

# Time's arrows?

## Using a dartboard scaffold to understand historical action

Arthur Chapman presents a task-specific scaffold – a 'dart' board – designed to teach students how to interrogate sources of information so that these become sources of evidence for particular claims about past actions, beliefs and aims. Chapman also uses his 'dart' board to foster students' reflection on the degrees of certainty that they can attach to such claims. In this game of 'darts', students win by making and sustaining the weightiest claims. In recommending an approach for teaching and assessing the quality of evidential argument, Chapman's work addresses a similar theme to that of Pickles (pp 52-9) who reveals the limitations and dangers of current, typical examination questions designed to assess use of sources. Chapman's close examination of what is involved in helping students to reconstruct decisions of past actors also connects with the work of Lee and Shemilt (pp 39-49) who examine the conditions and properties of successful empathetic explanation.

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This article aims to make a modest contribution to ongoing conversations about historical learning by proposing a scaffold designed to support the development of student thinking about explaining action in the past. The scaffold is the product of reflection on existing practical and theoretical work.<sup>1</sup> It is offered in the hope that it may prove useful or, at least, interesting, and in the hope that it will be criticised, developed and improved.

### Understanding action

Understanding natural history – volcanoes, earthquakes, the life cycles of pathogens – involves causal explanation.<sup>2</sup> Understanding human history differs in that it also, and crucially, involves *agentive explanation* and the understanding of human *agency*. There is much more to human history than agency, of course:

*Men make their own history, but not of their own free will; not under circumstances they themselves have chosen but under the given and inherited circumstances with which they are directly confronted.*<sup>3</sup>

Human agents act in contexts and are acted upon by the unintended consequences of the actions of others (inflation, global warming and so on), by states of affairs that shape the context for action (war, food shortages and so on) and by the impact of non-human agents (such as volcanoes and so on).<sup>4</sup> Nevertheless, understanding action in the past involves reconstructing the decisions that past actors made which we can neither fully explain nor begin to understand without considering their aims or intentions and their beliefs, including their beliefs about other agents and the context in which they were acting.<sup>5</sup>

Students need to master at least two strategies, therefore, if they are to explain and understand action in the past: on the one hand, students need to be able to explain 'the causes of outcomes' or to account for the ways in which 'factors' beyond the intentions and beliefs of particular historical agents shaped what happened in the past and, on the other hand, they need to develop their capacity for 'rational explanation', or their ability to give an account of the *reasons* that past actors had for acting as they did, by 'explaining the reasons for action' or the intentions and beliefs of past actors.<sup>6</sup> A great deal has been written about causal explanation and it would be fair to say that historical pedagogy focused around 'the reasons for action' is relatively under-developed by comparison.<sup>7</sup> This article focuses on agentive rather than causal explanation.

Understanding action in the present is no simple matter: we have no direct access, in the case of any actions other than our own, to 'the within... the brain and heart and other caverns where thought and feeling dance their Sabbath' and complex cultural equipment has been devised, ranging from polygraphs to psychoanalysis, in the attempt to construct and construe the actions of others.<sup>8</sup> We can, of course, ground explanations in actors' reports of their intentions and beliefs but all reports need to be interpreted: explaining oneself is always a performance and an action in itself. Explaining oneself, furthermore, presupposes self-knowledge, a rare commodity. Explaining oneself also always involves deploying cultural codes – linguistic codes, gestural codes, and so on – and codes tend to generate meanings of their own. The epistemological and hermeneutic difficulties that arise when we seek to explain action are, of course, more extreme where past actors are concerned: the usual problems arise and are compounded by finite and fragmentary data sources and the fact that culture and meaning change such that we may never entirely know the code or get the joke.<sup>9</sup> Claims about the past are also of different kinds and some are much easier to sustain than others: 'we cannot', for example, 'dig up past beliefs'.<sup>10</sup>

## The 'dart' board

Darts and history have very little in common: historians do not throw pointed missiles at the past, or even, in general, at each other. In darts, as in history, however, some 'points' are harder to make than others and the point of the darts analogy is to help make students aware:

- ▶ that in order to explain action – in the past or the present – you have to make claims of different kinds;
- ▶ that some claims are harder to make and sustain than others; and
- ▶ that negative claims can be just as valuable as positive claims.

The 'dart' board turns history into a competition the point of which is to make and sustain claims about the past. You win by making and sustaining the 'weightiest' claims, where a 'weighty' claim is understood as a claim that it is difficult to sustain and that requires strong supporting evidential arguments. You make claims, literally, by sticking them on the board. You sustain them by providing arguments that justify your claim.

