Educational Policy and Educational Content:

The Teaching of European History in Secondary Schools in England and Wales,
1945-1975

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the way educational mechanisms and policies in British society influenced what was actually taught in schools, during the thirty years after the Second World War. It centres upon the case of the teaching of European history in secondary schools in England and Wales and how this was intended to influence the ideological formation of future generations.

This research begins with a philosophical analysis of the role of education in reproducing both social mechanisms and cultural impetus in societies and more specifically in British society. It investigates the relationship between the intention of the state to intervene in the formation of the curriculum and the limitations on the teachers' liberty to determine content in the classroom. It pays particular attention to the educational trends in history teaching and the role of the subject of history in the classroom.

The greater part of this work is devoted to an examination of the content of history syllabuses and history examination questions, as well as to a sample of history textbooks used in secondary schools during the period 1945-1975. It shows that the dominant image encountered in this educational material was that of liberal England contrasted with absolutist and rebellious Europe. North-western Protestant principles, the benefits of colonialism and the moral superiority of great powers over weaker ones, were assessed favourably in these textbooks, giving a version of European history which made Britain stand out as a generator of liberty and progress. These concepts were fostered in a educational system which was tolerant enough to sustain views which were antagonistic to it without being threatened by them.

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Abbreviations

AEB	Associated Examining Board
AEC	Assessment for Examinations and Curriculum
CSE	Certificate of Secondary Education
CSG	Curriculum Study Group
DES	Department of Education and Science
GCE	General Certificate of Education
HMIs	Her Majesty's Inspectors
JMB	Joint Matriculation Board
LEAs	Local Education Authorities
NUT	National Union of Teachers
O and A-level	Ordinary and Advanced Level
ODLE	Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations
OLEB	Oxford Local Examination Board
PRO	Public Record Office
SCCE	Schools Council for Curriculum and Examinations
SSEC	Secondary School Examination Council
UCLES	University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate
UESEC	University Entrance and School Examination Board
WJEB	Welsh Joint Examination Board

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

Formulating the Question

One of the major domestic topics of political controversy in Britain in the last few decades has been education; one of the major foreign policy topics has been Britain's relationship with Europe. Although education, and especially secondary education, was still a minor political subject up to the beginning of the century, it then grew in importance to become in the late twentieth century a voting issue of the first order. Britain's relationship with Europe, on the other hand, has split public opinion and political parties, ever since the end of the Second World War. The two issues are not obviously connected unless the influence of education in forming public opinion on the identity of Europe is examined.

Public opinion on various policies concerning Britain's attachment to Europe which has been developing a united political front was to be influenced not only by the arguments on specific issues, but also by the traditional perceptions of Britain's differences from Europe - differences which some considered generic. Although it is obvious that not all elite groups agree on what should be the role of Europe in the present, most of them agree on what Europe's role has been in the past. In Britain, it was widely believed that Europe's history was one of tyranny and revolution, constantly in contradiction with democratic England. Linda Colley has argued that during the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century the whole edifice of British national identity was built on concepts of the negation of Europe - which at that time was represented by militant Catholicism or rival imperial powers. However, during the late twentieth century - with the empire long lost and Protestantism but a residual part of British culture - British politicians and voters of all persuasions are deeply suspicious of Continental views which shows how deeply rooted the perception of Europe as the Other really is.[1] How these ideas were communicated to pupils in schools from 1945 to 1975, is the main subject of this thesis.

In investigating cultural influence through education, it is imperative to look closely at the mechanisms of the educational system in which British culture was nurtured. In order

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[1] L. Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation 1707-1837*, (London, 1994), pp.6-7.

to locate the 'producers' and 'consumers', as well as their relationship with the British state, it is important to analyse not only the nature of the cultural product which was offered in schools but also the function of the different schools in British society. Whether these opinion makers represented either the official state or the civil society, in a centralised or decentralised manner, was one issue to be investigated. Another question is to what extent target audience, that is the pupils, represented different social strata in the different types of schools.

The initial question posed in this thesis was: What were adolescents in England and Wales taught about the history and the identity of Europe, for a substantial period of the twentieth century? What was taught was closely linked with who was responsible for the production and the content of the curriculum. To the allegedly simple question of who were the producers of the curriculum and therefore those who formed pupils' ideas about Europe, there was a deceptively simple answer, that is, the last person before the final consumer: the teacher in the classroom. This answer, however, only raised another set of questions instead of answering the initial one. If the teacher in the classroom was the only person in control of the curriculum, this implied an infinitely diverse curriculum, but how could this survive established bureaucracies such as national examinations or university matriculations? It was therefore imperative to find out the factors which influenced the decisions of the teacher in forming the curriculum. Or, re-phrased, to find the presence of the official state or any other influential group which played a vital role in determining the teacher's decision. In what way did these factors act to produce consensus and uniformity when it came down to curricular choices? This enquiry could start from the centre, by looking carefully at the agents attached to, detached or most usually semi-detached from the Ministry, later the Department, of Education. It could in particular examine ministerial decrees on the curriculum, the role of Local Education Authorities, the role of Her Majesty's Inspectors, and the role of the Schools Council for the Curriculum and Examinations and other institutions which came to participate in forming the curriculum.

This subject could also be investigated in reverse, that is, by looking at what was expected nationally from the pupils in the examinations for the General Certificate of Education, at Ordinary and Advanced level as they came to be known after 1951. Examinations, even though various and diverse, were the clearest manifestation of the British state's expectations in curriculum terms.[2] Yet even then this was not done overtly, but in the name of eight independent Examining Boards. The Ministry of Education and later the Department of Education and Science never took the role of organising

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[2] The variety of examinations and their role will be discussed in chapter V.

educational content for any of the Examination Boards let alone dictating it to them. Its role as an agent of the official state was more to ensure that some sort of education was provided for the majority of its young citizens until the statutory leaving age.

If this was the way in which the presence of the British state, or the political society, in such matters could be detected, the role of civil society was equally crucial. The influence of academics was not restricted to examinations but entered into opinion forming. The demands of intellectuals - academics, teachers, inspectors, and those who studied education - were made public in educational publications or the daily press. Subjects such as the right kind of history teaching, for example, did stir public opinion, the official educational decisions and ultimately the decision of the man or woman in the classroom. Which of all of the above factors was more influential in this final decision?

However, this discussion has already departed from the initial question and it poses a dilemma. The enquiry could set aside the complicated mechanisms of English secondary education, and proceed with the examination of one of its products, the teaching and examining of European history in whatever environment this could be located - textbooks, teachers' notes, examination syllabuses, radio and television programmes. Alternatively, it could study this but at the same time follow the corridors of the educational administration, listening to the debates of the educationalists, and thinking creatively on all these levels about the initial subject.

This research takes the latter route. The question now to answer becomes far more complicated. It could be re-phrased as follows: What was the origin and intention of the teaching of European History in Britain during the thirty years after the Second World War, and which cultural ideals were put forward to shape a national consciousness and an awareness of the Other? The question now aims to examine the role of the state in influencing the curriculum. It seeks to do the same for those groups which could be defined as civil society. Furthermore, in so doing it tries to identify to which pupils different curricula were addressed, in the variety of British secondary schools and whether they aspired to join the professional elite of British society. Finally, it aims to examine specifically the nature of the ideals which were passed on to these pupils as they learned about European history. Over a period of thirty years, these issues were not static, but constantly changing. This was true for administrative decisions about education, as much as it was true for convictions about the significance of established historical views. During this period there were radical changes both in areas of educational policies and in educational content, and even when the changes were not fully realised, the intention to change was fully manifested.

Relevant Literature and Debates

The subject as constructed above has many aspects and dimensions, and is affected by many arguments and debates. To start with, it involves evaluating the English and Welsh educational system and its function in British society. Although mass education has become a topical subject for political debate in the late twentieth century, it has not been on the agenda in the way it had been in other European countries since the nineteenth century. Education in England was considered a private issue where the state should not interfere. In France education for the masses had been a demand of the Revolution and it was as early as 1806-1808 that the first attempts towards a national system was established with Napoleon's Universitè. Elementary and secondary education was further systematised and spread to more pupils during the course of the Second Empire as well as the Third Republic.[3] In Prussia it was during the mid-eighteenth century that attempts to centralise education were first made.[4] These initiatives in the Continental countries were not only due to their particular social demands but also to their need to compete with industrialised Britain, which was setting the pace of civilisation at the time. Yet in England education was not seen as a way of supporting its industrial pre-eminence, because industrial affluence was believed to be eternal and self-perpetuating. In that sense it was not by education in schools but through training in the professions that England was supplied with technicians, engineers and entrepreneurs to feed its industrial performance.[5] Because national and economic development had taken place without the assistance of an educated population England did not see in education a vehicle for development.[6] Therefore when finally by the end of the 1870s[7] a national educational system was set up, this was not to function as the accelerator of economic development but to 'tame the savages' with some dose of humanist education, similar in content with

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[3] J. Moody, *French Education since Napoleon,* (New York, 1978), also see W.R. Fraser, *Reforms and Restraints in Modern French Education,* (London, 1971), also see R. Gildea, *Education in Provincial France,* (Oxford, 1983), pp.209-254. See also appendix A interview with J. Lewin.

[4] R. Samuel, R. Thomas, *Education and Society in Modern Germany,* (London, 1949).

[5] E. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire,* (London, 1969), p.62.

[6] C. Chitty, 'The Changing Role of the State in Education Provision', *History of Education,* vol.21, No.1, 1992, p.6.

[7] The Elementary Education Act was introduced in 1870.

that prescribed for the aristocrats.[8] Furthermore this system was never intended to play the role of unifying the nation.[9] Academic education was not realised 'for the masses' but for the selected few for the greatest part of the twentieth century. These selected few came in the greatest proportions from the middle classes and to a smaller extent from the working classes.[10] Yet even education in schools with lower standards was modelled on the academic one which occasionally inspired pupils of these schools too towards greater achievements than the ones initially prescribed for them. The way education was becoming central to political debates mainly reflected the way larger parts of the population were struggling for recognition in the professional spheres of British society. Therefore education was highly political even if this was not always obvious in the political jargon of the twentieth century.

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[8] R. Skidelsky, interview with Melanie Phillips, in 'John Bull's Schooldays', BBC Radio Four on 12 March 1995. Skidelsky claimed that education was historically designed for humanising the 'inner person', that is of the aristocrats. Three elements were basic for such a target, namely aristocratic rule and the ideal of the gentleman, the emphasis on character building for governors who required fortitude and courage to rule lesser breeds, and finally evangelical Christianity. When in the 1870s education was generalised the purpose was now to humanise the newly enfranchised masses, 'tame the savages', by offering them humane education with a lot of character building and strong Evangelical Christian faith, while there was an inadequate training in practical subjects. See also G. McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings*, (London, 1991), p.2. A. Kazamias also argued that the cult of the generalist and the rejection of the professional was a characteristic of British education of the early nineteenth century which although later challenged was never really abandoned. A. Kazamias, *Gentlemanly Culture in a Welfare State: Educational Innovations in Post-War Britain*, unpublished oversize manuscript in Institute of Education, (London, 1969) chapter III, pp.2-14.

[9] The issue of creating a national consciousness through education will be discussed in chapter II, pp.37-38.

[10] E. Hobsbawm, in *Industry and Empire*, p.287, reports that as late as 1956, 134,000 children who sat for the General Certificate of Education (the gateway to further schooling) came from grammar schools, which educated 27.5% of the pupil population, 52,000 came from public schools catering for at the most 7.5% of the pupil population, and only 8,571 from secondary modern schools, which included 65% of the pupil population. In 1968, 127,321 of pupils who followed a GCE A-level course came from grammar schools were and 32,559 came from comprehensives. C. Benn, B. Simon, *Half Way There*, (London, 1970), p.202.

The literature on English and Welsh education is immense. However, works which deal with the appreciation of the function of education in creating a political, social and ideological order in England in a holistic manner have been fewer. Among those who made an important contribution to the study of practically all aspects of British education was Brian Simon. Two of his books, *The Politics of Educational Reform, 1920-1949* and *Education and Social Order, 1940-1990*, demonstrated not only the function of British education in creating modern British society, but also how the mechanisms of social stratification managed to survive despite the changes initiated by the state which were apparently aimed at greater social equality.[11] Simon claims that this was done through intelligence testing and constant differentiation which in the end made impossible the interwar cry for 'secondary education for all' even at a time when the availability of secondary education was wide. Two other books took this argument further. Gary McCulloch in *Philosophers and Kings* claimed that this was not done only with streaming and classification:

> There was a further factor involved in patterns of educational inequality, another type of inequality, that has tended to be neglected: the survival extension and adaptation of an ideology that had hitherto been centred on the public schools. That is to say, inequalities were structured and reinforced not only through the imperatives of the academic curriculum....but also through the moral curriculum of English secondary education.[12]

What Maculloch was trying to explain was the retention of established educational hierarchies in Britain despite the radical and socialist initiatives taken after 1945. He claimed that 'competitive individualism' had largely replaced explicitly hierarchical notions of social relationships in twentieth century education, leaving established inequalities relatively unscathed, so that the aspirations of egalitarian reformers were effectively frustrated.[13] One of the forces contributing to this was what McCulloch called the 'moral curriculum'. The moral curriculum was defined as the preparation of pupils for the society to which they belonged, which has reflected strong and enduring influences in English secondary education. This was distinct from the purely academic curriculum of examination-centred school subjects.[14] Thus both the academic and moral curricula were those prescribed for public and grammar schools, aiming at an education for leadership, in

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[11] B. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1990*, (London, 1974) and B. Simon, *Education and Social Order 1940-1990*, (London, 1990).

[12] G. McCulloch, *Philosophers and Kings,* (London, 1991), pp.2-3.

[13] Ibid, p.2.

[14] Ibid, p.3.

the Platonic sense, where a selected elite was to be trained to lead in an aristocratic society. But in comprehensives there was only a partial interpretation of education for leadership and the moral responsibility of the leader, while they were also targeting more individualistic aims, such as securing a position in a competitive society.[15] So although the academic curriculum was adopted in some streams of the comprehensives, the moral one was not. The role of public schools had been constantly redefined on the basis of the transformations of the ideal of the leader, in the course of the twentieth century. Yet some of its assertive characteristics did survive two world wars, the loss of the Empire and the building of the welfare state. As McCulloch puts it:

> Plato has been more influential than Marx in English secondary education. Attempts to revise that which was still often described as the 'English tradition' had an important bearing on the character and direction of educational change. Assertions of the values of community, character, morality and citizenship with which they were associated, represented significant responses to contemporary problems. There is no doubt, though, that the efforts of the revisionists met most commonly with failure and disappointment.[16]

Clearly McCulloch argues that the ideals of public school education for leadership struggled to acquire a new meaning during this century, and in some environments they finally managed to survive. This thesis examines in detail history as a subject which was, *par excellence,* expected to transmit national convictions and ideals. It argues that for the greatest part of the twentieth century, as academic secondary schools were taught history by teachers trained in the traditional ideals with textbooks written at the beginning of the century, education for leadership was on the agenda. However, after the mid-sixties when the ideals of post-war educationalists who, aware of the international nature of modern life aspired to education for citizenship of the many (and not education of the noble few) could finally be realized, there was a change of scenery. Some of the qualities required of the leader also changed, once Britain was no longer dominant. Yet with the eventual cultural domination of the United States, the Anglo-Saxon values not only remained prominent but also acquired a world-wide influence. These values of the Protestant Anglo-Saxon universe were central to British teachers, who would envisage their pupils as first among equals within the future world. In that way both the moral and the academic curriculum survived at every level of English and Welsh secondary education where selection of the most able was a prerequisite, so that academic and occasionally moral order was retained.

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[15] Ibid, pp.4-5.

[16] Ibid, p.119.

The argument of inequality was taken further by a book by political scientists, Salter and Tapper, who tried to examine the relationship between the state and continuous educational change, especially predominant after the Second World War, which nevertheless was not dramatically changing the social or ideological order in Britain. In so doing they were dealing with the same question as McCulloch. They argued that as bureaucratic institutions became more and more important in Britain during the twentieth century, social and economic pressures for change, in this case educational change, had to be politically negotiated in the context of state institutions.[17] They considered the battle over the curricula a conflict between different conceptions of social order and thus defined it as fundamentally moral.[18] They adopted the view of Raymond Williams of the curriculum as a process of organisation of knowledge, involving three different interests in the British educational system: the industrialist trainers, the old humanists, and the public educators. To that Salter and Tapper added the educational bureaucrats, who after the mid-sixties in particular played a determining role in educational change.[19] They also detected a struggle in the bureaucratic sector among professionals of the Department of Education (DES), the local state with Local Education Authorities and the National Union of Teachers and stressed the fact that the DES was not interested in educational change but in the control of it, aiming at specific economic goals. Yet even when the Department of Education as a centralised state agent could control the curriculum in England through policies, it preferred to insist on maintaining the emphasis on discipline as opposed to skills, therefore on maintaining authority relations. So general knowledge was still more important, as was the differentiation of abilities and social order. A common thread in the above works is that they take public school curricula as their starting point, in the belief that this was transferred to mass education, forming a national ethos.[20]

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[17] B. Salter & T. Tapper, *Education Politics and the State*, (London, 1981), p.2.

[18] B. Bernstein, *Class, Codes and Control,* vol.3 (London, 1975), p.81 cited in B. Salter & T. Tapper op. cit., p.81.

[19] B. Salter & T. Tapper, op. cit., p.83.

[20] G. McCulloch, op.cit., and B. Salter & T. Tapper, op. cit., pp.157-188. see also A. Kazamias, op. cit., p.13. The cult of generalism - forming a gentleman with a vocation to rule and administer and perform functions of the state - was a socio-economic concept strongly associated with gentlemanly culture. This concept influenced post-war education which was founded on the legislation of Cyril Norwood, himself a headmaster of Harrow, who equated the ideals of gentlemanly education with those of the English educational tradition. Thus, grammar schools were modelled after public schools who were shaped by this concept and in turn modern schools were shaped after grammar schools as much as

This thesis aims to examine Salter and Tapper's theory by looking at the specifics of the relationship of the intervening state and the curriculum, during the thirty years after the Second World War in England and Wales. Although there had never been a major intervention on the part of the British state in the curriculum until the late 1980s, small changes in part of the educational bureaucracies as well as in institutions dependent on or independent of the official central state did indicate the necessity of such intervention. This thesis will try to explain how the conflicting bureaucracies were influencing both educational structure and curriculum quality, in order to maintain or alter social order. It will do this by examining the wide literature of educationalists on the curriculum, as well as by examining the decisions of the DES and other relevant institutions.

