of in-text citation, commonly used in the social sciences.

∞ REVIEW ∞

- Record and report your sources with care.
- When you paraphrase or summarize someone else's argument, make it clear.
- 3. Use the appropriate citation system.
- 4. Don't forget the bibliography.

Exercise: How to Cite

Add the correct punctuation for Chicago style citations. In each example is a format for (a) a footnote/endnote, (b) a footnote/endnote for the second and subsequent usage, and (c) a bibliography. You can refer to 3I for citing examples and explanations. See page 137–38 for answers.

- 1. Single-author book citation (refer to 3I.2):
 - a. Norman F. Cantor The Last Knight: The Twilight of the Middle

 Ages and the Birth of the Modern Era New York Free Press

 2004 24
 - b. Cantor The Last Knight 25
 - c. Cantor Norman F. The Last Knight: The Twilight of the Middle Ages and the Birth of the Modern Era New York Free Press 2004

- 2. Multiauthor book citation (refer to 3I.3):
 - a. Jane Burbank and Frederick Cooper Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference Princeton Princeton University Press 2010 24–25
 - b. Burbank and Cooper Empires in World History 26
 - c. Burbank Jane and Frederick Cooper Empires in World History:
 Power and the Politics of Difference Princeton Princeton
 University Press 2010
- 3. Scholarly article citation (refer to 3I.4):
 - a. William G. Rosenberg Reading Soldiers' Moods: Russian Military Censorship and the Configuration of Feeling in World War I American Historical Review 119 no. 3 June 2014 715
 - **b.** Rosenberg Reading Soldiers' Moods 720
 - c. Rosenberg William G. Reading Soldiers' Moods: Russian Military Censorship and the Configuration of Feeling in World War I American Historical Review 119 no. 3 June 2014 714–40
- 4. Website citation (refer to 3I.6):
 - a. Clive Emsley Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker Gender in the Proceedings Old Bailey Proceedings Online www.oldbaileyonline.org version 6.0 accessed April 13, 2011
 - **b.** Emsley Hitchcock and Shoemaker Gender in the Proceedings
 - c. Emsley Clive Tim Hitchcock and Robert Shoemaker Gender in the Proceedings Old Bailey Proceedings Online www.oldbaileyonline.org version 6.0 accessed April 13, 2011