The dartboard is intended as a tool for use in class and to have three purposes:

- ▶ to help students construct explanations of past action as they interrogate historical documents;
- ▶ to help students compare different historical interpretations of past action; and
- ▶ to help students evaluate the claims contained in differing interpretations of past action.

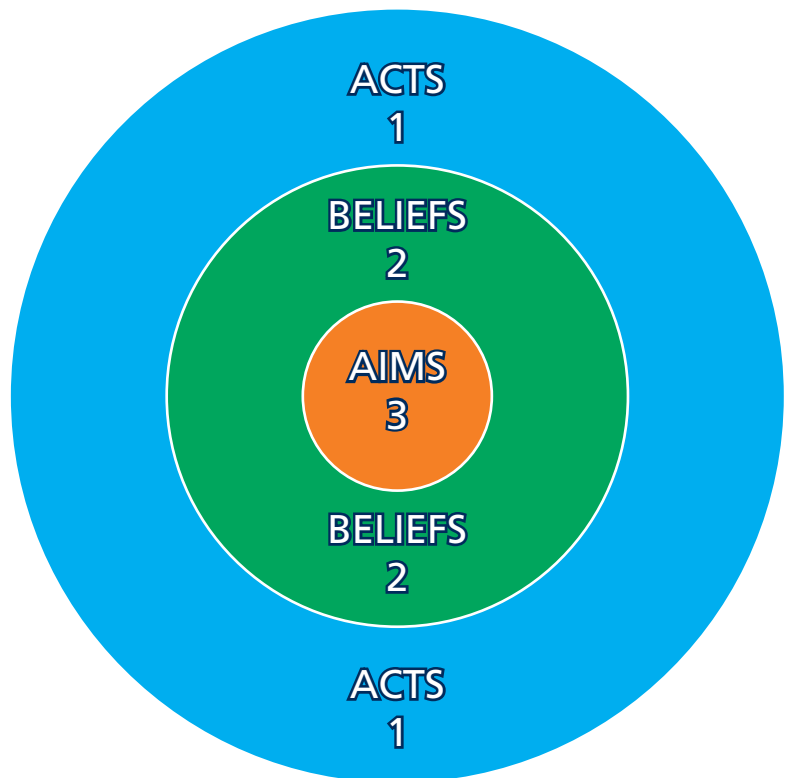
It is also intended that the process of working with the board will help students develop an analytical understanding of what explaining action involves and a yardstick against which to measure success in this activity – the proposition that you have not accounted for past action unless and until you have constructed an account of what actors did, what actors believed and what actors intended their actions to achieve. It is also intended that working with the board will help students think about the degrees of certainty that we can achieve in history, about the 'hedged' and qualifications that often accompany historical claims to knowledge, and so on.

## The rings: claims about different things

The dartboard is made up of three concentric circles (see Figure 1). The middle of the dartboard should be harder to 'hit' than the edge – it is easier to make claims about physical dimensions of action than it is to make claims about the beliefs that appear to be expressed in or through action and, in turn, it is easier to make and sustain claims about beliefs than it is to make and sustain claims about the intentions that actions manifest.<sup>11</sup>