Some of the other aspects examined by this thesis concerning the role of history teaching in creating ideas, have been discussed in several works. During the early eighties academics begun to take an interest in the study of history teaching as a way of moulding a perception of national identity. An influential book was J.W. Burrow's study *A Liberal Descent*, about the Victorian historians and the diversity and similarities of their conception of the national past. Burrow analysed the historical works written between 1848 and 1878, by the historians who laid the foundations of history writing in England: Macaulay, Freeman, Stubbs, and Green. He argued that these liberal mid-Victorian historians, although remote and addressed to 'the happy few', dealing with 'the triumphal arches of the past empire', and aiming to prove that England's past is 'the possession of the liberal' still offered a refracted view of British history able to give both information and pleasure.[21] Interest in history writing and later history teaching in Britain was triggered in particular by David Cannadine in his article entitled 'British History: Past, Present - and Future?'[22] Cannadine inaugurated a debate on the state of post-war British history, arguing that history had been written in an over-specialised and over-professionalized manner in the last decades.[23] Others contested this view. P.R. Coss, W. Lamont and N. Evans portrayed the past and future of British history more optimistically positively evaluating the variety of existing historical works and urging at the same time a

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they could afford to be.

[21] E.A. Freeman, *The Growth of the English Constitution from the Earliest Times,* (1st edn. 1870), p.x, quoted in J.M. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, (Cambridge, 1981), p.3 and pp.300-301.

[22] D. Cannadine, 'British History: Past, Present - and Future?', *Past and Present*, no.116 Aug. 1987, pp.169-91.

[23] Ibid, pp.177-178.

greater awareness of 'the pattern of regional variation within Britain and its relationship between the core areas of the British state and its periphery'.[24] The debate on the state of British history continued focusing on two fundamental inter-related questions. Firstly was the question of what British history revealed about itself and secondly what British history revealed about the nation's perception of its own identity.[25]

However, parallel to that debate another one sprang up, not on what British history has been, but on what British history ought to be about. This debate emerged as a result of the 1988 Education Act, which was to make explicit what had been stubbornly implicit for at least a century, that is the curriculum. In the prospect of illuminating what had been obscure for such a long time, historians, academics and other educationalists were called on to create a multifaceted representative sample of historical subjects to be studied in schools, covering not only national but also world history. After the national curriculum was published, reflection not only on the specific choices it embraced but also on the new role of history in schools was inaugurated in a conference in Oxford organised by Raphael Samuel.[26] At the opening of the conference, the restoration of history as a main subject in schools was saluted and welcomed, as heralding a new era in history teaching in schools, given its difficulties in retaining its position, over the last twenty-five years.[27] The conference tackled other issues, such as, the realisation of the history curriculum as part of the newly published national curriculum, the role of history in schools in moulding an idea of what history is about as well as ideas on shaping national identity.[28] At the same

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[24] P.R. Coss, W. Lamont, N. Evans, 'British History: Past Present - and Future?' *Past and Present* no.119, May 1988, p.202.

[25] Some examples: K. Robbins, 'National Identity and History: Past, Present and Future' *History* vol.75, pp.369-387, 1990, A. Wilson and T.G. Ashplant 'Whig History and Present-Centred History', *Historical Journal* vol.30, 1, 1988 pp.1-16 and by the same authors 'Present-Centred History and the Problem of Historical Knowledge', *Historical Journal* vol.31, 2, 1988, pp.253-274, M. Taylor, 'Patriotism, History and the Left in the Twentieth Century Britain', *Historical Journal,* vol.33, 4, 1990, pp.971-987, N. Stone, 'At the Crossroads of History', *The Sunday Times,* 8 April 1990, C. Russell, 'John Bull's other nations', *Times Literary Supplement,* March 12, 1993 and D. Cannadine, 'Planning the new 'Penguin History of Britain', *Times Literary Supplement,* March 12, 1993.

[26] 'History, the Nation and the Schools', *History Workshop,* vols.29-30, Spring and Autumn 1990.

[27] R. Samuel, Introduction, *History Workshop,* vol.29, p.76.

[28] P. Goalen, 'Only Connect', *History Workshop* vol.30, pp.109-114, P. Gilroy 'Nationalism, History and Ethnic Absolutism', *History Workshop,* vol.30 pp.114-120, S.

time, in the Institute of Education work on history teaching in secondary schools was being done from a pedagogical angle.[29]

These debates had in common their concern with history in universities or in schools. But they also expressed a more fundamental need, indeed the agony over British national identity. As Raphael Samuel noted, what made history into a front-line subject and propelled it into the arena of public debate was the question of what it means in the present day to be British.[30] This study will examine the role of history teaching in formulating ideas about the past, both the national and foreign past. Although many of the conference papers expressed opinions on how history was functioning and also expressed opinions on how it should be operating, they did not examine systematically the teaching of a particular subject over a specific historical period, they did not investigate how a historical subject, actually operated. This study is original in going into the details of a specialised subject, examining not only the sociopolitical but also the educational framework in which it operated. Although its central target was not the examination of the role of history teaching in schools during the thirty years after the Second World War in Britain, inevitably it has to place its central questions in the context of history teaching in schools. It examines thus the ways in which the development of history teaching during these years influenced thinking about the history and identity of one nation and at the same time the rest of the world.

A great part of this study is devoted to the analysis of the examination history syllabuses and history textbooks used in secondary schools in England and Wales. There are a lot of works examining the educational or social function of examinations in

Yeo, 'The More It Changes The More it Stays the Same', *History Workshop,* vol.30, pp.120-129, J.C.D. Clark, 'National Identity, State Formation and Patriotism: the Role of History in the Public Mind', *History Workshop,* vol.29, pp.95-102, S. Marks, 'History, the Nation and Empire: Sniping from the Periphery', *History Workshop,* vol.29, pp.111-119, R. Samuel, 'Grant Narratives' *History Workshop,* vol.29, pp.120-133.

[29] Some examples, I. Lewis 'Conflicting Values in History Teaching', unpublished M.A. thesis (London, 1990), R.I. Medly, 'The Problem of Objectivity in History Implications in History Teaching', unpublished M.A. thesis (London, 1986), P.A Wilson, 'Assessment and Profiling in the Teaching of History with Special Reference to Age Range 11-16', unpublished M.A. thesis (London, 1987), N.J. Sharp, 'An Investigation of Curriculum Continuity Between Secondary School and Feeder Schools with Particular Reference to History Teaching', unpublished PhD. D., (London, 1990).

[30] R. Samuel, 'Grant Narratives', op. cit., pp.120-133.

general, but there are hardly any works examining the content of history syllabuses of any given period of twentieth century in England.[31] Very few works have dealt with school and specifically history textbooks in Britain. Valerie Chancellor's book, *History for their Masters*, which examines the primary textbooks of late Victorian times, is one.[32] There is also a mention of the role of school textbooks by John Mackenzie in a chapter of his book, *Propaganda and Empire,* where the neglect which textbooks have suffered as a source of historical information is also pointed.[33] Yet textbooks provide valuable information both through the history they narrate and the way they do so. Textbooks were used for a very long period after they were initially written and for different uses in different historical periods. Thus the basic ideas on national beliefs, pervading the books remained the principles that the nation should be devoted to. It is these ideas that this study aims to bring forward as the books narrate the history of Britain, Europe, and the world.

The Structure of this Thesis

Tackling a multifaceted subject led to continual dilemmas about what sources would be most appropriate to answer questions posed by this thesis and of course how manageable these sources were. Ideally this study should examine all instances of European history teaching in the whole spectrum of British education. Such a task would be overwhelming. Instead there were crucial choices about the period of time and the stage of education this enquiry should look at, and also the angle from which it would be pursued.

Secondary education was chosen as the crucial stage of education where character building and a consciousness of collective identity is on the agenda. Schools at this stage of education more than any other institution represent for the adolescent the perceptions of the official state of cultural and national identity. In secondary schools, the pupils in the formative years from 12 to 18, at the latest, face the collective ideas that their society expects them to absorb and appraise. Furthermore, this was the stage of education where history, and more specifically European history, was taught in a sophisticated manner, at least in the academic streams of secondary education. It was therefore very important in forming opinions about the historical and cultural identity of Europe, especially for those

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[31] See chapter V.

[32] V. Chancellor, *History for their Masters,* (Oxford, 1970).

[33] J.M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire,* (Manchester, 1984), pp.174-197.

who would not deal specifically with history in the future.

This thesis investigates the educational aims and bureaucracy of the state and at the same time it examines European history, a cultural product of this society, which echoes both its traditional values and its intention to change. The first part of the thesis is devoted to investigating issues concerning the bureaucracy after placing them in the setting of the thirty years following the Second World War.

The second chapter is to explain why the period between 1945 and 1975 was chosen focusing especially in the relation of Britain and Europe. Because this was the period when Britain was transformed from a society with strong 'Victorian' beliefs and imperial connections to a society devoted to modernity and international alliances, it offers itself for observation as everyday life and ancient institutions redraft social and political relations in the country. It is interesting to see the impact of the major historical events which removed Britain from the imperial and financial pedestal on which she had stood for the previous hundred years and placed her in a less powerful yet favourable position among the strongest nations in the world. Amongst the most important of these events were the loss of the empire and the Suez episode, but one should also note the building of the welfare state, the evolution of the relationship with Europe and the final entrance into the Common Market in 1973. All these events marked this period, where changes in everyday life were paralleled by changes in people's perception of the world they were living in.

The main aim of this chapter is to discuss whether education in England, which did not entail direct state intervention, had the same role as in other societies, where the educational systems were centrally controlled by the state, and thus investigate the educational role of the British state. This is done in order to see whether the allegedly absent state sustained by the 'liberty' of the teachers to form their own curricula, did cancel the school's function of reproducing a relatively stable social and cultural mechanism with the relatively uniform and consensual ideals that many theoreticians and sociologists of education of the twentieth century have claimed for it. The argument was that any interference would obstruct teachers' freedom of choice in deciding what to teach. This liberty of the teacher was considered to weaken the state's intention to determine the educational process and empower different social groups to act for themselves. Thus the British state, by not intervening in such decisions, did not accomplish the social and cultural functions which occur in more centralised educational systems. However, this is an issue which must be examined by taking into consideration which other crucial aspects of education were created by the state and what their influence

was in finally determining the content and the uses of the curriculum so that social order and cultural unity was maintained rather than changed.

Having dealt with the issue of the social and cultural function of education on a theoretical level, it is important to investigate in what specific ways the state was interested in intervening in order to influence the curriculum from 1945 to 1975. In so doing it is necessary to discuss the mechanisms of social and cultural control which operated in British secondary education during that time and also the political dilemmas connected with educational issues. The decisions of the ministers who were faced with the results of the massive educational re-organisation prescribed by the Butler Act, and the problems of school structures and of course curriculum structure that this raised, are among the issues dealt with in chapter III.

The fourth chapter will discuss, in its first part, the expectations of what could be called the 'educational establishment' for history teaching in secondary schools and some of the changes which history teaching in secondary schools went through. The people here called the 'educational establishment' were the intellectuals both in schools and in universities who were forming public opinion in the press, in educational journals and cultural events. The expectations of the educational establishment often entailed general ideals which they thought it appropriate that the nation should be engaged with, and which therefore they thought should be included in the subject of history in secondary schools. The second part of the chapter deals with the changes which actually occurred in history teaching either as a result of ministerial recommendation or as a result of academic trends in history teaching at schools, the work of institutes set up to advance the history curriculum or even recommendations from international institutions.

The fifth chapter analyses the role and content of the examinations organised by the eight Examining Boards between 1945 and 1975 in England and Wales. Examinations in most western countries have a function in selecting the elites. In Britain however, examinations are particularly important as a source of evidence because only there is it possible to pinpoint the official version of the curriculum. Therefore the proportions of historical subjects in the syllabuses as well as the content and the nature of the examination questions are very interesting in revealing the normative dimensions of the curriculum in history and more specifically European history.

Furthermore the thesis analyses a representative sample of textbooks. Textbooks were preferred to other testimonies of teaching such as notes from the teachers or the BBC's general educational programmes. They were relatively more standardised, although there

was an immense variety on the market especially during the seventies. The collection of a sample of 'representative' notes from the teacher would be an impossible task, especially for the first decades of this research. Radio programmes offer a less consistent body of study since only very selective subjects were discussed by eminent historians and philosophers, while everyday schoolwork was not on the agenda. Thus textbooks, although not the unique medium for teaching history, are more representative and accessible for research. The first chapter in this section explains the way a representative sample of textbooks was collected, and the method employed to analyse their meaning.

The dominant concepts which were put forward in the narration of historical events, which construct the general values to which the nation is devoted, are the major subject of the next two chapters. The first of these chapters examines textbooks used in schools between 1945 and 1964, and the second the modern generation of textbooks used between 1964 and 1975. The chapter which follows compiles the dominant concepts coming from the two generations of textbooks. The synthesis attempts to emphasise those elements which remained constant in the consciousness of British educationalists as the quintessential features of British history, in contrast with European ones. It also focuses on what they considered a common heritage with Europe and also other parts of the world. Finally it attempts to identify the spirit that inspired the whole sample of textbooks and which was to be passed on to the pupils of these generations.

The concluding chapter attempts to summarise the role of the educational establishment and its products in forming some ideological structures which were seen as essential for British society using the conclusions from the all previous chapters. Both 'manner', that is the mechanisms of education, as well as 'matter', that is the content of education, contribute to these conclusions.

In studying two diverse features, over a historical period, a bureaucracy and a cultural product, one needs to employ different skills. Theoretical models of education had to be reconciled with the historical reality of twentieth century Britain. At the same time, the manoeuvrings of the official state and the expectations of the civil society must also be explained. Furthermore, the analysis presented in the textbooks needs to be deconstructed to demonstrate the general principles that the educational establishment expected the nation to share. In the effort to answer its initial question, this study embarked upon a voyage which had to stop in many different and diverse ports. What it acquired from each of these stops was a merchandise which could be used to answer more questions than the one initially raised, and which illuminates the relations between the bargaining agents which it examines.

PART I

This part deals with the function of education in Britain during the thirty years after the Second World War. The choice of chronology and the general characteristics of the historical period 1945-1975 is explained focusing especially on the relationship of Britain and Europe. In the same chapter a range of theoretical discussions are also considered and contested in order to produce an interpretation of the function of secondary education in Britain. In another chapter the specific operations of the control of the curriculum so that production and reproduction of some educational order was achieved during this period of time, is investigated and commented. Furthermore the final chapter of this part examines history teaching trends and ideals which the educational establishment was striving to communicate to the pupils.

CHAPTER II: 1945-1975 AND THE EDUCATING FUNCTION OF THE STATE

This chapter provides a justification for the choice of the period between 1945 and 1975 and it also puts into perspective the function of the British state as an educator during those years. It explains, that is, the reasons this period was chosen for examination and it elucidates the way in which the educational bureaucracy in Britain even though indirectly controlled and highly decentralised did influence the formation of culture and ideology of British citizens in the mid-twentieth century. Thus the general historical circumstances of the thirty years following the Second World War, and especially the history of Britain's entanglement with Europe, are related to the specific changes in the role of the state, which was increasingly becoming a determining factor in forming social class and ideology through education.

Section I
The Historical Background

The year of the end of the Second World War 1945, was chosen as the starting point of this study because it heralded a new beginning in the histories of most nations of the world, both those who participated in it and those which did not. Britain found itself in the peculiar situation of being the jewel in the crown of victory of the democratic powers. The symbolic role of Britain in defeating the powers of totalitarianism was to remain powerful for the greatest part of the rest of the twentieth century, creating a special culture of patriotism and national solidarity, which itself became a factor to influence post-war British politics.[1] The thirty years following this memorable victory marked a period of transformation of Britain from a world power with strong class divisions to a strong capitalist country with a sound welfare system, tied institutionally with Western Europe. It is thus necessary to highlight the historical background where this transformation took place before examining the role of the state as an educator in Britain.

Beyond the euphoria of the end of the war, Britain's political situation both in the domestic as well as in world arena was problematic. In the domestic arena post-war British society renegotiated its social and economic structure in a dynamic and critical

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[1] See K. O. Morgan, 'The Second World War & British Culture', in B. Brivati, H. Jones, *From Reconstruction to Integration, Britain and Europe Since 1945*, (Leicester, 1993).

way. The victory of the Labour party in 1945, despite the glory of the world acclaimed hero of the war, Winston Churchill, was said to have surprised foreigners with its 'political amnesia'. Yet it did not surprise the British electorate who could remember only too well the depression years, the unemployment, the General Strike, and the failure of the appeasement policies of the interwar years.[2] The planning of the Welfare State had already started during the war years with the Beveridge Report in 1942, which although expected to be a technical report on social insurance turned out to be a 'new declaration of human rights brought up to date for the industrial society'.[3] The electorate trusted more a Labour government to realise this 'planning' of society rather than the Tories who used even in their 1945 election campaign the rhetoric of 'bureaucratic control and reeking totalitarianism'[4] to oppose social benefits coming with governmental interference. After all it was said that the war was won by 'planning' and thus planned society gained more respect.[5] Furthermore, Labour came to harvest the fruits of the peculiar circumstances of the war years which led to a leftward shift and gained support from divergent sources. The patriotic speeches of J.B. Priestley in the BBC - a counterbalance to Churchill's patriotism during the early years of the war - the publications of Penguin books which exploited the interest in politics and international affairs with rather left-wing bias, the writings of George Orwell showing a tendency 'of patriots becoming left-wing, or the left becoming patriotic', even the Liberal social administrator Beveridge in planning social security and the economist Keynes who was concerned in planning full employment after the war, cultivated a positive feeling towards the 'left'.[6] Moreover the image of the monarchy with a royal family which stayed by the people visiting the bombed-out working-class residents of the East End, even the successes of the Red Army which were said to be seen as a more general vindication of planning, all contributed to idea that this was a people's war and a future world needed a party devoted to the needs of the people.[7]

The Labour government found society ready to co-operate in austerity, especially since it immediately put into action state benefits, when it finally came to power. Two landmarks of the welfare state which were both inaugurated in 1946 - the National Insurance Bill and the National Health Service - contributed immensely to the

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[2] A. Sked, C. Cook, *Post-War Britain, A Political History*, (London, 1986), pp.17-18.
[3] Ibid, p.19.
[4] Ibid, p.20.
[5] A.F. Havinghurst, *Britain in Transition, The Twentieth Century*, (Chicago, 1985) p.384.
[6] P. Clarke, *Hope and Glory, Britain 1900-1990*, (London, 1996), pp.210-215.
[7] Ibid.

building of a relationship of trust between the people and the government. That did not mean that workers ceased to seek for improvement of payment and working conditions, but it did mean the consolidation of the belief in the relation between personal contribution to the economy and the welfare payment. The economy was already showing signs of recovery by 1948, aided both by the Marshall Plan and by the imports restriction and export drive, being able to boast in 1950 that exports had risen 75% over the pre-war level.[8]

In the foreign arena British political life after 1945 changed even more drastically than it changed at home. Labour politicians could still use the rhetoric of Britain's uniqueness and preciousness for the post-war world. Michael Foot claimed at the beginning of the Parliament of 1945 that Great Britain stood at the summit of her power and glory because she had something unique to offer; a middle way between Communism and Capitalism and therefore she could have the 'moral leadership of the world'.[9] 'Leadership', moral or other, was not on the agenda and Britain had to come to terms with the fact that from now on she was to play a second fiddle and not conduct the orchestra of post-war world politics.[10] The Labour Party which was widely credited for its role in constructing a new social contract for Britain was also to handle the gradual dismantling of the empire. By 1947 Britain had to surrender the Palestine mandate and in the end of the same year independence of India and Pakistan (January 1948) was declared. In both cases these decisions met the approval of the British people who were only too aware of the economic cost the maintenance of power in these places would entail, as well as the ethical cost to be involved in the insurmountable problems that these countries were facing. The independence of Burma and Ceylon, which followed in 1948 was equally welcomed. The emergence of the new Commonwealth as a free association of independent member nations was more suitable for the new age and an Act in 1948 established two public corporations - the Colonial Development Corporation and the Overseas Food Corporation - to improve living standards (especially education) in the colonies.[11] Whether this was 'the updating of the old paternalistic approach of imperialism with a human face' or the failure of the socialist colonialists to establish economic plans for the improvement of the colonies, is a matter to be debated.[12] What seemed to be on the cards, though, was that independence, even if it had to be paid with intercommunal bloodshed, was preferable to benevolent old-type imperialism.

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[8] A.Sked, C. Cook, op.cit., p.35.
[9] Ibid, p.50.
[10] Ibid, p.61.
[11] Ibid, p.63.
[12] P. Clarke, op. cit., p.234.

Although Britain could not be a moral leader, she could see herself as a moral negotiator between the two superpowers, the United States and the United Soviet Republics. And indeed she was the principal negotiator for issues such as the Marshall Plan, the establishment of NATO, the Truman doctrine and the effort to tie America to Europe. All these political entanglements involved a great deal of close co-operation between the countries of Western Europe and led to an older idea, that of European unity. The idea of a closely integrated Western Europe, or a federal Europe, was on the cards even before the war. Yet right from the outset the attitude of Britain towards the idea of a united Europe was problematic. The Treaty of Dunkirk, a treaty of alliance with France for mutual support in case of war with Germany, was signed by Britain, according to one historian, looking to the past rather than to post-war problems.[13] The Brussels Treaty signed a year later by Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, was not specifically directed against German aggression but against any armed attack on Europe, and federalist-inclined European politicians determined to see in it more than a military structure uniting Western Europe. The same year, 1948, an International Committee for a United Europe was called in The Hague, and Britain, represented by the leader of the opposition Churchill, seemed to be willing to join the Council of Europe 'with her Empire and Commonwealth'. This was not in accordance with the governing Party. The Labour Party could still envisage Britain as a world power whose links with the Commonwealth and the United States were more important than those with the Continent. The commitment to European entanglements seemed to be right from the beginning unpatriotic and irrelevant to Britain's history. Furthermore Churchill's efforts were interpreted by Labour as supporting a Western bloc organised to check the Soviet Union. But even more ironically Labour boldly differentiated themselves from European Social Democrats, and Attlee wrote in the foreword to a history of the Labour Party published by Transport House, that same year, that:

> The Labour Party is a characteristically British production differing widely from Continental Socialist parties. It is a product of its environment and of the national habit of mind.[14]

What a great part of the left was interested in was seeing the strengthening of Europe's links with America, rather than fostering European co-operation per se. The way Britain perceived herself both from the left and the right, as it was soon to be proved when the Conservatives came to power, was that Britain was unique, superior

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[13] A.F. Havinghurst, op. cit., p.411.

[14] A. Sked, C. Cook, op. cit., p.71.

and independent among other European countries and did not need to be involved with their efforts for unity and co-operation. In the words of a historian:

> Great Britain, alone of European lands, had emerged from the war with her institutions unscathed and with national unity and pride strengthened. As has often been suggested, the vital need for some rallying cry, other than nationalism so apparent to most Europeans, was not shared or even understood in Britain.[15]

In other words the perception of the Second World War as a misuse of nationalism, tragically experienced in Europe, was alien to Britain who, on the contrary, was to embark on a revival of its nationalist aspirations during that period. This contributed to Britain's intention to distance herself from the arena of drama, as Europe was perceived at the time, and look forward to a brave new world which seemed more related to her. Politicians were expressing only older innate beliefs of mistrust of Europe and alignment with America which seemed to take over in power and international credibility. In 1949 Britain participated in the formation of the Council of Europe but she avoided organisations controlled by supranational bodies such as the European Coal and Steel Community formed two years later. Reluctance to participate in any form of agreements with Europe which would challenge its absolute sovereignty became a pattern for the post-war political behaviour of Britain towards Europe.

The premiership of Winston Churchill between 1951 and 1955 had been a triumph of the quintessential English way of life. The coronation of the Queen in 1953 made people believe in a new Elizabethan age heading to the recovery of past glory. The advanced stage for the manufacture of the atomic bomb by 1951, brought Britain back the negotiating table with the superpowers. The strengthening of the balance of payments as a result of the improvements of terms of trade showed signs of economic recovery, although the economic policies of the Conservative Party in these years were held responsible for the economic slack which followed.[16] Furthermore, the total de-rationing of food in 1954, the re-opening of international commodity markets and the removal of war-time building restrictions which resulted in an unprecedented boom in house building, contributed to the feeling of entering a new historical era, distant from war-time austerity and constraints. From this period onwards, consumerism made a real difference in the everyday life of Britain, in the material, social and ideological spheres. Electrical appliances bought on an extensive scale

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[15] A.F. Havinghurst, op. cit., p.413.
[16] A Sked, C. Cook, op.cit., p.104.

made homes more convenient to run, liberating women from domestic work and making them more available to join the work force. Car ownership continued to give status to middle-class households and at the same time motor bike ownership which was going through a golden age at that time 'poised between the artisan image of the bumbling family sidecar and the shockingly fast youth culture based on the new teenage affluence'.[17] But most important television came to be the dominant mass medium of entertainment and communication and opinion forming, taking over from cinema and radio and channelling society to a more private setting of leisure which was previously enjoyed outside the home.[18] The festival of Britain in 1951, on the centenary of the Great Exhibition was to cultivate the idea that Britain was still at the summit of progress and technology, and gave the message that she had not just recovered from the war, but that she could look to a bright dynamic future.[19]

During the fifties the New Commonwealth continued to be a priority in Britain's foreign policy. 'The liquidation of the empire', in the words of Kenneth Younger, the director of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, 'represented the biggest contribution to world stability that Britain could have made in these years'.[20] The conversion of the old Empire into the New Commonwealth, together with the achievement of the manufacture of the bomb, were able to keep Britain amongst the superpowers, and 'left little sense of the urgency for a new Europe that was found in Paris, Berlin, Rome, and in Vienna - where the old order had been destroyed. In contrast the British way of life had not only survived but seemed to have triumphed'.[21] Macmillan proclaimed that 'the Empire must always have first preference, Europe must come second', leaving little space to appreciate the 'wonders' which had been achieved by the six continental members in the Coal and Steel Community since 1950. Despite the encouragement for participation coming from the USA and the other members of the community, the Commonwealth continued to obscure Britain's true position in the world, making every offer for a place in European Community seem inadequate. [22]

The years that followed up to the 1964 election witnessed a rise and fall for the Conservative Party. The unfortunate events which led to the Suez crisis contributed to

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[17] P. Clarke, op. cit., p.255.

[18] Ibid, pp. 250-254.

[19] R. Hewison, *Culture and Consensus, England, Art and Politics since 1940*, (London, 1995), p.59.

[20] Cited in A.F. Havinghurst, op. cit., p.449.

[21] Ibid.

[22] P. Clarke, op.cit., p.258.

the downfall both of Eden and Britain's reputation as a liberal country committed to peaceful and consensual decolonization. The succession to the premiership by Harold Macmillan provided the British with a fascinating personality able to keep most war-time myths alive and even to find new ones to reinforce Britain's attachment to her traditional partners, the United States and the Commonwealth. He was quoted as saying to Eisenhower:

> You need us for ourselves; for the Commonwealth; and as leaders of Europe. But chiefly because without a common front and true partnership between us I doubt whether the principles we believe in can win.[23]

The irony though was that by the early sixties Britain herself did not need the Commonwealth as much as it needed the European Economic Community. By 1960 nearly 15% of British imports came from the EEC and only 8% from the Dominions, while the EEC took 16% of British exports compared to only two thirds as much taken by Australia and New Zealand.[24] Yet again, little space was left for the British public to understand, let alone align with what was going on in Europe with the creation of the EEC in Rome in March 1957 and the efforts of Europeans to establish free trade between the member states not merely of industrial goods but also agricultural products. However, even if British politicians were to underestimate these developments in favour of the traditional ties of Britain with America, ironically enough, it was under America's pressure that Britain was to submit its first application to join the Common Market in 1961. The belief that if Britain behaved more like an ordinary Western European power it would play a more constructive role as a 'second pillar' of the Atlantic Alliance, was adopted by Kennedy's under-secretary of State for Western Europe. The idea of having more than one centre of decision making on issues of defence was not popular amongst higher American officials. Kennedy saw the European Economic Community as body of equivalent prestige and power to NATO, only operating in peace.[25]

When Macmillan finally applied to join the EEC, he had to underplay the political implications of this decision, insisting on its economic and trading character, and in

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[23] A. Sked, C. Cook, op.cit., p.139.

[24] P. Clarke, op. cit., p.279.

[25] E. Barker, *Britain in a Divided Europe*, (London, 1971), p.101. In Washington the feeling was according to the author, 'that Britain instead of worrying about a world role, should get into Europe, as a stabilising and steadying force which would guide Western Europe - or rather the evolving Community of the six - in the right direction and make it a reliable partner within the wider Atlantic Alliance.'

any case he made sure that the partners of the Commonwealth were not opposed.[26] This application met the strong objection of the French President de Gaulle, who felt that Britain's presence in the Community was threatening its sovereignty. At this historical moment, Britain's 'special relationship' was indeed special in the sense that none of the interested parties, Britain, USA, and Western Europe, perceived it or desired it in the same way.

Britain was not even successful entering the Common Market, let alone leading it, and did not become an independent nuclear power under Macmillan's premiership. The public, when actively involved in politics, was concerned with movements such as the Campaign for the Nuclear Disarmament giving to politicians - especially Labour politicians - a message of hostility to the bomb and support for unilateral disarmament. This was at a time when the leader of the Labour Party, Hugh Gaitskell, was to be identified with NATO and its nuclear strategy and furthermore, he was to propose to amend Clause IV of the Party's constitution on common ownership. This demonstrated a deep division between the right-wing of the Party and those who were still devoted to genuine socialist ideas of pacifism and common ownership.[27] As for Labour's views on Europe, they were rather confusing starting with Gaitskell's scepticism on the grounds that this would be a betrayal of the Commonwealth while younger Labour politicians stood for Europe.[28] However, the Commonwealth's relations with Britain were constantly renegotiated. Decolonization continued with the establishment of federal governments which did not always survive in fore of strong racial and regional political controversies, previously covered by the colonial administration. One of the results of such tensions was immigration to Britain from the colonies which became another factor in changing the post-war composition of the British population and presenting a new social reality.[29]

It was a Labour government led by Harold Wilson, who succeeded the Conservatives, that submitted a second application for entry in May 1967, as many economic factors suggested that Britain should not remain outside the EEC. By that time the Labour party was in favour of entry into the EEC - inserting in their election manifesto the proviso 'provided essential British and Commonwealth interests are safeguarded'.[30] Commonwealth trade with the EEC was in a healthier state than its

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[26] A. Sked, C. Cook, op. cit., p.169. Ministers were sent to Commonwealth countries to discover their reaction.
[27] P. Clarke, op. cit., p.277.
[28] Ibid, p.280.
[29] Ibid, pp. 320-329.
[30] A. Caincross, op. cit., p.178.

trade with Britain and many saw the association with an economically strong Europe as a solution to repeated economic crises at home. Although the Commonwealth countries were still meeting annually in conferences, its character was not one of countries with common traditions and institutions but that of countries with civil war and rebellion, in which Britain had less inclination to interfere. The second application yet again met the stubbornness of de Gaulle, who was not convinced by Britain's willingness to comply with parity of membership within the Community, and the application was rejected on the grounds that Britain's economy was too weak to join. This was a blow to Wilson's government, who was accused of economic mismanagement as well as betrayal of fundamental Labour beliefs by the left. However, during Wilson's years in power, living standards did increase, if not at the pace expected, and at the same time many institutional and social reforms contributed to the transformation of British way of living from 'traditional' to 'permissive'. The Race Relations Bill contributed to a more fair treatment of the immigrant population in Britain, the abolition of the death penalty, the lowering of the age of majority to 18, the expansion of comprehensive schools, the establishment of the Open University, were some of the institutional changes which challenged authority and expanded opportunity in Britain of the sixties.[31] Youth culture, and more specifically popular music and fashion had put Britain in the centre of the world's interest. It was the anti-establishment image of Britain that this time was exported to the world, which was keen to mock the traditional, austere and righteous perception of Britain that the world remembered from the Second World War. Whether this culture was a true revolutionary one was to be judged only a few years later.

The overall attainment of Wilson's government was judged by the British electorate in 1970 and brought the Conservative Party into power. The Conservative Party won and Edward Heath was the prime-minister who lead Britain in the EEC. Favoured by the resignation of de Gaulle the previous year and the devotion of Heath to the cause, Britain entered the Community on 1 January 1971, after long and complicated negotiations. As a matter of fact Heath who devoted a great part of his career to the cause of European unity - he was known as Mr Europe[32]- was reassuring other Europeans that Britain at last was content in uniting her forces with Europe. However, it would be deceptive to believe that a pro-European prime minister would be able to wipe out innate beliefs about Britain's historical place beyond Europe. Therefore the issue whether Britain's alliance should lie with Europe or elsewhere was an issue which continued to split both Labour and Conservative parties from the

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[31]A. Sked, C. Cook, op. cit., pp.247-252.
[32] See J. Campbell, *Edward Heath, A Biography*, (London, 1993), pp.108-137.

first application to the present day. It has been argued that Britain, in applying for a second time to enter the EEC, was not converted to the ideal of European union as it was espoused by the leaders of the founder states.[33] More specifically:

> ...there was no attempt to sell the idea of British membership in anything other than pragmatic terms to the British electorate; there was no abandonment at either official or popular level of a commitment to a strong sense of national identity, which remained the basis for the electoral appeals of politicians in all parties; there was no abandonment of the attachment to the special relationship with the United States, or of the commitment at both official and popular levels to the Atlantic Alliance as the basis of international stability.[34]

Although the referendum which followed in 1975 gave a majority of 67.2% for Britain remaining in the Community, the issue was not resolved either in the ranks of the right or the left. 'The verdict of the referendum ..was unequivocal but it was also unenthusiastic. Support for membership was wide but it did not run deep', concluded two contemporary commentators.[35] And indeed the vote of the electorate did not herald a period of any permanent approval of Britain belonging to Europe. On the contrary, the electorate which had to elaborate on complicated economic and political schemes served by the politicians had a rather blurred opinion on what it really meant to enter the EEC, especially as economic problems at home were mounting.

British politicians were bogged down by economic problems - reaching a climax in 1976 with the then Labour prime-minister applying for a loan from the International Monetary Fund to prevent a dramatic slide in the pound - which were common in continental countries, some of whom like her could share the loss of minor empires. Britain was thus to concentrate on domestic problems, temporarily leaving aside claims for international supremacy. Furthermore, the anti-establishment image of Britain which was so much projected during the late sixties had proved very weak by that time. It was claimed that the period of 1970-5 brought to an end not just the brief flowering of counter-culture and the economic illusions of the sixties, but the long period of accelerating expansion in material benefits and material consumption that followed post-war reconstruction.[36] Britain's institutions which tended to support the dominant established culture proved strong and resilient, mainly because the

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[33] S. George, *An Awkward Partner, Britain in the European Community*, (London, 1990), p.40.
[34] Ibid.
[35] D. Butler, U. W. Kitzinger, *The 1975 Referendum*, (London, 1976), p.280, quoted in S. George, op. cit., p.95.
[36] R. Hewison, *Too Much Art and Society in the Sixties 1960-75*, (London, 1986), p.274.

advocates of the so called 'revolution', were involved in these institutions. 'While criticizing the institutions the radicals continued to work within them', ending up with a culture of compromise and not a culture of innovation and change during the seventies.[37]

The year 1975 has been taken by this study as a limit to signify this change rather than marking a particular event. The succession of governments was showing that despite the rhetoric of politicians inspired by the audit of the Second World War, Britain from then on was to see herself as yet another European country with strong negotiating power in and out of the Community, yet from now on institutionally bound with it. The year 1975 was also taken as a limit in educational history, since the next year the Great Debate on education and the curriculum was launched, as will be discussed in the next chapter. What should be answered in this section is the role of the British state as an educator. It is important to discuss the relationship of the state and education as it has been formed ever since the creation of state education in Britain, at the end of the nineteenth century, in order to be able to put into perspective its function during the thirty years following the Second World War.

Section II
The British state as an Educator

This study will analyse the teaching of European history in England and Wales, and 'the intellectual unconscious' the established institutions tried to cultivate in the pupils of the post-war generations. In other words, it will interpret the intentions of the authorised agents in creating a cultural consensus or, as it could be put, 'a legitimated knowledge' for this specific generation on this specific topic. In so doing one has to ask several fundamental questions concerning the nature of the British educational system and its attunement with other educational systems.

It has been alleged that in the English speaking world the idea of education is not just one of mechanistic training and selection in schools, but is seen in a much wider sense. Social class, family tradition, and even local community have a role in an individual's personal development which is closer to what is considered 'education'. Moreover, there was a particularly great reluctance to attribute to the state the role of providing a uniform education for all. This has been followed by an official education policy which entailed a variegated curriculum, both qualitatively and quantitatively, in

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[37] Ibid, p.298.

both private and state education.[38] The state only partially and indirectly controlled education in England and Wales, where curriculum decisions were made in a variety of centres. This is more than typical of the British state, which during the course of the twentieth century was transformed from an elusive and limited state, to an interventionist one, in a society with increasing demands for better living standards. During the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth the state intervened in society in a very limited way. Yet during the twentieth century the relationship between government and society in Britain was to change. This change resembled more 'a marriage of convenience rather than a marriage of true minds', as Jose Harris has argued, when civil society gave its authority to the state, which was to become the protector of individuals.[39] Both the right and the left were reluctant to see state intervention as benevolent and insisted that such an act entailed the sacrifice of 'natural liberty'.[40] For the Victorians the state was not expected to provide protection of corporate rights and in a similar way it was not expected to provide a uniform national culture for its citizens. This was assumed to be done on a smaller scale by an active civil society. Harris claimed that: '...the corporate life of society was seen as expressed through the voluntary association and the local community, rather than through the persona of the state. Similarly, the state was rarely seen as an indispensable vehicle of collective national identity'.[41]

However, the minimal decentralised state and the liberal economy had efficiency problems by the end of the nineteenth century.[42] The pressures of global war, the enhancement of industrialisation and population growth, shaped national policies in many west European countries.[43] The dramatic change in state intervention was to start in Britain slightly later than in other European countries. Yet if social policies were to be adopted in a centralised manner, cultural issues such as a national education policy were not until well after the Second World War. In Victorian Britain the different nationalities of the kingdom were much more eager to comply with their own local traditions than with any national ones. For the different nationalities of the

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[38] See next chapter.