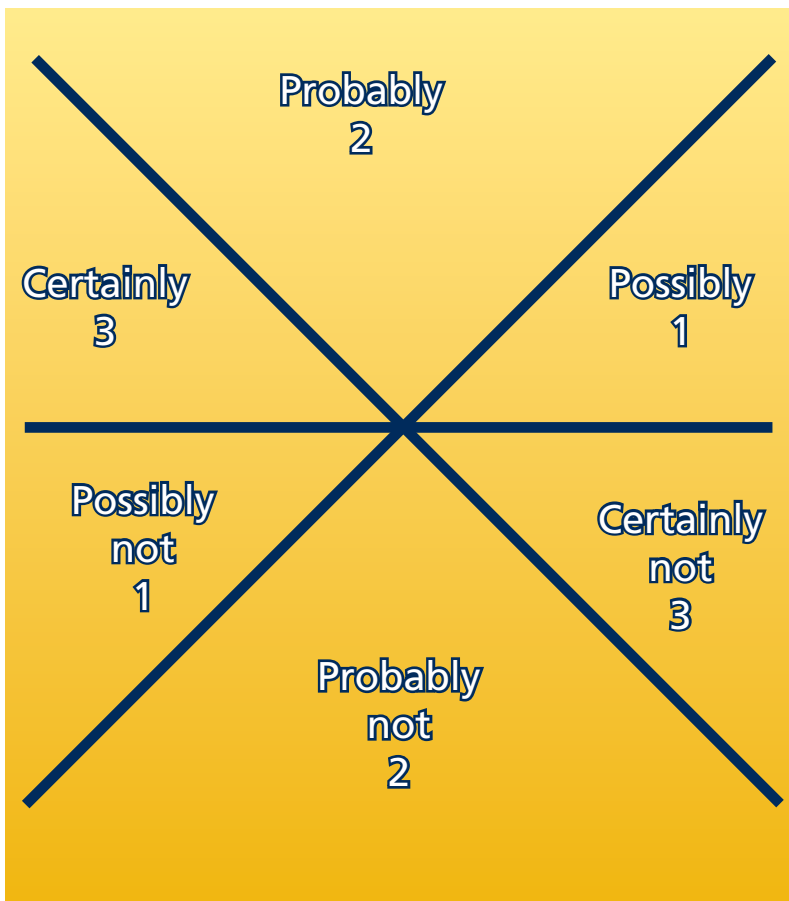
To illustrate with a well-known example: the so-called 'Hossbach Memorandum'.<sup>12</sup> Although there is room for controversy about the meeting that took place in the Reich Chancellery in Berlin from 4pm in the afternoon of 5 November 1937, linked to the nature of the source

Figure 1: Components of action



material on which knowledge of this meeting is based, the key controversies that arise relate to other matters entirely. Claims about what Hitler literally did between 4 and 6pm on 5 November 1937 are easy to establish, if we accept the authenticity of the document. Such claims will not help us explain very much in themselves: claims about matters such as these would be 'staked' in the outer ring of the dartboard and, therefore, have a low content 'weighting'. Constructing claims about Hitler's beliefs – for example, about France – requires a little more work. The document would need to be read carefully and inferentially in order to identify the propositions that are stated in it or implied by what is literally said: claims of this nature would be 'staked' in the middle ring of the board and have a higher weighting than claims in the outer ring because it is harder to make and sustain claims about historical content of this nature. Claims about aims or intentions are claims about the purposes that underly apparent action or inaction in particular contexts. Claims of this nature cannot be established by literal readings of what is said but require what is said (or not said), what was done (or not done) and their context to be considered together: claims of this nature would be 'staked' in the centre of the board and have a higher weighting than claims in the middle ring. This is where the important interpretive controversies about the Memorandum arise and these controversies are conducted through sophisticated arguments that aim to establish what Hitler was 'up to' in the meeting by placing the Memorandum in a wider context, constructed from readings of documents and actions from previous and subsequent years and by taking into consideration a range of other issues, such as struggles for primacy and policy within the German government.

Figure 2: Degrees of certainty (positive and negative)



### The segments: claims of different types

The purpose of interrogating sources of evidence is to use them to build arguments that construct, sustain or refute claims about the past and it is only by being used in this way that sources of information become sources of evidence.<sup>13</sup> The judgements that our conclusions express are of different kinds: judgements can be positive ('X was the case'), negative ('X was not the case'), neutral ('It is not possible to say whether X was or was not the case') or something in between. In addition, judgements can differ in their degree of certainty, ranging from judgements that say that something 'was possible' or 'could' or 'might' have been the case, through judgements that something 'probably was the case', to judgements that something 'certainly was' or 'must have been' the case. The same scale applies also to negative judgements about what 'certainly', 'probably' or 'possibly' was not the case.

Modality is particularly important in history – a great deal often turns on the degree of certainty with which claims can be made and hedges and qualifications are a central feature of historical writing. There is good reason to conclude that modality is something that history students can grasp, with appropriate teacher support, from a young age, as, for example, Hilary Cooper's work with Year 4 (8–9-year-old) primary school students exploring 'knowing' and 'supposing' (or 'certain' conclusions and 'guesses') suggests.<sup>14</sup> Scaffolds that develop these distinctions have been proposed; for example, Thelma Wiltshire's work on what source materials can be construed as 'telling' us and

as 'suggesting' to us, and Claire Riley's influential development of Cooper's work using 'layers of inference' diagrams that ask students to consider questions including 'What does this source definitely tell me?', 'What guesses can I make? What can I infer?' and 'What doesn't this source tell me?'<sup>15</sup>