[39] J. Harris, 'Society and the State in the Twentieth Century Britain', in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), *Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1990*, vol.3 (Cambridge, 1990), p.67.

[40] Ibid, p.70.

[41] Ibid, p.67.

[42] P. Thane, 'Government and Society in England and Wales' in F.M.L. Thompson (ed.), op. cit., p.48.

[43] J. Harris, op. cit. p.64.

United Kingdom, the sense of belonging to the country did not correspond to a sense of belonging to its governing institutions.[44] The central government was inhibited by an awareness of these differences from promoting a specific, official national culture. In Scotland, where a strong tradition of state education centrally controlled was established earlier than in England, there was no question of adapting models of English education. Welsh people questioned the system applied under the 1870 Education Act for being far too English dominated.[45] Notwithstanding the lack of a central state educational provision, English culture was indeed dominant in the governing and professional elites.

British people were reluctant to demand from the state the provision of 'a vehicle for collective national identity' exemplified in education. Education was an intermediary between social and cultural policy. As a social policy, to ensure some opportunity to the deprived, the state had already since the nineteenth century started providing some education. Yet a cultural policy of providing a liberal education for the masses would not be accepted until the middle of the twentieth century. In other words, although education as a charity for the underprivileged was a social necessity, it was not seen as a means to form a uniform national identity, mainly because social class rather than nationality was to determine one's collective character and aspirations.[46] Linda Colley argues that this reluctance of the British state to attempt

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[44] Ibid, p.67. Also P. Scott, in 'John Bull's Schooldays', BBC Radio Four, 12 March, 1995. Scott claimed that unlike Scotland where education was one of the badges of nationality together with the church and law, in England there was a lack of edge. Many argued that in England people see themselves as being subjects rather than citizens. Thus, since education is very closely linked with the idea of being a citizen, it does not have to play the role it does in other countries which have stronger civic societies.

[45] K. Robbins, *Nineteenth-Century Britain, Integration and Diversity*, (Oxford, 1988), pp.131-162. This is a collection of the Ford Lectures delivered in the University of Oxford 1986-1987. The Lecture on 'Education, Science, and the Moulding of the Mind' argues that the differences between England, Scotland and Wales throughout the nineteenth century were great, giving Scotland a lead in many influential professions such as medicine and journalism, due to their more efficient educational institutions. Wales on the other hand in setting up its educational system showed a concern about the educational position of the Welsh language, aiming to 'work out its own mental salvation', p.141.

[46] C. Chitty, 'The Changing Role of the State in Education Provision', *History of Education*, vol.21, 1, pp.1-13. Chitty in this article presented the Marxist debate on

any moulding of a unified national consciousness has its origins in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.[47] She argues that during that time the British state did not attempt to promote any popular national consciousness because it was confident it could accomplish national goals without having to do so. It could raise men for war, levy taxes, conquer territory abroad and maintain stability at home. On the contrary, the promotion of a collective national consciousness seemed more like a Pandora's box than a panacea. This was because nationalism and patriotism would give access to active citizenship to many more than the British state was willing at that time to emancipate, and would open the door to a meritocracy. This is the reason that the state persistently resisted using education as means of moulding some sort of national identity - only in 1833 did it give a modest grant to voluntary bodies. For the same reason, it did not foster national heroes, refusing to make national symbols which could be culturally appropriated by many. Furthermore, it was willing to encourage members of the Church of England to participate fully in civic and national society and totally unwilling to do the same for Catholics. Thus it could not promote at the same time an inclusive nationalism and an exclusive religion. An introduction of some sort of national system of education was safe only by the end of nineteenth century, when the franchise had been extended and the social and cultural parameters were distinctly different.[48] Exclusion and selection as well as the rejection of a uniform national identity through education remained a constant characteristic of English and Welsh education for the greatest part of the twentieth century, even when state education experienced the greatest expansion after the Second World War and after

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England's backwardness in creating a national system of education. Some Marxist historians claimed that 19th century England failed to become a truly bourgeois state and therefore lacked the incentive to develop a state system of education to meet bourgeois needs. A. Green argued that this was due to the deep infusion of liberal individualism in both landed and the middle classes. The power of the individualist creed meant that all sections of the ruling class shared a marked hostility to the state and were deeply suspicious of the idea of state control of education. A. Green, *Education and State Formation: The Rise of Education Systems in England, France and the USA,* (London, 1990), p.237, cited in Chitty op.cit., p.5.

[47] L. Colley, 'Whose Nation? Class and National Consciousness in Britain 1750-1830', *Past and Present* , vol.113, pp. 96-117.

[48] C. Chitty, op. cit., p.5 By the end of nineteenth century liberal thought had gradually abandoned the belief in freedom and diversity and in the supreme virtue of limited government for the idea that the greatest freedom for every individual was possible only within the framework of the collective state.

the massive expansion of secondary education in the mid-sixties with the comprehensives.[49]

The two world wars acted as catalysts in changing the relationship between government and society. The workings of the state altered and so did British people's expectations of it. The building of the welfare state after the Second World War was initially based on trust of the state which had managed to lead the nation to a victory. The new character of this relationship was demonstrated by the fact that post-war society in Britain was willing to exchange its 'natural liberty' for 'a new social Magna Carta', as Harris calls the Beveridge Plan.[50] The decade which followed the end of the war was marked by the consolidation of welfare institutions, which were respected even when the Labour government was succeeded by the Conservatives. An extensive literature tried to convince the electorate of the uniqueness of these institutions, even though by that time many other countries had already made similar social provision, and Britain was to be considered as a chosen country for the cause of equality and social escalation through merit. Thus the relationship of state and society, by that time, was by and large one of contentment. Voluntary institutions were still active, while a balance between central and local government was maintained. The 1944 Education Act was said to be establishing a national system locally administered.[51] Education was one institution which typically remained in local power, where Local Education Authorities were responsible for the major issues concerning the physical and intellectual function of schools.[52] However, it should be noted that during the thirty years of post-war education, the relationship between the state and the educational society of all degrees - teachers, educationalists, advisers and inspectors - was marked by ambivalence and hesitation on the part of the state to control, directly and openly, the state of affairs in schools.[53] In so doing, it obscured the location of the agents of authority, as these were divergent and diffused. Furthermore, during the sixties and seventies, as the popular expectations for education were multiplied, new public responsibilities were to be assumed by a variety of agents of authority.

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[49] This point will be argued in the next chapter.

[50] J. Harris op. cit. p.93.

[51] C. Chitty, op.cit., p.9.

[52] The efficiency of the Education Act and its effectiveness in facilitating or impeding social mobility will be discussed in the next chapter.

[53] The various ways of indirect state intervention through the empowering of bodies such as the school curriculum, the examination bodies, and the Department's HMIs will be analytically discussed in chapter III.

At this point, it is interesting to note whether the relative autonomy of the educational system from direct state intervention was enough to cancel the function of state mechanisms as demonstrated by some thinkers on education. Is the reluctance of the state to use education for moulding a unifying national identity enough to change the role of education in this specific society? A range of social thinkers of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries are employed here to examine first the relation of state and education and then contemplate whether their theories applied in the British case. Although these theorists do not agree on a wide range of issues, some of their views on education seem to provide a critical insight in interpreting the relation of state and education. This study thus, does not look into these theories in order to reconcile them, but uses them in order to regard their applicability to the British educational system.

The relation of state and education was central to many thinkers already from the turn of the century. Sociologists such as Durkheim turned to education to sustain the new view of modern society, claiming that schools should have a central place in it. Due to the decline of religion, Durkheim sought a moral authority to replace religion as a generator of morality - which he saw as a prerequisite for every organised society. The formal educational system, Durkheim believed, had to play a vital role in the inculcation of the moral attitudes and capacities required in a society oriented towards secular ideals.[54] In that context 'education', in being 'the means by which society perpetually recreates the conditions of its very existence', and by having the role of 'a systematic socialisation of the young generation' was to provide a 'rational, not a symbolic or allegorical explanation of the nature of morality' as religion used to do in the past.[55]

In Britain the Durkheimean notion that education, rather than religion, should exercise a moral authority on individuals was realized by and large as religion's power faded and the school gradually took over from the church the role of preparing the young citizen to participate fully in society. This happened in many European countries. However, in Britain educationalists did not think either that the state has to be directing the school syllabuses in order to guarantee that the ideals 'to which society is dedicated' are reflected in the schools or that they provide a 'rational explanation of morality' as Durkheim suggested. That is because in Britain the state could trust specific social groups to be able to provide the appropriate syllabus for

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[54] A. Giddens, *Durkheim*, (London, 1986), p.71.

[55] S. Lukes, *Emile Durkheim, His Life and Work, A Historical and Critical Study*, (London, 1973), pp.111-113.

themselves, 'ensuring that children are educated for the roles they will have to assume in the specialised division of labour'.[56] The reluctance of the British state to provide an homogenous national syllabus for most of this century reflected its adamant belief that you do not have to dictate a common cultural impetus in society, because the existing socio-economic groups will inevitably feed their respective social strata with the culture they deserve. Social strata, that is, provide education for themselves, locally, and often corresponded in different explanations of morality, while the state can only partially subsidise their efforts. The mobility across these strata that the British state could foresee was only for the very selected few who were able to take advantage of the offered education and thus to work their way upwards. A national curriculum which standardised the content of education would make it at the same time obtainable for the many and that was not a desirable state aim. On the contrary a variegated curriculum with exceptionally high standards would ensure that social order was more stable since only the very few could cut across these standards and change their fate through education. A universal curriculum for all which would be identifiable and relatively stable would open the door to many more than the state intended to favour. The obligation of the state was confined to its intention to provide school accommodation according to an alleged intellectual stratification (but which, in reality, is a social stratification) where the able would be distinguished from the less able and would follow different school careers and different social paths. Thus although there was a subsidy for state education, there have not been compulsory elements of the curriculum with the exception of the subject of religious affairs.[57] Furthermore the different nations within Britain did not want a universal curriculum unless it respected individual national identities. Instead, Scotland and Ireland had completely separate educational systems, while Wales was constantly manifesting its distinctive character when designing the examination curricula.[58]

Sociologists who wrote on education later in the twentieth century were to focus on the state's exploitation and the conflicts in this relationship. They argued mostly about what mechanism the state employs through education to shape intellectual identity and social order and not about what the role of the state in organising education should be.

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[56] A. Giddens, op. cit., p.73.

[57] Religious affairs has been the only compulsory subject of state education in England and Wales up to the present day. This subject was made compulsory in 1870 but amendments were made in the 1944 Act. See A.E. Ikin, *The Education Act 1944,* (London, 1944), pp.67-68.

[58] See chapter V, on the history syllabuses of the Welsh Joint Examination Board, p.139.

Their interpretations focused on the role of education in perpetuating social divisions as well as cultivating an intellectual consensus between different school generations. Antonio Gramsci observed that education was an ideological agent of the state. He made the distinction between public and private agents of state mechanism, claiming that the public state mechanisms are the repressive ones, and the private agents of state mechanism are the ideological ones. Education thus belongs in the category of the private agents, non-oppressive ideological mechanisms of the state.[59] Although Gramsci on the whole argued for the dominance of the ideology by the superstructure, he was more flexible in his view of the mechanistic reproduction of this ideology. He was careful when sketching this model not to be simplistic, and he was very aware of the vulnerability of the dominant elites: '...a particular political act may have been an error of calculation on the part of the leaders of the dominant classes ...'[60] Gramsci observed that while there are tensions between the economic base and the state, there are also tensions between the state and the civil society. Therefore policies arise not only as a result of the conscious decision of the ruling groups for dominance but also from error or competition amongst various dominant groups. These groups very often gain a relative autonomy from the state which, as society and group interests become more and more complex, fails to control all its agents. In the same vein, Tapper and Slater argued that it is not only 'enemy' ideologies like the ideologies of state and the ideologies of the economic base which strive to become dominant, but also 'rival' ideologies amongst the groups which recognise the status quo but believe they can perform the hegemonic function more efficiently.[61] Such conflicts were central in many attempts to form a curriculum between civil servants of the Department of Education, employees of the Local Educational Authorities, independent inspectors and headteachers in schools, as it will be discussed in the next chapter.

Althusser too saw in the school the manifestation of a major 'ideological state apparatus', but in a more rigid way than other thinkers.[62]. He claimed that other ideological mechanisms such as the political mechanism, the mechanism of public communication, the mechanism of family or religion, for the pre-capitalist historical period, all play the tune of the ideology of the contemporary dominant class. Nevertheless: '...in this concert, one ideological mechanism of the state apparatus certainly has the dominant role, although hardly anyone lends an ear to its music: it is

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[59] Ibid, p.84.

[60] A. Gramsci, On Education, in Q. Hoare and G. Smith (eds.), *Selections from Prison Notebooks,* (New York, 1971), p.408.

[61] B. Salter, T. Tapper, *Education Politics & the State,* (London, 1981), p.57.

[62] L. Althusser, *Essays on Ideology,* (London, 1984), pp.15-32.

so silent! This is the school'.[63] Althusser claimed that one of the most effective elements of school culture in modern capitalist societies was the fact that school knowledge was naturally covered by an ideology which presented the school as neutral ground, without an official ideology, in which the teachers are to preach on principles of freedom, morality and responsibility. However, in reality they are only there to ensure that the state ideology is being transmitted to the consciousness of its younger citizens.

Raymond Williams, like Gramsci and Durkheim, questioned the notion of reproduction by making a differentiation between a 'uniform' and a 'genetic' reproduction. A uniform reproduction is an accurate copy, while a genetic one reproduces the species in intrinsically variable individual examples.[64] Education is a genetic form of cultural reproduction, so we have to consider that it is not an autonomous mechanism which reproduces itself but it is linked with other processes of society which are very influential. However, Williams claimed that there are different degrees of relative autonomy between these linked processes and we should also consider that 'educational systems, especially in certain periods and in certain societies, can change both internally and in their general relations with other systems.' So we should be careful with the term 'reproduction', Williams warned, since it 'can often obscure these crucial processes of relative autonomy and of change, even while it usefully insists on a general and intrinsic character.'[65]

In Britain various agents of social order are to act with a relative autonomy, without a superior intervention which would act as a catalyst for any kind of equality. If we apply Althusser's theory of the function of education in the British case, we see that the independent sector can unobtrusively feed the upper classes, with their belief in public and other independent schools. The grammar, grant-maintained and other schools of similar academic standards would feed the middle classes with equivalent beliefs, only having lesser financial means to do so. At the same time the lower classes would be accommodated in the secondary modern schools and later the comprehensives, where the poor expectations of academic achievement would prepare and legitimate these classes (even in their own consciousness) for a poor performance in the professional market. Althusser might argue that the economic practice predetermined an ideological mechanism which perpetuated this social arrangement. Of course, there had been social shifts in the different kinds of schools which would

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[63] Ibid, p.29.

[64] R. Williams, *Culture*, (London, 1981), p.185.

[65] Ibid, p.186.

slightly change this especially during the second half of the twentieth century in Britain, with the decline of grammar schools and the rise in academic standards in comprehensive schools. This makes Althusser's argument sound rigid since it did not provide any model to escape the fate of social reproduction while Gramsci's and Williams arguments do.

Many sociologists and political theorists agree that the school, by bequeathing to some of the future citizens of a society a standardised idea of what in any given moment is considered 'the dominant culture', enables or inhibits social mobility primarily according to the capacity (ability to comply with school culture) and secondarily according to the will (willingness to comply with school culture) to recognise and adopt this offered culture. The fact that not everybody is equally prepared to acquire the culture the school is offering, and that some are privileged and better prepared than others due to their social status, is the basic argument of most social thinkers who argue about educational inequality. For such thinkers, the capacity to do well at school depends on how well prepared a child is to receive the offered school culture.[66] Moreover, the fact that some are more willing to comply with the offered educational culture is another factor which guarantees educational and in many respects social success. This becomes more obvious the further one climbs up the system, where the tendency for the schools to recognise only those who recognise them is greater, a notion which Pierre Bourdieu calls 'learned ignorance'.[67] Since a lot of the social as well as the intellectual identity of modern citizens is left in the hands of the schools, it is only natural that young citizens strive to acquire and comply with this school knowledge in order to be rewarded by being accepted into the elites of a society.

During the twentieth century civil society was to recognise in the school a creation of its own institutions, such as Ministries and Institutes of Education and schools inspectors. The fact that a democratic society by its political institutions can control educational organisation to one degree or another is what legitimates the function of the school. The school thus has the power to impose a knowledge which is considered acceptable, and that in turn puts the school at the centre of attention, undermining the

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[66] This is Althusser's argument in *Essays on Ideology*. See also A.Gramsci *The Modern Prince,* op. cit., chapter on 'The Organisation of Education and Culture', p.130, Bourdieu's idea of 'symbolic capital' argued this point too: Figure 4.1, the cycle of reproduction, in R.Harker, *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu,* (Basingstoke, 1990), p.88.

[67] R. Harker, C. Mahar, C. Wilkes, op. cit., p.91.

importance of other institutions which shape ideology. This is the reason why, although the mass media, the press or other cultural products in a free market can be imposing ideas on people, it is in schools that pupils receive ideas distilled as the 'right' thing to know, as if these ideas are the contents of an agreed repository of a society. Furthermore, only schools are compulsory for the education of the future citizens, unlike the media or the church, and only schools can issue educational certificates and thus acquire for themselves the right to control intellectual and social order. The alleged neutrality of the school - a product of controlled educational institutions - is what legitimates school culture and school knowledge. However, as was mentioned above, this neutrality is illusory, since it is the culture and the values of the dominant social groups which prevail at schools.[68] Since schools are moulded by the mechanism of power, their products are only representing the agents of power, claims Bourdieu.[69] Schools present their knowledge as neutral, so they can cultivate a cultural consensus in each generation. This is not a stable unchangeable consensus, but varies with the different school generations.

One of the most important observations Bourdieu made, in exploring the relationship between schooling and intellectual life in a historical context is that the common experience of school culture makes communication possible between a specific generation of people. In his book, *Systems of Education and Systems of Thought*, he claimed that: 'The school is the fundamental factor in the cultural consensus in so far as it represents the sharing of a common sense which is a prerequisite for communication.'[70] With regard to the intellectual links of people of the same generation, and who attended schools in a specific place and time, Bourdieu wrote of 'habits of thought, which form the intellectual cultural unconscious of a whole generation.'[71] More schematically, the American sociologist of education Michael Apple claimed that 'the study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge by specific institutions in specific historical moments'.[72] Citizens who seek legitimation need to

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[68] P. Bourdieu & J.C. Passeron, *Reproduction in Education and Society*, (London, 1977,1990), p.197.

[69] The same point is argued in R.Williams, *Culture*, op. cit., chapter on Reproduction, p.186.

[70] P. Bourdieu, *Systems of Education and Systems of Thought*, (London, 1967), p. 341.

[71] R. Harker, C. Mahar, C. Wilkes, pp.96-97.

[72] M. Apple, *Ideology and Curriculum*, (London, 1979), p. 105.

comply with the knowledge that is represented in schools, which is the legitimate knowledge of the specific historical time.

Bourdieu's argument that cultural consensus is created and legitimated by school culture can be applied in Britain, as in other contemporary societies. Schools become the agents of cultural consensus amongst different academic generations, and they function as the agents of intellectual norms of the cultural heritage at each specific moment. In Britain, this notion worked not so much between different school generations but between schools of the same kind. Public school boys of different generations have more in common than with secondary modern pupils of the same generation. The culture of grammar school boys, and eventually girls too, was very important in the second half of the twentieth century in moulding the culture of the middle and upper middle classes.[73]

This happens despite the liberty teachers have to shape their own curriculum, and even teach it the way they think is appropriate.[74] The cultural consensus cultivated in schools in England and Wales is not a state consensus, but it is nevertheless a consensus coming from lesser authorities and works equally effectively. It is a consensus promoted at a micro level of authority (if compared with the centrally controlled Continental educational systems) but it has the power to communicate the same symbolic values to the pupils, since it is embraced by the school. Schools in this country too possess the symbolic value of carrying the agreed knowledge of society to which most of its citizens should ascent. This holds true even if some social groups feel that they already have access to greater deposits of knowledge than those offered in schools, as is the case with the aristocracy. But the majority find schools can offer them knowledge which they would not be able to reach otherwise, and because of that tend to comply with this knowledge. They often attribute to what comes from school the symbolic value of being the correct things to know. Thus most social groups in twentieth century Britain recognised in schools the power to generate a cultural consensus by accepting their role to be the main generators of legitimate knowledge. Furthermore, cultural consensus was established as national examinations took a very central role in social upgrading, since all pupils from different social levels of education had to accept them.[75]

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[73] See Appendix D interview with Professor P. Hennessy pp.287-288.

[74] The official and real extent of this liberty will be discussed analytically in the next chapter.

[75] The role of examinations will be analytically discussed both in chapter III and chapter V.

There may not be a national uniformity of school culture in England and Wales, since until the last decade of this century a national curriculum has not been applied. However, different social classes did attend schools with relatively equal standards, producing some uniformity of school culture. This does not even mean that the same subjects are transmitted to pupils in the same fashion, but that high academic standards, amongst high social standards are applied. The words of Margaret Bryant are very characteristic:

> No-one in this country would advocate a prescribed course and yet there is a great deal of uniformity. Pressures from tradition - our own school-days, courses at older universities, the whole apparatus of textbooks and examination syllabuses which we have inherited, all tend to produce uniformity.[76]

School thus cultivated a cultural consensus between social strata, which had to do not so much with specified knowledge coming from a uniformal curriculum, but with the expectations arising from the fact that certain pupils survived to the higher standards of this knowledge, and others did not. In fact those who did not survive were not even given the chance to be exposed to a high standard of knowledge in the first place. For the greatest part of this century, the 11-plus examination sieved the 'intelligent' from the 'non-intelligent'. It was no coincidence that the 'most intelligent' came mainly from the upper and middle classes. The psychological 'eugenic type' theories of Cyril Burt, who claimed that intelligence was an intellectual ability 'inherited, or at least innate, not due to teaching or training, which remains uninfluenced by industry or zeal'[77] were to determine the intellectual and social elite

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[76] M. Bryant, 'History Syllabus Reconsidered', from the report of the History Syllabus Conference held on the 6th of January 1967 at the College of Preceptors and in the Swedenborg Hall, p.10.

[77] C. Burt (ed.), *How the mind works*, (London, 1934) pp.17-34. Cyril Burt saw with enthusiasm that from the time after his theory was established 'mental qualities could at last be measured with accuracy and ease'. In this essay he tried to establish the newly applied psychological experiments as the 'scientific' answer to the prejudice of the past. The psychologist, he claimed has standardised the method; and, also the results. By this way he can establish what is normal, subnormal and supernormal for each age. His views were considered in the Spens Report in 1938, ch.II, para.12. See also Appendix interview with J. Lewin, pp.257-258.

of the country for many decades.[78] Education was to be shaped according to this ability, and the tripartite system of the 1944 Act provided the planning for the new age and was based allegedly on inequality of intelligence and not of social class. Cyril Burt provided British educationalists with the theoretical background, or what might otherwise be called the 'scientific' alibi, to perpetuate social inequality.[79] Burt was trying to help the government with these tests to make an economically efficient decision about the planning of education. In the widespread debate of the second decade of the twentieth century about the existence of the notion of 'general intelligence', its measurability and its heritability, Burt's theory said it existed and could be measured and inherited.[80] Gillian Sutherland argued that the mental tests suggested by Burt had different fates in the hands of different local authorities at the time they were first used, yet when they became more established they were exploited, 'bent to the service of existing elite structures and methods of selection'.[81]

The history of education in England and Wales mainly reflected the struggle of the lower social groups to be included in education of the highest academic standards, as well as the struggle of different elite groups within the educational establishment for control and power, gradually replacing local power by a central one. For the greatest part of this century educationalists concentrated on accommodating more pupils in schools of any academic standard. The conviction that intelligence was totally independent of social class and the intellectual environment in which a child was brought up, especially using the example of the few who finally made their way through the system, legitimated the position of the great majority of those who did not enter the few schools which would lead to professions. This struggle centred on keeping children at school - even in schools with very low standards - and not

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[78] B. Simon, *The Politics of Educational Reform 1920-1940*, (London 1974, 1978), p.241.

[79] The 11-plus test was not part of the 1944 Act, but it was the traditional way of selecting for the grammar schools. It became redundant not only because of the strong criticisms of educationalists such as Jean Floud, who wrote extensively against it, but also due to the fall of the grammar schools and the emergence of the comprehensives. See also T.H. Marshall, 'Social Selection in Welfare State' in J.Floud, A.H. Halsey, C.A. Anderson, *Education, Economy and Society,* (New York, 1961), pp.148-163; see also the surveys of P.E. Vernon and J.C. Daniels, which showed that early streaming reflects social class rather than real ability, in B. Simon, D. Rubinstein, *The Evolution of the Comprehensive School,* (London, 1969), p.64.

[80] G. Sutherland, *Ability, Measure and Measurement,* (Oxford, 1984), p.131.

[81] Ibid, p.290.

liberating social forces through better education for the many. In this context Althusser was partly justified since social reproduction was perpetuated (yet not rigidly) not by placing it under the auspices of the centralised state, but by allocating a relative autonomy to the social classes to act for themselves.

Bourdieu can be applied in the British case because what was manifested by this system was the cultivation of the belief amongst all classes that poor performance was linked to inherent abilities and there was nothing to be done to correct this. In England and Wales there has thus been the scientific backing, like Burt's psychometric mental testing, to verify Bourdieu's view on qualifications awarded at school:

> By awarding allegedly impartial qualifications (which are also accepted as such) for socially conditioned aptitudes which it treats as unequal 'gifts', the school transforms *de facto* inequalities into *de jure* ones and economic and social differences into distinctions of quality, and legitimates the transition of the cultural heritage [the elite habitus]. In doing so, it is performing a confidence trick. Apart from enabling the elite to justify being what it is, the ideology of giftedness, the cornerstone of the whole educational and social system, helps to enclose the underprivileged classes in the roles which society has given them by making them see as natural inability things which are only a result of an inferior social status, and by persuading them that they owe their social fate...to their individual nature and their lack of gifts.[82]

If the theoretical premises that these thinkers suggested are seen as a method of enquiry which could be applied to the empirical requirements of the English education, we see that despite the arguments over centralised versus non centralised education, the function of education in this society has not disappeared because it wears a different mask. In the words of R. Harker on decentralised systems:

> Power and control are likely to be exercised less directly, utilising contagious fields, and hidden behind a much more opaque mask of ideology and rhetoric. Control, however, may be equally sustained.[83]

Tapper and Salter's study of the dynamics of educational change argued that when we examine the power centres of English education, we see that 'the function of social control, whose main purpose is to legitimate social inequality, is achieved more effectively in a decentralised educational system, along with a considerable amount of autonomy of teachers.'[84] Because institutional changes, such as the creation of new

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[82] R. Harker, op. cit., p.94.

[83] Ibid, p.99.

[84] B. Salter, & T. Tapper,op. cit., p.43.

types of schools, do not guarantee change in the experience of schooling (as this depends more on the initiative of local individual teachers, heads of schools and of course local resources[85] and negotiation of local interests) we see that the state fails to become an equaliser of local inequalities in the name of teachers' liberty. At the same time, as we shall see in the next chapter, assessment remained the main channel through which the state tried to control the organisation of knowledge and the schooling experience. Because of the difference and inequality in schools' status, examinations were the only set of high academic status. By leaving the diversity of schools untouchable they left inequality untouchable as well. In that sense decentralisation helped inequality to be legitimated. Rephrasing Bourdieu for the British case, Salter and Tapper argued that 'the process of social reproduction was disguised by teachers' autonomy'.[86] If teachers' autonomy was to be expressed in their ability to decide on the curricula of their schools one cannot ignore either the degree of professionalism of these teachers or the standards of the schools where they were teaching, or the social origin of the pupils they were teaching. This autonomy therefore could not be very different from the autonomy of market forces to act without any state restriction. In that sense the autonomy or 'liberty' of the teachers, as many politicians of the right called it, did not represent the empowerment of a professional group to act independently from state and social restrictions but a political choice of non-intervention (leaving to market forces what the state was required to provide) which finally very often restricted rather than liberated the work of the teachers in the classroom.[87]

Therefore, when embarking on the examination of the specific historical circumstances of a particular educational system, which through the teaching of history moulds the perception of the 'self' and the perception of the 'other', one has to take the above analyses as methods of enquiry rather than consolidated models which fit every historical situation. It is important to understand the continuities which

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[85] J. Floud and A.H. Hasley's survey points out that class criteria are important but local circumstances are as influential in obtaining equal opportunities in education. The example of demographic fluctuations, which impose a higher or lower qualifying minimum IQ for admission to grammar schools in a particular year, is indicative of local circumstances changing educational chances. J. Floud, A.H. Hasley, 'Social Class, Intelligence Tests, and Selection for Secondary Schools', in A.H. Hasley, J. Floud, C.A. Anderson,(eds.), *Education, Economy and Society*, (New York, 1961), p.214.

[86] B. Salter & T. Tapper, op. cit., p.43.

[87] How exactly that happened will be explained in the next chapter.

persist in the behaviour of the society - such as the reluctance of British society to comply with a strongly interventionist state - while at the same time it is important to understand how this changed under different circumstances - British society demanded more and more from state intervention in order to ensure social benefits. In other words it is important to consider models of reproduction of educational consensus, but, having in mind Williams, we must be aware that this is not an accurate mechanical reproduction, and consider the power of peculiar historical circumstances to change structures which many theoreticians would consider rigid. In the words of Williams, 'to ignore these peculiarities is to submit to the arbitrary authority of a self-proclaimed "autonomous" system'.[88] We must also be aware that power groups such as the educational bureaucracies very often have autonomy to act beyond the planning of central state, if there is any planning at all. If we follow the Habermean notion of the emancipation of historical agents from several forms of domination, we must question the ability of educational mechanisms to reproduce social order or cultural uniformity and take into consideration the autonomy of certain individuals or groups to act in such a way as to change their social restrictions.[89] This is because labour is not only produced through material interaction (that is the socio-economic factors) but also through symbolic interaction (that is the way people interpret these conditions) as individuals are able to understand the circumstances they live in and do something to emancipate themselves from several forms of domination.[90] The production of ideology is a continuous process full of complexities, where various social groups strive to legitimate their existence.[91] Therefore we must see the educational mechanisms which reproduce this social and cultural and ideological order not as rigid but as part of the continuous bargaining relationship of state and society.

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[88] R. Williams, op. cit., p.186.

[89] A. Giddens, 'Jurgen Habermas', in Q. Skinner, (ed.) *The Return of Grant Theory in the Human Sciences,* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 120-139. Giddens in this essay provides a short interpretation of Habermas principally from his work *Knowledge and Human Interests,* and especially focuses on interpreting the model where the analogy of natural laws, or the biological reproduction as put by Williams, would not apply because there are human beings which can be emancipated by them.

[90] Ibid, esp. pp.124-129.

[91] B. Salter & T. Tapper op. cit., p.62; see specifically the role of the intellectuals in chapter 'Ideology and Change'.

CHAPTER III: THE AGENTS OF CURRICULUM FORMATION

This chapter will discuss the question of where the power to influence the curriculum lay within the educational establishment, during the thirty years after the war. This question seems to have an obvious answer if one looks only at the legislative arrangements of Education Acts but things are not so obvious if one searches for where the authority to decide on such a matter really lay. Central government control of the curriculum versus the teachers' liberty to define the curriculum is a long-standing controversy in twentieth century British education, but it was especially so in the thirty years following the 1944 Education Act.

This relationship between central government, independent or semi-detached educational institutions, local government and individual schools exposes a series of contradictions which are typical of the nature of the British state. It is a state which, in the name of its alleged devotion to individual liberty and respect for individual initiative is hesitant to become interventionist, often leaving crucial national matters to the interaction of social groups or of rival bureaucracies.[1] This attitude did not always lead to solutions synchronised with the other demands of modern British society and has been a source of conflict because of the perpetuation of older social arrangements and inefficient waste of potential.

It is therefore very important to examine the history of the control of the curriculum, before embarking on the examination of the cultural values which were transmitted through it. The awareness of where and when something was taught, as well as by whom, with what major intentions, puts what was taught into context not only in educational terms, but also in social and national ones. Furthermore, the restrictions and the inter-relations of the people who finally made the decisions about what to teach in schools, exposes the nature of the education mechanisms in post-war Britain, which will be treated here as a typical operation of the British state. This chapter will explore the history of educational and political decision-makers, and their effect on the content of the curriculum, in order to put the latter into context.

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[1] The social groups mentioned here refer to the pupil population which although stratified in the lower tier of secondary schooling, that is secondary modern, or lower streams of the comprehensives, tried to take advantage of the existing system and get upgraded to the higher tier that is grammar schools or of equivalent standards. Rival bureaucracies were located both in the central state, in this case the Ministry and later Department of Education, and in the local state, that is Local Education Authorities and even schools themselves.

Before the Act

Although this chapter will concentrate on the period 1945 to 1975, it is worth giving at the outset an historical perspective on the status of the relationship between the educational agents in curricular formation prior to this period, as well as a few remarks on its development afterwards.

The history of the relationship between state planning and control of the curriculum, as well as the setting of examinations in the educational world can be traced back to the age of Robert Lowe introducing the Revised Code, otherwise known as 'payment by results', in 1862.[2] The 'despotism' which Lowe's code imposed on the teachers during the nineteenth century, where teachers were paid according to the performance of their pupils in the 3Rs, was abolished in 1892.[3] For the secondary schools there was not a uniform curriculum during or after the period of Lowe's code and there was not any provision for such a matter from any central authority.[4] At this stage and until the first decades of the twentieth century examinations for promotion from elementary to secondary school were left to local boards, and varied from authority to authority. Examinations governing entrance to universities were established and designed by the universities which then granted certificates to successful candidates.[5]

By 1902 the Education Act marked a victory of the liberal type of education over the strictly classical education. It advocated a balanced curriculum between classics, humanities, science and mathematics for secondary schools, that is mainly public and grammar schools, stipulating at the same time the amount of time to be allocated for each of these subjects. One aspect of this Act worth noting is not only the dominance of a curriculum where science was given an equal share with humanities, but also the provision for the Secondary School Regulations of 1904, issued by the newly established Board of Education to the secondary schools. The teaching curriculum of the 1902 Act was given to the Local Education Authorities, but the Board could issue codes of practice which, according to one expert:

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[2] P. Gordon, R. Aldrich, D. Dean, *Education and Policy in England in the Twentieth Century*, (London, 1991), p. 278.

[3] Ibid.

[4] By that time the separation between elementary and secondary education had not been as clear, especially for the last years of the former and the first of the latter. This would be more evident during the first years of the century with Morant's Education Act in 1902, which was to promote curricula appropriate to different types of schools.

[5] Ibid, p.294; see also J. Petch, *Fifty Years of Examining*, (London, 1954).

'...prevented a whole lot of things from happening in secondary education and in advanced elementary education which ought to have been able to happen'.[6]

Calls for re-examination of the whole educational system came with the First World War. A whole new attitude towards education arose with the cry 'Secondary education for all'.[7] The curriculum of secondary schools came under scrutiny. A Reconstruction Committee with the role of advising the Board proposed that the curriculum needed more specialisation, but no radical changes were initiated after that.

At this stage, examinations for the various stages of secondary education were arranged by a multitude of authorities, and the need for a body if not to concentrate at least to co-ordinate all these authorities was apparent.[8] Under the auspices of the historian H.A.L. Fisher, the then President of the Board of Education, the Secondary School Examinations Council was created. Its major innovation was to establish two sets of examinations for sixth-formers recognised by the Board: the School Certificate to be taken at 16, and the Higher School Certificate to be taken at 18. Although there had been fears from the Local Education Authorities and the teachers' associations, that these kind of bodies would end in central control of the examinations by the Board, these fears were never justified and the SSEC remained only an advisory body on the examination of separate subjects. Furthermore, exactly because the Board of Education was by no means bound to follow the advice of the SSEC, it was said that the Council did not establish itself as an important educational body and that the universities failed to utilise it as a means of co-operation with each other, with the schools, and with the Board.[9] However, the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate, established in 1917, were replaced by the General Certificate of Education at Ordinary and Advanced level in the early fifties and remained very popular.[10] One of the main concerns of the educationalists of the thirties was the so called 'cardinal principle' that examination should follow the school curriculum and not determine it.[11] This problem was to remain throughout

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[6] M. Kogan, *The Politics of Educational Change*, (Glasgow, 1978), p.62.

[7] R.H. Tawney *Secondary Education for All*, (London, 1924).

[8] The number of these examinations was 'no less than one hundred'...P. Gordon, R. Aldrich, D. Dean, op. cit., pp.300-301.

[9] J.L. Brereton, *The Case For Examinations*, (Cambridge, 1944), p.95.

[10] A detailed account of the establishment of GCE is given in P.Fisher's monograph, *External Examinations in Secondary Schools in England and Wales 1944-1964*, (Leeds, 1982).