The dartboard is divided into six segments as well as into three rings (see Figures 1 and 2). Three of these segments relate to positive claims (about what 'was' the case) and three to negative claims (about what 'was not' the case). In both cases the same three categories apply (possible, probable and certain). The intention here is twofold. First, to encourage students to think carefully about the degree of certainty with which they want to stake their claims on the board, and thus, to debate what might constitute a 'certain', a 'probable' or a 'possible' claim about the past and to get them thinking about the qualities and/or quantities of support that are needed to sustain a claim of each type. Second, the intention is to help students see that negative conclusions are valuable – or, in other words, to challenge the notion that a lack of positive certainty is a weakness. Claims of different types are allocated variable values on the board. Possibilistic claims (positive or negative) are rated at 1, since it is generally easy, and could be entirely facile, to show that something 'possibly was' or 'possibly was not the case'. Certainties (positive and negative) are, on the other hand, rated highly (3 points) because claims that something 'certainly was' or 'was not' the case are weighty claims requiring correspondingly strong historical arguments to sustain them.

The overall score attached to any particular claim that is 'staked' on the board is a function of its 'ring' (or content) score multiplied by its 'segment' (or claim type) score. This is a ludicrously precise approach, of course. The intention, however, is to get pupils thinking about the evidential challenges involved in sustaining claims of various kinds – a probabilistic claim about what an historical actor literally did (positive or negative) is less 'weighty', and thus both easier to make and easier to support, than a certain claim (positive or negative) about the aims or intentions expressed through a particular historical agents' act.

### Building explanations of past actions

The following activity illustrates how the darts scaffold might be used to support students in constructing an account of action in the past.

The actions of Mangal Pandey – a 26-year-old sepoy (private) in the British East India Company's Army of Bengal who was tried, convicted and executed for mutiny in April 1857 – are much debated and highly variable degrees of significance have been attributed to them, in academic and in popular historical writing, in statues and other monuments (including a postage stamp), in fiction and in film.<sup>16</sup> As is often the case, the significance that is attributed to Pandey's actions is linked to the way in which his actions are explained and characterised.

The case is unusual in being extensively documented through the records of Pandey's court martial and we immediately face a proverbial problem: both history and archives are made by the victors and the nature of the activity that generated these

source materials shaped the record profoundly. ‘Certainties’ that might be constructed on the basis of these materials are, inherently, qualified certainties. Students should be made aware of this fact from the start and be encouraged, throughout, to consider its implications for any conclusions that they might want to draw.

The court martial documents contain testimony from witnesses, called by the prosecution, who were involved in the events of 29 March 1857, most of whom were British. The documents also contain brief testimony from Pandey himself (see Figure 3), who, although nominally acting in his own defence, did not take the opportunity to cross-examine witnesses or to introduce evidence in his defence.

Task students to read a selection of these documents and to construct an answer to the question ‘What was Mangal Pandey doing on the 29 March 1857?’ making it clear that they will not have answered this question unless and until they have advanced claims in answer to the three subsidiary questions embodied in the dartboard:

- ▶ What *actions* did he perform?
- ▶ What did he appear to *believe*?
- ▶ What was he *aiming* to achieve?

As well as tasking students to ‘stake’ claims about these three dimensions of action, encourage students to articulate arguments to support their claims: the ‘weightier’ the claims, the greater the quantity and quality of evidential argument that they will need to supply in support. The statements pinned to the board are, in effect, conclusions: propositions about what was the case that have a tacit ‘therefore’ hanging in the air in front of them. As well as ‘staking’ their claims (conclusions) students need to provide evidential arguments to give their conclusions legs to stand on and weighty claims will need thick legs. Once students have made their claims, of course, they could be asked to peer-assess each other’s and, better, to agree criteria of evaluation: an argument, in history at any rate, is only as good as your peer group (the historical community) says it is.

It ought to be relatively straightforward to construct an answer to the first question from the documents – a consistent and detailed account of Pandey’s actions can be pieced together on the basis of a literal reading of the witnesses’ accounts of their encounters with Pandey and it might, in outline, run something like this: he appeared on the parade ground at about 4 o’clock in the afternoon on Sunday 29 March, in partial uniform and armed with a musket and sword, he attempted to force a bugler to call the rest of the regiment out, he verbally called on the rest of the regiment to join him (they did not respond), he engaged British officers who tried to restore order and, eventually, he turned his musket on himself (unsuccessfully).