[11] Report of the Panel of Investigators appointed by the Secondary School Examinations Council to enquire into the eight approved School Certificate Examinations held in the summer of 1931. J.L. Brereton, op. cit., p.97.

the twentieth century, despite the continuous efforts of the central authorities and the schools to make examinations a warrant of the work in the classroom and not the other way around.[12] It is a problem which is also related to the double role of examinations both as school-leaving certificate and as a university matriculation test. During the thirties, this dual purpose was criticised by various educational institutions.[13]

Any interventionist attitude from the Board with regard to decisions about the teaching curriculum was to be changed when Baldwin's Conservative administration, with Lord Eustace Percy at the Board, at the prospect of a Labour victory in 1926 'removed all parliamentary controls governing the elementary school curriculum... This had the effect of playing down the differences between the curricula of secondary modern schools and those of grammar schools.'[14] The Hadow Report of 1926 was to a certain extent an effort to 'dispel the Socialist and Labour war-cry of "Secondary Education for All" by altering its essential meaning'.[15] Secondary modern schools would accommodate more pupils in secondary education, with an inferior curriculum which was to be suitable for 'the less able' pupils.

In that framework, where 'the curriculum was to follow the needs and abilities of the pupils' and not vice versa,[16] the Spens Committee on Secondary Education in 1938 consolidated the three different types of schools - the grammar, the modern and the technical - where different curricula corresponded to the different types of pupils who attended them. However, the real educational policies which pursued a much harder line on the differentiation of pupils' ability at an early stage, and therefore, organised respectively the

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[12] Attempts on the part of the Minister to make examinations less important than classroom work as well as attempts from the schools to enhance their own prestige, will be discussed further in this chapter in relation to the intention of the central power to influence the examination curriculum.

[13] P. Fisher, op. cit. The Association of Education Committees as well as the Joint Four (Associations of School Masters and Mistresses) individual teachers' associations, argued that examinations rigidified the secondary school curriculum, p.4.

[14] P. Gordon, R. Aldrich, D. Dean, op. cit., p.285.

[15] Ibid. The writers quote the Permanent Secretary of the Board saying this to Selby-Bigge, deputed by the Consultative Committee to carry out a study on the feasibility of secondary education for all. Finally, the Hadow report was to be remembered for its recognition of the need for different provision for elementary and secondary education, and the creation of secondary modern schools, where children were supposed to acquire 'experience' rather than 'knowledge', p.284.

[16] P. Gordon, R. Aldrich, D. Dean, op. cit., p.285.

different types of school which corresponded to different types of curricula, came after the Norwood report in 1943. Real change came with the Act which became the basis for post-war English and Welsh education: Butler's 1944 Education Act.

The Act and its Aftermath

The curricular arrangement of the Act was minimal. The official position of the curriculum from 1945 to 1988 was arranged by the Ministry of Education as a schedule to Administrative Memorandum No 25, as follows:

> The Local Education Authority shall determine the general educational character of the school and its place in the local educational system. Subject thereto, the governors shall have the general direction of the conduct and curriculum of school...There shall be consultation at all times between the Headmaster and the Chairman of the Governors. All proposals and reports affecting the conduct and curriculum of the school shall be submitted formally to the Governors...Suitable arrangements shall be made for enabling the teaching staff to submit their views or proposals to the Governors through the Headmaster.[17]

It is obvious in this statement that the schools had an immense liberty to construct their own curriculum, while the governors would have a partial and often vague authority to change it. It has been argued that Butler deliberately left out any requirement for the school curriculum for the same political reason that Lord Percy abolished the Elementary Regulations in 1926: that is, the fear that a future Labour administration could use the power existing in the Regulations to control the school curriculum in an explicitly socialist way.[18] With the exception of Ellen Wilkinson, most post-war Labour and Conservative Ministers were proud to expand this non-interventionist policy on the curriculum, arguing that 'consensus is better than control'.[19]

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[17] Memorandum No.25, 26th Jan 1945, n5, Ministry of Education.

[18] J.P. White, 'The end of the compulsory curriculum', *The Curriculum* (London, the Doris Lee Lectures, 1975), pp.22-39, cited in C. Chitty, 'Central control of the school curriculum 1944-87', *History of Education*, vol.17, No.4, 1988, p.323.

[19] D. Dean, 'Planning for post war generation: Ellen Wilkinson and George Tomlinson at the Ministry of Education, 1945-51', *History of Education*, 15 (2) (1986), 95-117, where Dean provides evidence (PRO ED136/788) of Wilkinson's resentment of the schooling of working class pupils, coming from a narrow practical curriculum in the secondary modern schools and a very early selection. Cited in C. Chitty, 'Central Control of the Curriculum', p.324.

The history of the curriculum after the Act of 1944 can be separated into three major periods. The first covers the years 1944 to 1964, subdivided at 1954 when the immediate post-war emergencies had by and large been dealt with and the second phase began with the great educational expansion, the setting up of the comprehensives, the creation of the DES and the Schools Council for the Curriculum and Examinations. The second period, 1964 to 1976, was a period of further educational expansion when the inadequacies of previous decisions in educational and especially curricular matters created motivations for a change. The third period, from the launching of the 'Great Debate' in 1976 to the Education Reform Act and the imposition of the national curriculum in 1988, is not within the period this thesis examines, but it will be mentioned since it concludes the last phase of the post-war educational policies of this century.

The 1944 Act was a product of a Conservative minister in the wartime coalition government. Butler's Act was the educational legislation which consolidated and expanded the tripartite differentiation of schooling, and at the same time established the division of children into streams of ability. Although this division of schools was not mentioned in the Act it was nevertheless assumed. In a rather typical manner for a ministerial Act which does not want to provoke debate, the decision to create the three tiers of education was implied rather than clearly stated. Yet debate had already started before 1944. The pedagogical as well as the social soundness of such categorisation had already been challenged by teachers and educationalists during the war, even though there had not been by that time any drastic measures for a policy to fight tripartism. In its 1942-43 party conference, Labour expressed a 'unanimous commitment' to multilateral schools, predecessors of comprehensives. This scheme had been supported by the largest and most prestigious local authority in the country, the London County Council, since 1935.[20] In a memorable meeting the Education Committee of the Council resolved to recommend that: 'the post primary part of the Council's Development Plan...should aim at establishing a system of Comprehensive High Schools through the County of London...'.[21] Yet this was to be ignored in the Act.

The alleged consensus which was to dominate post-war politics viewed Butler's Education Act as the epitome of the welfare state. However, the almost unanimous approval of the benefit which Butler's Act was supposed to have brought to secondary education was short-lived. As living standards rose and the demand for education which would lead to professions rose as well, the handicap of the scarcity and unavailability of the schools which would accommodate this emerging social need became more and more apparent. In other words, the

[20] B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, (London, 1991), p.103.

[21] H.C. Dent, *Growth in English Education, 1946-1952*, (London, 1954), p.78.

need for a curriculum which would provide a liberal education was much greater than that predicted by the Act. 'Parity of esteem' between the different schools, a principle promised in the Act, was never really achieved, leaving only a small percentage of schools with a curriculum which could educate students for success.[22] Whether this curriculum would be the exclusive privilege of the public, grammar and independent schools, or should infiltrate the classrooms of the secondary modern and later the comprehensive schools, was an even more important political debate which, for the first time in the twentieth century, brought education to the forefront of party politics during the sixties.

The immediate post-war period was a period in which reconstruction and recuperation from the war were more urgent than any of the radical changes being suggested by the Ministry and elsewhere. The Local Education Authorities gave priority to issues such as rebuilding schools, or meeting the standards that the Education Act of 1944 had set. Raising the school leaving age to 15 in 1947, as well as the increase in the school population as a result of the baby boom in the fifties, brought a clientele of an extra million children by 1954.[23] This, together with the reluctance of the educational world at that early time to consider the multilateral or comprehensive school as alternatives to tripartite streaming had put curricular matters for that time to one side, as the traditional way of operating continued.[24]

Until the early fifties, the Education Act seemed to provide a neat arrangement criticised only by few, within and outside the educational environment. Amongst them were the advocates of the comprehensive schools, such as the London County Council, as mentioned above, and the Advisory Council in Education in Scotland. The latter suggested that:

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[22] See appendix interview A, with J. Lewin p.259.

[23] R. Lowe, *The Welfare State in Britain since 1945*, (London, 1993), pp.204-209.

[24] On the attitudes of the educationalists at that time towards comprehensive education, see D. Rubinstein and B. Simon, *The Evolution of the Comprehensive School 1926-1972*, (London 1969,1973), pp.33-51. Also B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, op. cit., chapter on 'The Labour Government in Control', pp.88-143. Simon refers (p.109) to a plan for a comprehensive system proposed in 1948 by the Middlesex County Council suggesting a common curriculum in place of separate courses for 'different types of child', which would also have made possible a rapid transition instead of waiting for the building of huge schools for seven to eleven-years-olds - a plan which was rejected.

... It is difficult enough to assess general ability at that age: how much harder to determine specific bents and aptitudes with the degree of accuracy that would justify this three-fold classification.[25]

In his famous essay *Citizenship and Social Class*, published in 1950, T.H. Marshall argued that the claim of the Act to provide 'equality of opportunity' was by and large blocked by the process of early selection.

... Equality of opportunity is offered to all children entering the primary schools, but at an early age they are usually divided into three streams - the best, the average, and the backward. Already opportunity is becoming unequal, and the children's range of chances limited...In the end the jumble of mixed seed originally put into the machine emerges in neatly labelled packets ready to be sown in the appropriate gardens.[26]

However, the educationalists were made to reconsider the neatness of the Act's arrangement by the increased number of those who demanded a curriculum which would lead them to higher social status, that is, schools which would lead to professions. This increase came during the period of the great expansion of education, 1954-1964, when pupils in the sixth forms of grammar schools more than doubled, while many secondary modern schools established fifth forms for pupils staying on to take O-level in the General Certificate of Education. Coinciding with the peak of Macmillan's housing drive and the determination of the Conservative party to give reality to Butler's Act, the government was committed to planned capital expenditure of £300 million over five years for secondary education.[27]

The decade of the mid-fifties to the mid-sixties was to transform an austere society still acutely class conscious, still living under post-war straitened economic and social circumstances, to a society demanding greater social mobility, gradually abandoning old moral codes which ceased to have much effect for the new world of scientific innovation and international communication. The advantage of having an welfare state became evident in people's lives during these years, as those who used to be underprivileged were encouraged to abandon fatalist ideas about their social position, and to look for a life with long-term security.[28] The ticket for social upgrading was to be bought through education, and the

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[25] Advisory Council on Education in Scotland (1947) p.31, cited in D.Rubinstein and B.Simon p.48, also in A. Kazamias, op. cit., chapter II, p.8.

[26] T.H. Marshall, T. Bottomore, *Citizenship and Social Class*, (London, 1992), pp.36-39.

[27] R. Lowe, op. cit., pp. 204-207.

[28] *Studies in the British Economy, The United Kingdom Economy*, National Institute of Economic and Social Research, (London, 1976). Between 1951 and 1977 public expenditure on education at constant prices increased about three and a half times. As a proportion of

impediments of selection came under scrutiny, showing their dated nature and their 'eugenic' provenance.

As the establishment of the General Certificate of Education in 1951 allowed pupils in secondary modern schools up until the age of 15 to participate in the examination, teachers were encouraging pupils from these schools to seize their chances. But things were not so when the examination was initially established. The Norwood report originally proposed that the exam should only be taken by 16-year olds, which effectively meant only grammar school pupils could take it, since few secondary moderns offered the extra year at school.[29] Where they did offer an extra year, the report aimed to discourage whole forms from taking the examination, expecting instead only a few talented pupils to take it, who could be confidently expected to pass; if followed this would guarantee that the candidates would come predominantly from grammar schools.[30] It was only after the opposition of some Local Education Authorities that the age limit for the GCE Ordinary level was dropped to 15 at the discretion of the headmaster for the exceptionally able pupil.[31] As a matter of fact, the debate on dropping the age limit for the examination was very characteristic of the rapid changes in the spirit of secondary education taking place in the few years following the war. The educationalists who conducted the inquiry of the Norwood report were in favour of internal examinations for secondary modern schools, in theory to strengthen their own work, but in fact leaving them without any external qualification. The GCE was not a school-leaving examination, and it was mainly designed to qualify candidates either for the sixth form or for

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GNP it rose from 3.4 per cent in 1951 to 6.7 per cent in 1977. This reflected a considerable increase in the numbers in full-time education, both at schools and at universities and colleges of further education. The growth has been uneven, reflecting the fluctuating birth rates since the war. See p.51.

[29] P. Fisher, op. cit. This was the attitude of the Ministry when designing the new examination, but also that of the SSEC as well as of most of the LEAs, with very few exceptions of institutions or individuals who foresaw a necessity for some form of external examination at the end of every kind of secondary schooling. See p.22 and p.31.

[30] J. Petch, *Fifty Years of Examining*, (London, 1954), p.170. Furthermore, as well as discouraging those who did not come from grammar schools to sit the exam, the argument for a higher age limit was that, given that many grammar school children leave school before, or at, the statutory leaving age, of 15, the right to sit the exam earlier would discourage them from continuing with school after the examination. So, allegedly, it would be to the benefit of the grammar school pupil to have a higher age limit for the examination.

[31] P. Fisher, op. cit., p.32. The Ministry started changing policy, by the 1950, trying to encourage secondary modern school pupils to stay longer at school and attempt the GCE.

professions, since the standard of the examination was based on an academic curriculum found mainly in grammar schools. As the demand for qualifications after secondary schooling became general in post-war society, the GCE examination seemed more elitist than was it initially intended to be. Already from the first years of its practice the need for another examination which would cover the education of the less able in schools other than those of high academic standards became apparent.[32]

In 1954, 5,000 pupils from secondary modern schools entered the examination and by 1962, this number had risen to 36,000.[33] Although this was still only an eighth of the age group, the rise had been alarming enough for various bodies to call for social surveys of education. In 1954 a report called *Early Leaving* conducted by the Central Advisory Council for Education showed how educational opportunity was still directly connected with social origin, (indicating that working class pupils even when in grammar schools very rarely managed to stay there up to the statutory leaving age), while a report on 'Social Class and Educational Opportunity', conducted by Jean Floud, an opponent of the selection tests and the tripartite system, published in 1956, showed the same results.[34] The role of the examinations at this stage was elitist, in sieving both the input and output of secondary schooling, while the dominant feeling of that era was the demand of those pupils who received any kind of secondary education to be able to purchase better employment.

By the late fifties the sense that the 1944 Education Act had failed to create 'equality of opportunity' infiltrated the circles of the Ministry of Education. A Memorandum by David Eccles, was very explicit in appreciating the strengths and failures of the Act.

> The result is that the great post-war expansion of the education service has disappointed the hopes raised in 1944. In the main, we have been 'running like mad just to stand still'. At the same time we have substantial achievements to our credit in maintaining and improving standards. There is also a steadily increasing public interest in education and a great belief in its value. This

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[32] William Alexander, who was the main advocate for a higher age limit for the examination, so that modern schools would not be unfavourably compared with grammar schools, was very keen after 1952 for the creation of a new external examination which would cover the less able secondary school pupil. Fisher claims that Alexander's influence on the creation of a valid external examination other than the GCE was immense. P. Fisher. op. cit., p.47.

[33] D. Rubinstein, B. Simon, op. cit., p.56.

[34] There had been other reports such as P.E. Vernon's published after a survey in Southampton schools and J.C. Daniels' who attacked the IQ tests and early streaming. They concluded that the effects of early streaming are 'far reaching and cumulative', p.65, cited in D. Rubinstein, B. Simon, op. cit., p.61.

shows itself, on the one hand, in complaints about the 11+ examination and the continued use of bad school buildings and, on the other, in the remarkable increase in voluntary stopping on at school after the age of 15.[35]

Sir David Eccles, who was alarmed by these facts, set up the Crowther Committee in 1956 to report on the situation of secondary schooling.[36] In 1959 a report was published containing statistics which were to expose the inability of the Education Act of 1944 to provide education for a modern post-war society, and its attachment instead to goals suitable for the interwar and immediate post-war period in Britain. More specifically it showed that

> ...a majority of children aged between fifteen and eighteen were getting no education at all - just over half the boys, and two thirds of the girls. Only a quarter of all fifteen to seventeen-year-olds (boys and girls) were staying on at school or going into some kind of full-time further education. At seventeen, the proportion was only 10 per cent; at eighteen, the proportion of boys staying in full-time education was below 8 per cent, and for girls under 6 per cent. Moreover, only an additional 21 per cent of boys received some form of part-time education; for girls, the proportion was 6 percent.[37]

Such statistics recorded a waste of talent which the nation could no longer afford. By the late fifties education had to take up the challenge of providing higher productivity, to respond

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[35] Report PRO CAB134/1663, 3 July, 1958. The report was called 'A Drive in Education' and was published in 1958 in a slightly revised form as a white paper. David Eccles was ready to admit that the tripartite system had not justified its purpose. In a memorandum in April 1955, during the first year of his ministry, he admitted that 'Parity of esteem, has not yet happened, and the resentment appears to be growing', PRO CAB129/75 C.P. (55) 6.

[36] It is worth mentioning that Sir David Eccles had been in many ways pioneering. Although he had been an advocate of the quintessential conservative beliefs on education, that is, support for grammar schools rather than the comprehensives, traditional values of discipline and excellence in school, he was the minister who demanded a greater share of the budget for education. In a letter to Harold Macmillan in March 1960, he characteristically notes 'I think education can be the best symbol of a shift in emphasis from consumption to investment.' PRO/Prem11/3728. Eccles together with Boyle (he was even more sympathetic towards comprehensives and definitely against the 11-plus examination - C. Knight, *The Making of the Tory Education Policy in Post-War Britain, 1950-1986* (London, 1990), p.23 and p.34) who held office between Eccles's two periods in the DES, had been the 'enlightened' team of ministers of education, in a period where the Conservative party did not have a concrete ideology on education. See also M. Kogan op. cit., p.22, and R. Lowe, op. cit., p.211.

[37] R. Rogers, *Crowther to Warnock, How Fourteen Reports Tried to Change Children's Lives*, (London, 1980), p.5.

not only to modern technological jobs, but also to jobs where an attested standard of general education was a prerequisite.[38]

The main suggestions that the Crowther report put forward were to raise the school leaving age to 16, to make county councils responsible for enforcing attendance to broaden the sixth-form curriculum at grammar schools, to delay specialisation, to integrate apprenticeships with schools and further education, and to appoint more graduate teachers in schools.[39]

Most of these suggestions were to be taken up a decade after, while some like the proposal for county councils were completely abandoned. One measure which the report suggested and which was taken up the following year, was the establishment of a new external examination, the CSE, which would target the less able pupils of the secondary modern schools, who would attempt the examination instead of the intimidating GCE, so that they would leave school with a qualification.[40] This gave more autonomy to schools, since they organised their examination syllabuses closer to their teaching ones.

What became clear by that time was that, at an age where education was clearly seen as a national investment, the focus of attention was on the content of education of the crucial age group from 15 to 18. Therefore with this advisory committee report the curriculum entered the central stage of the concern of the Ministry and the educationalists. It is very characteristic that in 1959, the year of the publication of the report, C.P. Snow gave a lecture on 'The Two Cultures', where he criticised English education as 'rigid and crystallised' suffering from the

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[38] Ibid.

[39] Ibid, p.6.

[40] P. Fisher, op. cit. Under the influence of Alexander the Beloe Committee was established to report on all examinations other than the GCEs being used in secondary schools till then. The committee, operating between 1958-1960, found that all other existing examinations lacked 'national currency' and had no uniformity. However, it was the striking growth of children taking the different external examinations available, despite official discouragement, that placed a threat that these uncontrolled authorities which issue syllabuses in the end might become more influential in the curriculum. The Beloe report published in September 1960, prepared the way for the creation of a new external examination for the non academic. The final proposals were laid down by the SSEC, the NUT, AEC and Alexander himself, who was very keen to see teachers forming subject panels to put forward their suggestions rather than official representatives of Associations of Teachers. The final Report was put down in 1963 and the first CSE examinations took place in 1965. The new examination was yet another step for uniformity and equality of standards on a national basis. See pp.47-59.

passion of overspecialization at an early stage, which produced different categories of educated people. When this was published, as a pamphlet, it sold 100,000 copies in a few years, indicating that many more educationalists were sharing similar views.[41]

In the meantime and directly related to anxieties about the curriculum, comprehensive schools took root during the decade 1954 to 1964. Although they were not supported by the Conservative Ministers of that period, their increasing numbers in secondary education left little doubts that they were the schools which might ensure the realisation of the long promised 'equality of opportunity'. Eccles was definitely negative about comprehensives, especially when he was first in office between 1954 and 1957. In a memorandum where he answered criticisms of the 11-plus examination, he employed all the right-wing rhetoric on the principle of 'choice', which came as a result of selection and maintenance of the status quo.

> ...the feelings aroused by the 11+ exam, both justified and unjustified, force either towards selection for nobody or towards selection for everybody. Selection for nobody means comprehensive schools with grammar schools abolished and parents' choice practically ruled out. The Socialists support this policy on the principle of fair shares for all. Selection for everybody means developing in each secondary school some special attraction and giving parents the widest possible choice.[42]

However, his attitude only a few years later showed more tolerance and even appreciation for the utility of comprehensive education, especially for areas of 'extensive new housing, where there were no existing schools with a well-established tradition as grammar or technical or modern schools.'[43] Furthermore Edward Boyle, the Conservative minister from 1962 to 1964, succeeding Eccles after his second period at the Department of Education from 1959 to 1962, was even more tolerant if not positive towards comprehensives.[44]

The period 1954-1964 was the experimental decade for the comprehensives, in which they were built not only after the plea for abandonment of the inadequacies of the tripartite system,

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[41] B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, p.210. C.P. Snow urged that compared to other educational systems, Britain teach a far smaller proportion of children up to the age of 18, and takes a far smaller proportion up to the level of university degree. The old pattern of training a small elite has never been broken, though it has been slightly bent. C.P. Snow, *Two Cultures*, (London, 1959), p.34.

[42] Memorandum PRO CAB 129/75 (para 10) 18 April 1955.

[43] White Paper PRO CAB129/95 (para 16) December 1958.

[44] C. Knight, op.cit., pp.28-29.

but also very often because of the practical needs of the secondary school population. Thus, during this first period, comprehensives seemed to be a good solution either for areas with a small pupil population, such as the Lake District (where a school for all boys in the area seemed a more reasonable and economical solution), or in areas with very dense population such as London (where bigger schools could accommodate a larger number of pupils in small and expensive sites). Areas such as South Wales also tended to avoid tripartism, abolishing the 11-plus examination and aiming at comprehensives. So did Local Education Authorities in the Midlands and Leicestershire.[45] The increase in comprehensives during this period was 7.9%, accommodating 8.5% of the secondary school population in 1965.[46] By the end of the sixties almost 50% of the pupil population were in comprehensives, making educational expansion a new reality.

There was therefore not only the question of what to teach in the last grades of the tripartite schools, but also what to teach in the new schools which had a mixed ability population and were intended to be a fresh start for their pupils. One could say that the demand for re-examination of the curriculum was coming from both right and left. The Conservative ministers hoped to cure the malady by looking for a remedy of the curriculum for the last years of all three types of schools. The politicians and educationalists from the left looked for a remedy in the establishing schools which would offer a general curriculum during the first years. In that sense the latter hoped to prevent the malady rather than cure it by giving talent a fair chance to develop.

Table 3.1: Growth of comprehensive schools in England and Wales, 1950-1973

Number of schools	10	16	130	262	1145	1825
Percentage of secondary school population in comprehensives	0.3%	0.6%	4.7%	8.5%	31%	48%

In March 1960, Sir David Eccles suggested what was to become a first blow to the English status quo on the curriculum.[47] He suggested that time had brought for the ministry 'an irresistible invitation to sally into the secret garden of the curriculum'.[48]

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[45] B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, p.203-211.

[46] See table: 3.1, reproduced from B. Simon and D.Rubinstein, op. cit., p.109.

[47] This was in the course of a debate in the House of Commons on the results of the Crowther Committee's report. House of Commons Debates, Sir David Eccles, 21 March 1960, col. 52.

What Eccles was suggesting was an attack on what had been, in the words of two educationalists,

> '...the purely twentieth century English dogma that the curriculum is a thing to be planned by teachers and other educational professionals alone and that the state's first duty in this matter is to maximise teacher autonomy and freedom.'[49]

Eccles was referring mainly to the curriculum for sixth-formers, avoiding at that early phase the re-examination of the whole issue of the curriculum for all grades. The unit suggested was to be called the 'Curriculum Study Group', and it was finally set up in March 1962, consisting of Ministry officials, Her Majesty's Inspectors and outside experts.[50] As a matter of fact, Inspectors were the heart of the study group which was mostly favoured by the Ministry.[51] This first attempt on the part of the Ministry caused great alarm among teachers and local authorities, who opposed any intervention in what they considered a strictly professional matter. Their views were articulated in the objections of educationalists such as Sir William Alexander, Secretary of the Association of Education Committees and Sir Ronald Gould, General Secretary of the National Union of Teachers, who were opposed to the principle that central authority would interfere in curricular matters especially in that form and to that extent.[52] What they were prepared to accept instead was a representative body of

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[48] The reference to *The Secret Garden* comes from the title of a children's novel by Frances Hodgson Burnett published in 1911. The phrase though, was used in a plethora of publications about curriculum control.

[49] R. Bell W. Prescot, eds. *The Schools Council: A Second Look*, (London, 1975), p.2.

[50] The initiative for a curriculum reform body aiming to 'modernise' the country, by elaborating science teaching and modern languages in schools was taken by an independently funded body, the Nuffield Foundation. Nuffield suggested reforms of science subjects after taking the opinion of teachers in selected public and maintained schools. The projects were specifically aimed at the 'top 20 per cent' of those in public and grammar schools, not the mass of children. Even when the curriculum reform was taken over by the Schools Council, Nuffield continued to be involved in its own independent activities for several years. B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, op. cit., pp.314-315.

[51] Documents PRO ED147/789,(786, 985, 1329,1330) on the Curriculum Study Group, are crammed with HMIs signatures. A letter from the Minister of Education Edward Boyle to the Director of Nuffield Foundation, suggested that there are too many HMIs in the CG, and they have to do something about it.

[52] B. Simon, *Education and Social Order,* op. cit., p.312. See also R. Manzer, 'The Secret Garden of the Curriculum', in R. Bell, W. Prescot, (eds.), op. cit., pp.11-13. This is an

teachers, educationalists and administrators, so that the balance of educational power was not to be seriously disturbed.[53]

Thus we see that a measure such as this was breaking the modus operandi which started at the beginning of the century and was consolidated with the 1944 Act, that is, the liberty of the teachers to form their own curriculum. However, in reality the teachers were aware of the limitations of this famous and unique liberty. Their first and main constraint of course was the financial and physical limitations inherent in the institutional environment of the schools they were working. The second equally important limitation came from the constraint of the external and even internal examinations. As the demand for examinations was increasing, so the outcome of their work was to be judged by them, and consequently the teaching curricula had to be in some sort of harmony with the examination syllabuses. Therefore they were not completely opposed in principle to having a body to co-ordinate curriculum matters, but they were willing to contribute to such a body if they could ensure a greater participation for themselves. The cardinal principle of the beginning of the century became omnipresent in the school life of twentieth century.[54]

All these factors led to the creation of a new body which would be somewhere in between the wishes of the teachers to control their own curricula, the intentions of the Minister to put some order in the curriculum, and the desire of the inspectors, administrators, and other educationalists to control the outcome of this process. This co-ordinating body was created in October 1964, the very month Labour came into power. It was called the Schools Council for the Curriculum and the Examinations, a successor of the SSEC of 1917, and its history was linked with the overall transformation of education which took place during the following decade.

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example of a rival not an enemy bureaucracy (see chapter I, p.17) fighting on another part of the establishment. Local representatives and school teachers compete with HMIs, all parties' favourites for more representation.

[53] R. Manzer, 'The Secret Garden of the Curriculum', in R.Bell, W.Prescot, (eds.) op. cit., pp.12-14.

[54] See chapter V, p.121-127.

The Secret, the Garden and the Keyholders

It was a Conservative government who intended to interfere centrally with the curriculum, but it was a Labour government who realised this intention. The Schools Council was thus controversial from the beginning. It was a body set up to establish the official intervention of the central state in the curricula, while this was to be safeguarded by the representatives of the professionals themselves. It is interesting to see the official role of this body in terms of its influence on the curriculum formation as well as the consistency of its administration.

The Schools Council's purpose was to undertake research and development work on curricula, teaching methods and examinations in schools. Its role would be primarily an advisory one. Its work would lead only to recommendations, rather than directions given to schools, supported by nothing more than the authority of good research. Schools would still retain the fullest responsibility for their own work, and the council would influence schools only through 'suggestions'. As an educational journal concluded that 'it is an organisation which can cock a snook at the Ministry any time it likes, yet has no powers of dictation over the man in the classroom.'[55]

Internally, it was to be organised as a free association of partners, where a majority of teachers was assured. More than half of the members came from the National Union of Teachers, the Association of School Masters and Mistresses, or were head teachers, while the rest of the membership included representatives from Local Education Authorities, Voluntary Educational Councils, GCE Examining Boards, the National Association of Inspectors, the Association of University Teachers, the Trades Union Congress, the Confederation of British Industry, the Confederation of Parent-Teacher Associations, as well as representatives from the Secretary of State for Education and Science.[56] With such a wide range of representation, this new body aimed to become: 'a *forum or parliament* where the various relevant, educational factions can settle their differences amicably and creatively'.[57]

In this manner, instead of allowing central interference in the curriculum, the Schools Council rather consolidated the power of the teachers in the classroom. However, the vague targets of this body, which were to lead to 'suggestions' rather than a more accountable implementation of any of its elaborate projects, as well as the nature of its membership, which

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[55] R. Manzer, op. cit., p.13.

[56] R. Bell, W. Prescot, 'The Schools Council: an official statement, history and representation', in R.Bell, W.Prescot, op. cit., pp.7-8.

[57] Ibid, p.4.

was pluralist but not concrete in the sense of expertise, made it 'a body walking since birth on a political tightrope'.[58]

The Schools Council's intention to generate consensus rather than initiate radical innovation was obvious in its role in the examination curriculum, which according to many educationalists was the main sector in which the Council had been substantially influential. Stuart Maclure provides an analysis of how this happened.[59] He argues that it was because the same people from the educational establishment had been sitting in interlocking committees and speaking with different voices according to which masks they were wearing. He starts with people at the top such as Derek Morell, the joint secretary of the abolished Curriculum Study Group, and goes on to the example of projects of the 'developers' negotiated along with those projects put forward by examinations boards, seeking for agreement, compromise, a 'give and take' attitude rather than confrontation.[60] Although this body, overwhelmed by teachers' authority, was to mark a change, since it took over authority from the Department of Education and Science to consult on examinations, there had been no changes in law or in administrative philosophy to make the DES give up any power over the supervision of examinations. More specifically, Maclure comments on the weakness of the Council to propose new teaching syllabuses and its concentration on providing an examination spectrum which was in any case in agreement with the syllabuses of the examining boards:

> What was lacking was any real commitment to a developmental approach. Here was a national curriculum development body engaged in major curriculum change, but the methods it used were largely the traditional ones of a priori reasoning, taking evidence, sounding opinion and seeking to mobilise agreement within the professional establishment....The whole exercise was one of examination planning rather than of curriculum development. Individual examining boards prepared feasibility studies, the Schools Council assessed the results, made a judgement and put forward proposals to the Secretary of State. But the boards simply assumed that an appropriate curriculum would somehow emerge from within the system as a result of changes in examination

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[58] Ibid, p.3. The Schools Council was also criticised for its inefficient operation exactly because of the over-representation of teachers on it. R. Manzer refers to 'the teachers on the Council and its committees who have found themselves overwhelmed with paper (as one member complained, "two pounds of documents two days before a meeting") unable to cope effectively with all the material confronting them, and thus unable to take the initiative themselves or to prevent its being taken by the Department of Education and Science', op. cit., p.14.

[59] T. Becher & S. Maclure, *The Politics of Curriculum Change*, (London, 1978), pp.40-43.

[60] Derek Morell moved across to become one of the first joint secretaries of the new-found Council, as did the HMI, Robert Morris.

structure - in effect, they worked on the principle that if the cart is placed in position the horse will sooner or later put itself between the shafts.[61]

Thus examinations still remained at the core of any real suggestions for the teachers in the classroom, which would judge the real outcome of their work. In that sense the establishment of bodies such as the Schools Council did not make any radical difference to life in the classroom.

Many educationalists claimed that the establishment of the Schools Council was the end of 'teacher control in the curriculum, as well as the period of optimism and consensus in education', a period from 1944 till the early sixties.[62] But as we have seen the Schools Council meant little change at the 'chalkface' as the colloquial name for classroom teaching goes. Others claim that the symbolic value of the Schools Council entailed two contradictory ideals, that of incorporation of the professionals in the establishment, and that of autonomy. Brian Simon characteristically notes:

> The importance of the Schools Council, it may perhaps be argued, lay more in its acting as a symbol of the ideology of 'teacher control' and even 'autonomy' than anything it actually did - or than any specific influence it actually had on either the examinations or the curriculum in the 1960s. It appeared to crystallise the historically determined 'partnership' concept of educational administration and control, overtly devolving curriculum and teaching on to where, it was widely accepted, they professionally belonged - the teachers. For a profession which, unlike medicine, law, engineering, was not in any way self-governing, it was a clear and deliberate step aimed at enhancing both the self-image and the public image of the teachers. On the one hand it could be seen (or interpreted) as a step towards the incorporation of teachers into governing processes; on the other as enhancing their scope for autonomous activity. If teachers took the latter direction, the potential for conflict with the authorities might be enhanced. In the meantime the Schools Council appeared as a striking victory of the idea of teacher, school and local autonomy as opposed to central direction, interference and top-down management.[63]

If something was changing in the whole process concerning curriculum influence, except for the factors already mentioned, it was the role of advisers from LEAs who were increasing in importance, as the role of the traditional and much-respected HMIs declined.[64] The

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[61] T. Becher & S. Maclure, op.cit, p.42.

[62] D. Lawton, *The Politics of School Curriculum,* (London, 1980), p.22 cited in C. Chitty, 'Central Control of the Curriculum 1944-87', p.327.

[63] B. Simon, *Education and Social Order,* pp.313-314.

[64] A study by Lawson and Gordon, showed that the period after the 60s was the lowest period of HMIs' influence and morale. D. Lawson and P. Gordon, HMI (London, 1987), p.24, cited in C. Chitty 'Central Control of the curriculum 1944-87', p.327. Also Alan Barnes from the

professional integrity of HMIs, due to their governmental independence, was rarely challenged. However, as the DES during the early seventies moved further towards intervention it planned a new role for the once independent HMIs. In the words of Salter and Tapper, the DES had to rely more on its internal means of information rather than on information supplied by external groups: 'In this respect, the role of the HMIs as the field representatives and data collection agents of the DES is bound to be crucial in its efforts to sustain the move to the centre.'[65]

A pamphlet of the DES published in 1970, titled *HMIs Today and Tomorrow* defined HMIs as 'a body of men and women ultimately answerable to the Secretary of State for Education and Science'[66], even though their title is given 'as a recognition of the limited but important degree to which the inspectorate is independent of the executive'.[67] Salter and Tapper argue that HMIs from this point onwards were to become integrated with the DES, and their famous autonomy would be sustained more as a myth to enhance the apparent objectivity of the information on which the Department rested its policy proposals.[68]

The governors, who were chosen by the 1944 Act to supervise curricula matters, simply continued their 'perfunctory' work even after the post-war period. In the words of G. Baron and D.A. Howell: 'In very many cases, governors take only a perfunctory interest in the

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British Educational Administration Society Conference, stresses the special reputation HMIs enjoyed, since 'they were not civil servants but directly appointed by the Queen-in-Council but their traditional independence was not used to express controversy, even though they could do so. Their infrequent visits to schools, coming both because of their limited number only 500 in all (in 1976), and their other commitments, made their presence not especially felt in the school life. However, what they do suggest was listened to with a respect accorded to nobody else because of members of no other group can the same combination of intellectual distinction, disinterested judgement, impeccable manners and personal integrity be confidently expected. Yet, they are not great innovators. They are better at assessing how effectively a chosen end is being pursued, or a chosen method followed, than at advising on what ends and methods should be chosen.' A. Barnes, 'Great Britain: Decision Making on the curriculum in Britain', in R. Glatter, (ed.) in *Control of the Curriculum, Issues and Trends in Britain and Europe*, (London, 1977), p.21.

[65] B. Salter & T. Tapper, op. cit., p.110-111.

[66] DES pamphlet, *HMIs 'Today and Tomorrow*, revised edition 1971, p.1.

[67] Ibid, p.9.

[68] B. Salter & T. Tapper, op. cit., p.111.

curriculum, merely noting what the head chooses to tell them. This is exactly what is wanted by many heads, as they feel their governors are not competent to express an opinion.'[69]

This was only natural, since the majority of governors were local politicians, chosen by political reliability and long party service.[70] The potential conflicts between them and the headteachers had been avoided only by their general abrogation of responsibility for the head teacher's professional judgement.[71]

This was the feeling that most teachers or head teachers had for the LEA advisers who were to substitute inspection leading to command with inspection leading to recommendation. Their role was mostly to suggest methods of improving teaching rather than to refer schools to local authorities for inefficient teaching. These advisers were experts of two kinds. They might be subject advisers, who were particularly numerous, and especially notorious for authoritarian attitudes when dealing with teachers rather than the head. They might also be general advisers, who did have inspectorate powers, who were supposed to prefer persuasion to command. But even if they did not intend to intervene directly in the curriculum, as Alan Barnes notes,

> their voice in the allocation of resources to schools, in the arrangement and
> direction of in service training, in the making of senior appointments and in
> assessing teachers seeking promotion, means that they bring a strong LEA
> influence to bear on school decisions.[72]

Therefore advisers, with their limited expertise in curriculum matters and yet their power to influence LEA policy towards a school, were bound to be a source of conflict between teachers and the local power.[73]

In the meantime, the evolution of comprehensive education during the period 1964 to 1975, as well as the gradual decline of the grammar schools, was of striking importance for the development of the relationship between a central control versus a teachers' control of the curriculum. Circular (10/65) was issued to Local Education Authorities by Anthony Crosland,

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[69] G. Baron and D.A. Howell, *The Government and Management of Schools,* (London, 1974), p.125, cited in C. Chitty 'Central control of the Curriculum 1944-87', p.322.