Figure 3: An excerpt from the Mangal Pandey trial documents<sup>17</sup>

The prisoner being called on for his defence says, ‘I did not know who I wounded and who I did not; what more shall I say? I have nothing more to say.’

The prisoner being asked says, ‘I have no evidence.’

Question	Have you anything to disclose or do you wish to say anything?
Answer	No.
Question	Did you act on Sunday last of your own free will or were you instructed by others?
Answer	Of my own will. I expected to die.
Question	Did you load your own musket to save your life?
Answer	No. I intended to take it.
Question	Did you intend to take the adjutant’s life or would you have shot anyone else?
Answer	I would have shot anyone who came.
Question	Were you under the influence of any drugs?
Answer	Yes, I have been taking bhang and opium of late, but formerly never touched any drugs. I was not aware at the time of what I was doing.

The prisoner was asked frequently if he would give up the names of any connected with the occurrence, and was given to understand that he had nothing to fear from his own regiment by disclosing anything, but he refused to state more than the above.

Figure 4: What Mangal Pandey is reported to have said on the parade ground on the 29 March in the testimony of witnesses at his trial<sup>18</sup>

<b>Sergeant Major J.T.Hewson</b>	‘Come out men; come out and join me. You sent me out here, why don’t you follow me?’
<b>Drummer John Lewis</b>	[T]he prisoner came towards the quarter guard crying out, where is the bugler... he told me to sound the assembly. I did not obey through fear.... on seeing a sepoy (private) near, he said to him, lowering his musket towards him. ‘Why are you not getting ready? It is for our religion.’ He remained there for sometime repeating the words ‘sound the assembly.’
<b>Havildar (Sergeant) Shaik Pultoo</b>	He was shouting out, ‘Come out you bhainchutes (term of abuse), the Europeans are here. From biting these cartridges we shall become infidels. Get ready, turn out all of you.’

What Pandey believed and what Pandey aimed to do are much more interesting questions and answering them requires inferential readings of the source materials, assumptions about contextualisation and so on. It is here – on the question of the *meaning* of his actions – that the substantial disagreements arise.

The documents reveal a great deal about the wider context in which Pandey acted, through the information that can be extracted from the testimonies and also, and more importantly, through the anxieties that the prosecution's questions reveal. As well as asking about the actions of Pandey, the prosecution also ask about general unrest among the 34<sup>th</sup> Native Infantry, about the immanent arrival of another Indian regiment travelling down to Barrackpore to be disbanded for mutinous behaviour in February, and – here the details are particularly revealing – about the actions of the other members of the 34<sup>th</sup> who were present, on or near the parade ground, on the afternoon of the 29<sup>th</sup>. With the exception of Havildar (Sergeant) Shaik Pultoo, none of the Indian members of the regiment volunteered to intervene in support of their British officers, many obeyed orders reluctantly and made excuses, some disobeyed orders, and some appear to have half-heartedly joined in the assault on the British officers. The overall context appears to have been one where, due to rumours about British intentions to attack Indian religions (including a rumour that a newly introduced rifle cartridge was religiously impure), a climate of unrest was spreading among the Army of Bengal. The testimony of Wheler, the commanding officer of the 34<sup>th</sup>, shows that this climate had affected Pandey's regiment, whom Wheler had twice addressed, in January and again in February, in an attempt to dispel the rumour 'that we were going to make them Christians by force'. In this context the arrival of 'a few' European troops at Barrackpore on 29 March could acquire special significance.<sup>19</sup>

Pandey's actions form a statement – whatever else he was doing, he was, at the very least, publicly challenging authority. Hypotheses about Pandey's beliefs and intentions can be constructed on the basis of these actions, on the basis of what Pandey is reported to have said on the parade ground (see Figure 4), and on the basis of other aspects of Pandey's behaviour on the 29<sup>th</sup> (at least two of the witnesses, and Pandey himself, refer to his consumption of bhang – cannabis – and Pandey mentions opium also).<sup>20</sup>

A number of claims could be made and sustained on the basis of these materials: here, for example, in the sense that Saul David makes of them:

*Mangal Pandey's intention had been to incite the whole regiment to mutiny. 'Come out you bhainchutes (a term of abuse), the Europeans are here,' he is said to have shouted on emerging from his hut. 'From biting these cartridges we shall become infidels. Get ready, turn out all of you.' A separate statement by the same witness has Mangal warning the men that the 'guns of the Europeans had arrived for the purpose of slaughtering them'. He was presumably referring to the arrival that day of fifty men of the 53<sup>rd</sup> Foot from Calcutta. Hewson recalled him saying... 'Come out, men: come out and join me – You sent me out here, why don't you follow me?' Mangal*

*himself admitted that he had recently been taking bhang and opium, and was not aware of what he was doing at the time of the attack.*

*It seems likely, therefore, that an intoxicated Mangal acted before his co-conspirators were ready. Certainly his... false references to the... intentions of Europeans... were repeated in many other mutinies, and they had clearly been decided upon as the best way to win over waverers.<sup>21</sup>*

Figure 5 uses the dartboard to analyse what David is claiming in the passage above. As the positioning of the claims on the board suggests, some of David's claims are very 'weighty' indeed. They will be assessed below.

## Analysing and evaluating explanations of past actions

The dartboard might also be used to analyse interpretations of past action: to help students identify exactly what accounts claim and also, perhaps, to encourage students to test and to evaluate the differing claims that interpretations advance. Rather than start with the sources, one could start with historians and ask students to analyse and compare accounts using the dartboard. Consider, for example, the different approaches to Pandey taken by Rudrangshu Mukherjee and Saul David.

Having spent time carefully constructing a context for Pandey's actions in which Northern India is described as rife with rumours and prophecies and 'agog with accounts of British designs to despoil the caste and religion of the Indians' that resulted in a climate of 'collective anger and a collective sense of desperation and helplessness', Mukherjee goes on to use this context to characterise Pandey's state of mind:<sup>22</sup>

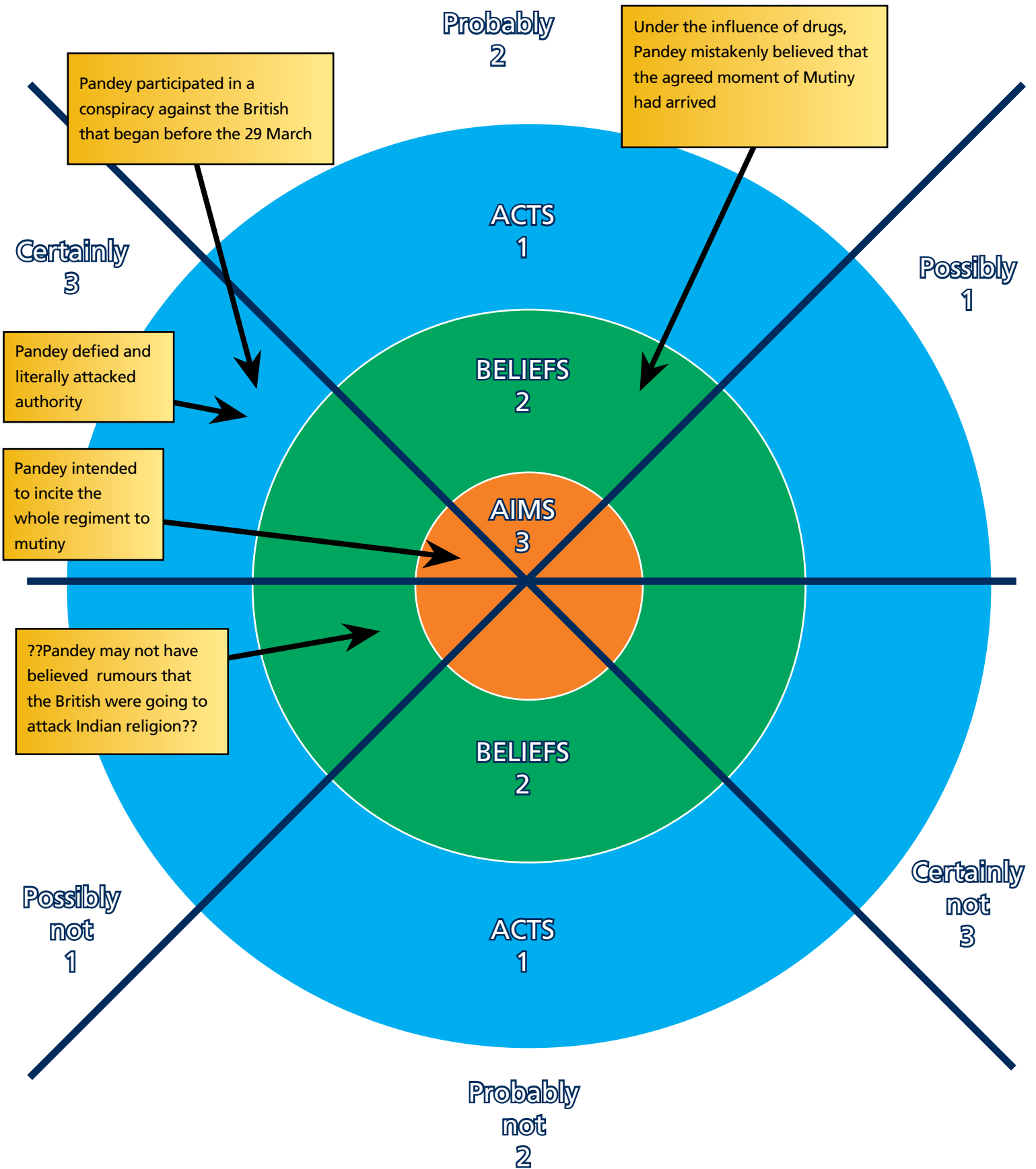
*It is reasonable to assume that Mangal Pandey had... encountered the rumours... that he shared the fear and terror that the rumours spread... like his comrades he too feared the loss of his caste and religion, he too must have discussed the rumours.<sup>23</sup>*

However, Mukherjee also insists that:

*...a context is not an explanation. We still do not know what made Mangal Pandey act the way he did. This context was operative for all sepoys in Barrackpore but only one individual acted; the others merely watched, though some may have tacitly encouraged him. But it was that individual act that entered history, and it is this act that cries out for an explanation. It is here that the historian hits a wall. There is nothing in the historical record that helps to understand Mangal Pandey's actions unless one accepts that he broke rank and discipline under the influence of bhang. The records of the court martial... are the obvious place to look for clues to an explanation. But the records yield nothing as the principal actor refused to speak.<sup>24</sup>*

Mukherjee contends, then, that although we can know what Pandey did (action) and although we can reasonably assume a number of propositions about what Pandey was thinking

Figure 5: The dartboard and an analysis of Saul David's answer to the question 'What did Mangal Pandey do on the afternoon of 29 March 1857?'<sup>25</sup>



in March 1857 (belief) based on what is known about the context and on what Pandey is reported to have said, we cannot claim to understand what Pandey was up to (aims) because Pandey did not tell us.

How might we approach the task of helping students evaluate competing claims like these? Evaluating claims must, of course, involve looking at their logic and asking what is it reasonable to infer and conclude on the basis of the available source material and students are likely to be able to make progress with this approach, with appropriate teacher support. David is clearly persuaded that we can make very weighty claims about Pandey's intentions on the basis of what Pandey is reported to have said on the parade ground (Figure 4) – to conclude from 'come out all of you' that Pandey was inciting the whole regiment, and so on. Mukherjee, on the other hand, places a great deal of weight on what Pandey did and did *not* say in court (Figure 3) and thus, tacitly at least, privileges that evidence over the evidence of intention expressed before Pandey's arrest. Students should have plenty of experience to draw upon when debating issues like these – what has more probative force, what is said when a transgression is in process or when it is enquired into afterwards in a punitive context?

There are other criteria to consider of course: should an account that is more 'cautious' (in sticking closely to the record) be preferred to an account that is more 'comprehensive' (in the sense of linking together more of what is known to have happened into a coherent set of claims)? David's claims about the existence of a conspiracy are plausible – there is plenty of circumstantial evidence relating to gatherings of sepoys during the night, for example – but, it seems to me at any rate, that the claim that Pandey was part of a conspiracy is hard to sustain as anything more than a plausible claim and that David is perhaps too confident in his certainty that Pandey had 'co-conspirators'. Mukherjee is certainly more cautious and he does not aim, as David does, to infer the existence of an hidden agency (a conspiracy) from patterns in the rumours that recur again and again in 1857: for Mukherjee, rumours are simply rumours that can sufficiently be explained by a climate of distrust linked to sustained insensitivity on the part of the British in the preceding years.

## Conclusion: building a scaffold?

The dartboard is a scaffold and a largely untested one. 'Scaffold' is, of course, an ambiguous term: you can build buildings and, metaphorically speaking, 'build learning' with scaffolds but the term also denotes a place of execution. I hope that the dartboard can 'scaffold' learning in the first sense rather than the second.

The board is only one tool – and you need plenty of tools if you want to build durable or impressive structures. There are, thankfully, plenty of other tools already to hand – such as the approaches developed by Cooper and, subsequently, by Wiltshire and Riley discussed above and many others.<sup>26</sup> You cannot construct an explanation with a dartboard alone, however: explanations need writing (or filming, and so

on) and these and other processes need scaffolding also.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps, however, the rings of the board can help pupils think analytically about action and, thus, take historical actors and competing explanations of past action seriously. What the darts approach tries to do is argue that we need task-specific scaffolds to help students think historically and the board is an attempt to explore what such a scaffold might look like for the task of explaining action in the past. To return to where I started: it is offered in the hope that it may prove useful or, at least, interesting, and in the hope that it will be criticised, developed and improved.

### REFERENCES

- 1 I am grateful to Rick Rogers and colleagues and pupils at Benton Park School Leeds and to Michael Fordham and pupils at Cottenham Village College for exploratory work with the 'darts' approach and also to colleagues who commented on 'darts' at the Schools History Project conference in July 2010.
- 2 This section of this article draws heavily on Chapman, A. (2008) 'Cause and Consequence' published as part of The Historical Association's *A Guide to the New Key Stage 3 Programme* available at [http://www.history.org.uk/secondary\\_guide\\_1215\\_54.html](http://www.history.org.uk/secondary_guide_1215_54.html).
- 3 Marx, K. (1852) 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte' in Fernbach, D. (ed.) (1973) *Karl Marx Surveys from Exile: Political Writings volume 2*, Harmondsworth: Penguin, p. 147.
- 4 Callinicos, A. (1988) *Making history*, Cambridge: Polity.
- 5 There is more to be said here: actions are also shaped by pre-understandings, embedded in practice, and by unconscious motivations. See Giddens (1984) *The Constitution of Society*, Cambridge: Polity.
- 6 Lee, P., Dickinson, A. and Ashby, R. (2001) 'Children's ideas about historical explanation' in Dickinson, A., Gordon, P. and Lee, P. (eds), *Raising Standards in History Education: International Review of History Education, Vol. 3*, London: Woburn, p. 113.
- 7 Work on causal explanation is reviewed and developed in Woodcock, J. (2010) 'Causal explanation' in I. Davies (ed.) *Debates in history teaching*, London and New York: Routledge. See also Chapman, A. (2008) *op cit.*, note 2.
- 8 Beckett, S. (1955) *Molloy*, New York: Grove, p. 11.
- 9 Gardner, P. (2010) *Hermeneutics, History and Memory*, London and New York: Routledge.
- 10 Morris, I. (2010) *Why The West Rules – For Now*, London: Profile, p. 96.
- 11 The concentric ring design was inspired by the discussion of Christopher Hawkes' 'onion' and his 'ladder of inference' in Gamble, C. (2004) *Archaeology: The Basics*, London and New York: Routledge, pp. 88-90 and also by Hawkes, C. (1954) 'Archaeological theory and method: some suggestions from the old world' in *American Anthropologist*, 56 (2) 1, pp. 155-168.
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- 13 Ashby, R. (2010) 'Understanding historical evidence: teaching and learning challenges' in I. Davies (ed.) *Debates in history teaching*. London and New York: Routledge.
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- 16 See Chapman, A. (2008) 'Dental, transcendental, regimental: making Mangal Pandey' in *Teaching History*, 130, *Picturing History Edition*, pp.50-51.
- 17 Mukherjee, R. (2005) *Mangal Pandey: Brave Martyr or Accidental Hero?* New Delhi: Penguin India, pp. 90-91.
- 18 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, note 17, pp. 80, 85 and 88.
- 19 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, p. 76.
- 20 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, pp. 77, 89 and 91.
- 21 David, S. (2002) *The Indian Mutiny 1857*, London: Viking, p.72. David refers to 'Mungal Pandey' here – I have substituted 'Mangal' for the sake of consistency.
- 22 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, note 17, p. 42.
- 23 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, note 17, pp. 44-5.
- 24 Mukherjee, *op. cit.*, note 17, pp. 46 and 48-9.
- 25 David does not literally set out to answer our question, of course, and the diagram simply analyses what is said in the passage from David's book cited in this article. The claim bracketed by question marks is rather tendentious: David describes these rumours as false and suggests that they were used manipulatively by his 'conspirators' and I conclude, here, that this indicates that David is arguing that the conspirators may not have believed the rumours they circulated; it is possible, of course, that they believed these rumours and that they used them manipulatively.
- 26 See, for example, Vansledright, S. (2011) *The Challenge of Rethinking Historical Education: On Practices, Theories, and Policy*, New York and London: Routledge, p.75.
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