[70] G. Fowler 'DES, ministers and the curriculum', in R. Bell, W. Prescot, *The Schools Council: A Second Look,* (London, 1975), p.84, Gerry Fowler was a Labour MP and a former Minister of State in the Department of Education and Science 1969-1970, 1974 and 1976.

[71] Ibid.

[72] A. Barnes, op. cit., p.18.

[73] See also appendix, interview B pp.268-269.

the Secretary of State, 'to end selection at eleven plus and to eliminate separatism in education'. This was not done by imposing it on the authorities but, as was typical for the British state, 'requesting' Local Education Authorities to act. Pressure was exercised with a circular published the following year,

> ...which laid down that resources would not be forthcoming for any building in secondary education which did not contribute to (or form part of) a scheme of comprehensive reorganisation; in this way the DES was able to use its financial powers to 'persuade' Local Education Authorities to go comprehensive.[74]

But it did not give a single pattern for how this change was going to happen. Instead of one model, four propositions were put forward, some of them very distant from separatism and some closer to it. As was natural, the patterns which were closer to what already existed, that is the separatist ones, had a fairer chance of surviving.[75] Thus, the pattern which prevailed was the one calling for a common curriculum for the first three years of the secondary course, and then streaming the pupils according to ability. The establishment of the Certificate of Secondary Education in 1967, which permitted a school to design its own curricula for examination, led to a more flexible organisation of the middle school, parallel to the traditional 'O' level GCE examination. This permitted new approaches to planning the curriculum in the comprehensives, where subjects were integrated and new methods of teaching were applied.[76]

Of course the schools which longed to be transformed into comprehensives were the secondary moderns and not the grammar schools, the grant-maintained or other state schools with the highest academic standards. Despite the growth of comprehensives, and despite their

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[74] D. Rubinstein, B. Simon, op. cit., p.107.

[75] B. Simon argues that due to pressure to prove that comprehensives could do equally well in the examination results, during the first years of their creation, they embodied the old hegemonic values. Thus, concentration on the more academic students, at the expense of the majority, founded separatism within the comprehensives. In *Education and Social Order*, op. cit., p. 303.

[76] D. Rubinstein B. Simon, op. cit., p.99. In an earlier report the various groupings of pupils in the first years of comprehensives is given, in streaming, setting, banding, and mixed ability. What is striking from this research is the variety of combinations of streaming and mixed ability schools adopted for placing pupils in the first years. C. Benn and B. Simon, *Half Way There*, (London, 1970), pp.146-152, and p.379.

rising standards backed with better results in the external examinations, the demand for grammar schools remained as alive as ever.[77]

The victory of the Conservatives in 1970 delayed and in some cases denied the 'reorganisation of secondary education through comprehensives' as Labour politicians had envisaged it, while the Secretary of State for Education, Margaret Thatcher, boosted hopes for support of grammar schools. The four years of Conservative administration were also known for the furore created over the notorious Black Papers, which attacked the modern approaches to education taken during the Labour years. The Black Papers were the manifestation of the Conservative educational policy, as articulated by the group of 'preservationist' educationalists which came as a counter proposal to the Labour party's dynamic policy for educational change. The preservationists were the advocates of what they called 'the pursuit of excellence' and the 'pursuit of choice'.[78] The pursuit of excellence meant the best secondary organisational system in which children would learn and be taught most effectively, which they considered to mean preserving grammar schools and the selective modes to approach them, against the comprehensives. By pursuit of choice they meant the ability of LEAs to choose how to organise their schools, of parents to choose the school they thought appropriate for their children and pupils to choose subjects and areas of study within schools. During their time in opposition, the Conservatives incubated a unified educational policy which came after a conflict between the leftist Conservatives such as Boyle, and the right-wing Conservatives such as Maud, Cox and Dyson. The latter were the writers of the first Black Paper, published in 1969, called 'Fight for Education', which was a critique of the method and stage of the various changes rather than a critique of principle.[79] The second Black Paper, however, published in October 1969, was called 'The Crisis in Education', and urged for a 'conservative restoration of those traditional high standards of English education that seemed to be in danger of being overthrown by "new" and "progressive" theories.[80] It was said that the future Education Secretary gave positive support to their campaign immediately.[81] The Conservatives' educational policy in government showed that the Black Papers' spirit had been absorbed into the party. Circular 10/70 which allowed the LEAs to choose which schools were to become grammar and which comprehensives according to local needs, replaced Circulars 10/65 and 10/66 and was to restore the 'pursuit of choice'.

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[77] C. Benn and B. Simon, op. cit., pp.24-25.

[78] C. Knight, op. cit., pp.32-33.

[79] Ibid, pp.49-50.

[80] Ibid, p.52.

[81] Ibid, p.53.

What did all these movements mean for the curriculum in the classroom during the early seventies? Despite the personal preferences of Mrs Thatcher, the officials of the DES were determined to allow experimentation in education to continue. This meant that new ideas on the content of education in the new schools were not stopped, and the educationalists could still concentrate on finding new approaches to teaching a new curriculum. But even though the preservationist movement did not become the official policy of the DES during the Heath years, it gradually did become the official Conservative party education policy for the future. The overall effect of the Black Paperites has been said, by the left, to be 'the defence of elitism against egalitarianism',[82] and from the right, 'the reflection of the public climate of disquiet over state education'.[83] What historically is noteworthy is that after this movement both political parties came out with specific educational policies, while education was to become a major issue for voters.

During the period 1964 to 1975, there was two major changes in the organisation of the English and Welsh curriculum. First the DES was making hesitant yet concrete attempts to intervene in the planning and construction of the curriculum, and this was more evident as the Department realised the central role of education for the economy and society. Another came from the urging of the creation of comprehensive schools which gave the teachers new material to handle, that is a large number of pupils who needed academic education. As a matter of fact, during this decade with the reluctance of the DES to specifically suggest something concrete, the reluctance of the teachers themselves to be told what to teach, and the new demands coming from changes in the nature of the schools, teachers found themselves bearing the responsibility to do well with pupils of a variety of ability facing more heavily loaded syllabuses of external examinations of all sorts. In this context, the content and the consistency of the curriculum remained a secret until the mid-seventies, in the garden overlooked by the hesitant keyholders of professionals and politicians.

The 'Curriculum Parliament' and the Store-Cupboard - An Assessment

One can assume that during the whole post-war period, and until the mid-seventies, a stratified education in streams of ability which was reflecting streams of social order, was not threatened despite the changes in various sectors of educational policy, from both the right and the left. The Butler Act was realised during the Labour years, the years where the foundations of the welfare state were set, but it was engineered by Conservative politicians deeply conscious of class barriers inherent in all societies, but even more so in the British

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[82] B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, p. 401.

[83] C. Knight, op. cit., p.89.

one. The Attlee government has been criticised for 'mishandling' the opportunity for change it had in the educational sector. Denis Dean, in his article on the first post-war Labour Ministers of education, referred to these criticisms which argued that:

> Instead of using their victory to push their [Labour's] own programme, they had chosen to put into operation a settlement master-minded essentially by the non-socialists, Maynard Keynes and William Beveridge, which had ensured the survival of a capitalist state. In their desire to blunt dangerous class tensions and grassroots wartime radicalism, apparent concessions had been made by the Right to force change. Thus some of the most glaring examples of inegaletarianism and deprivation were removed, but Labour's government itself allowed too much to remain. Much of the social and educational legislation, when scrutinised from this viewpoint, has been seen as a safety valve and not as a launching pad for a fundamental transformation.[84]

Access to some sort of education was enough for the post-war years, but as we have seen the demand for something essentially different came fairly soon. But no decisive structural changes were launched as a result of the exposure of the inadequacy of the system and the obvious wastage of talent. Although reports such as the Crowther report urged dynamic legislation which would put more pupils into more competent secondary education, the reaction was lukewarm, with the creation of weak educational bodies such as the Curriculum Study Group, destined to die before it could stay on its feet. After the success of the Labour party in 1964, instead of empowering the democratic and administratively sophisticated body, the Schools Council, which could dynamically improve the curriculum standards of schools, we see the continuation of a policy of non-interference, which was cancelling the Schools Council activities in many respects.

What is remarkable is the non-interventionist policy of the British state, both during the Labour and the Conservative years, in the name of its democratic nature. In order not to face the hostility of professionals, British governments preferred to let things manage themselves. But in this way all that remained intact was the streaming allegedly according to ability, but in reality - if we take Bourdieu in consideration - according to social origin. In the name of the fear of indoctrination - teachers' rhetoric would bring in examples as appalling as Hitler and later Maoist China -[85] Britain's class-driven system in education remained alive and well until the late twentieth century.

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[84] D. Dean, 'Wilkinson, Tomlinson and the Ministry of Education' *History of Education* vol.15 No.2, 1986, p.96, reporting on the criticism of G. Baron, D. Finn, N. Grant and R. Johnson, in *Unpopular Education*, (London, 1983).

[85] A. Barnes, 'Decision Making in the Curriculum in Britain', in R.Glatter,(ed.) *Control of the Curriculum*, pp. 19-20.

During the Labour government 1964-70, the state did interfere   indirectly, for the expansion of the comprehensives and the establishment of institutions such as the Schools Council to influence the curriculum. However, as shown above, comprehensive education was not implemented in a uniform or explicit way. Thus people were not convinced about the competence of the comprehensives, because they did not have specific requirements and targets and could be either one thing or another, and in any case they were inferior to grammar schools; this was the reason they remained unpopular. Many parents who did demand higher academic standards would not be convinced by schools which would not measure up to grammar schools. Moreover, a comparison between grammar schools and comprehensives with academic streaming would give grammar schools the edge, because of the symbolic power these schools had, as the ancient guardians of national virtue, giving 'an education for leadership'.[86]

The stratification of schooling aimed to maintain rather than eliminate social barriers. It has been alleged that in England the notion of an upper elite class acting as a reference group for all the classes of society, was an intrinsic notion of the left and right.[87] The English maintained the idea that any access to the higher runs of society was a privilege rather than a right. This was more consistent with the liberal perceptions of nineteenth century rather than that of a welfare state, replacing privilege of birth with privilege of achievement. Yet privilege of achievement only exceptionally was to be found in those who did not have the privilege of birth. Post-war education was to perpetuate the ideology of 'an aristocracy of talent' and this was reflected in the policies of tripartism and selection at 11-plus.[88] This in turn reflected a particularly traditional English viewing of human beings in terms of categories each possessing certain innate abilities which construct classes of intellect and wealth. Although the intention for change was there nothing really shook the hierarchy of abilities perceived in that manner and there lies the reason that so many changes led to so little.

In an early comment entitled 'Curriculum for inequality?', published in 1971, Martin Shipman criticised the way comprehensive education was set up, as well as the role of the bodies such as the Schools Council as strengthening rather than abolishing the old divisions

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[86] R. Lowe, op. cit., p.201. See also B. Simon, *Education and Social Order*, p.331 cited Harold Wilson who said in 1964, that 'grammar schools would be abolished over my dead body'.

[87] A. Kazamias, op. cit., chapter III, p.19-23.

[88] Ibid, p.21.

in secondary education.[89] Shipman stressed the decisive role examinations still had, and the enormous role universities played in shaping these examinations, in asking for a strictly academic context of the curriculum. He also stressed the role of employers, who asked for graduates who are compatible with these formal qualifications. Thus in a society which takes seriously only the academic character of its education, Shipman showed how the effort to plan a new curriculum to break traditional barriers was in the end immobilised. The Schools Council proposed a curriculum related to the needs of everyday life, topic-centred and interdisciplinary. This would not however be good enough for university entrance, nor for employers who relied on qualifications equivalent with those of university students to assess candidates. At the same time Shipman criticised the curricula produced by the Schools Council for lacking academic discipline and being suitable for the less able - the 'Newsom child'.[90] In that sense these curricula according to him contributed to the separation of pupils into an academic elite and a less able group, with the latter being taught a curriculum which at its best was 'a pot-pourri of trivia believed to be interesting to the young'. [91]

Shipman warned of the mock attempt at what was to be advertised as equality of opportunity. He stressed the fact that grammar school streams within comprehensives were not affected by the new fashions, while the schools catering for the majority were under continuing pressure from a variety of the new agents of educational bureaucracy to change before they had even acquired a specific educational aim. But was there any real change?

> ...new developments are only welcomed if they do not disturb the examination streams or reduce the number of subjects that can be taken by these pupils. The consequent changes may divide education into two systems in the 1970s as effectively as selection has done in the past. It may be that in a technological society a minority educated to administer and a majority educated to enjoy leisure and reconciled to a superfluous role will be appropriate. But an elite schooled in academic disciplines and the rest knowledgeable about clothes, pop culture, the local environment and family life around the world will not be a just division of culture and was not the objective of those who have been pressing home the changes that are creating this separation.[92]

[89] M. Shipman, 'Curriculum for Inequality?' in R. Hooper, (ed.) *The Curriculum Content, Design and Development,* (Edinburgh, 1971), pp.101-106.

[90] The Newsom report 'Half our future' was published in 1963, just before the Schools Council was set up. It was to suggest a curriculum for the less able child, from 13 to 16, who was still in secondary school.

[91] M. Shipman op. cit. pp.101-6.

[92] Ibid, pp.101-6.

Martin Shipman concluded his chapter with a statement which is in complete agreement with Bourdieu's view of control exercised in a decentralised manner, as shown in chapter two:

> ...It may even be that the maintenance of inequality through the curriculum is not only more subtle, but also more effective than depending on more obvious selection procedures.[93]

The fact that the role of the Schools Council had been mostly to consult on and not to approve educational programmes also contributed to separatism, despite the planning for the opposite. Anne Corbett, in an article in the *Times Educational Supplement*, in 1973, nine years after the establishment of the Schools Council, noted how surprising it was that it remained a 'remarkably unknown body, despite the publication programme, its journal *Dialogue*, and its £1m it spends per year.'[94] Furthermore, she quoted the views of the philosopher John White and the sociologist Michael Young, both from the Institute of Education. The former claimed that 'the Schools Council seemed determined to perpetuate two sorts of education: one for early leavers, another for sixth-formers, while it was backing a curriculum differentiated by ability and social class, in using knowledge as a form of social control.' The latter commented on the obsessive tendency of the Schools Council not to have specific values and policies (the politics of non-decision making) in order not to interfere in the sphere of the teacher in any other way than recommendation.[95] As for the projects, they were not published until 1970, and since there was no clear intention of any implementation the publishers had been reluctant to invest in them. Anne Corbett concluded that those who ventured into the secret garden of the curriculum have to understand the political nature of the curriculum and open the gate for broad political discussion on it.[96]

A Conclusion

During the thirty years of post-war education, we see that the establishment operating for the formation of the curriculum was a 'middle-out' establishment. This means that it was an establishment which was not exclusively run from the top, the Department of Education, or other people in the government. On the other hand it was not an establishment formed at the lower level, basing its will on the decision of the teacher in the classroom, as very often it wanted to present itself. There were two different spheres operating in the decision-making

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[93] Ibid, p.106.

[94] A. Corbett, 'The Secret Garden of the Curriculum, who should hold the key to the door?', *Times Educational Supplement*, 13 July, 1973.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Ibid.

process. In one sphere were the headteachers, who had the authority in individual schools, and traditionally were to have a final say about the suggestions of the teachers working in their schools on the curriculum. They were also to explain their choices to employees of the LEAs, who as shown above were not always better informed than the headteachers themselves. On the other hand, since the LEAs (the local state) did not have the power to instruct but only to recommend trends in curricula, they too were not the medium to implement a top down curriculum.

In another sphere were the educationalists and teachers on the Schools Council, the semi-detached HMIs, and those on the committees in the examination boards. They were not connected either with the specific problems of the LEAs or the individual schools. Nevertheless, they too, had a great deal of independence from the DES, even if they were partly financed by it, so even if they were at a higher level than schools and LEAs, they certainly were not imposing the will of the government on the school curriculum.

The disparity and lack of communication between these two spheres gave the characteristic mark of post-war education in the curriculum. This happened despite of the fact that the Schools Council was crammed with teachers and representatives of teachers' associations. The teachers who were dominant in the NUT, and other associations, the educationalists, and other officials, may have envisaged 'a new parliament' for the curriculum. However, in 1973, when a teacher was asked what was the curriculum in her school, she answered that 'the curriculum is the contents of the store-cupboard'.[97] This is a very convincing answer, and leads us to look further into what kind of cupboard this was and what were the economic means of the school, which brings us back to class stratification, disguised as competence stratification.[98] Although complicated pedagogical theories might be attested in the sphere of the assembled educationalists and their projects, what mattered in the end was what happened in the school and most specifically in the school store-cupboard. Furthermore, as we have seen, although examinations for several levels of education were to validate the different levels of secondary education, it was only examinations with academic content which led to professions.

The state had thus been providing the means for changes to be made, but in a separatist way so that there was no real communication between those two spheres, and those at the

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[97] G. Fowler, op.cit., p.81. The answer of this teacher is used as an argument to show how the financial provision for the LEAs ends up affecting the curriculum.

[98] B.Simon and C. Benn, op. cit., p.208. The graduate teachers in 1968 were spread as follows: 15.7% in modern, 73.9% in grammar, and 39.7% in comprehensives.

lower strata, that is the teachers in the schools, came to receive those recommendations as punitive and confusing, rather than an enriching experience. The attitude of the state in not specifying the objectives of secondary education through the curriculum, but instead setting up a number of other institutions and bodies which affected it only indirectly, weakened rather than strengthened the power of the public and the professionals to decide on educational matters. The control of the curriculum fell between political and professional authority during the thirty post-war years under examination, while both politicians and professionals avoided overt and concrete aims for the curriculum. However, the control of the curriculum can only be political, at least in the sense that it moulds the ideological stratification of a society. That is the reason that during all this period, as well as before and after, the curriculum had been a top subject on the political agenda. Gerry Fowler commented on the doctrine that the curriculum is a matter to be left to the professional:

> Our argument has been that the doctrine that the curriculum is for professional teachers alone to determine, while the politicians and the organs of central government content themselves with influence by nudge and hint, never seeming to intervene directly, is neither an accurate account of what happens, nor when set in a broad context of educational policy-making, logically coherent....There is no clear line between issues deemed to fall within the 'political' sphere and those reserved to the professional. We may dub the doctrine, according to taste, English compromise or English hypocrisy. Either way there is no evidence that is the best system even from the standpoint of the teacher.[99]

In Britain the economic crisis of the early seventies, common to all major capitalist countries, rearranged the education debate. Education could solve national problems. The Labour Prime Minister, James Callaghan, launched 'The Great Debate' with a speech at Ruskin College in 1976. The immediate reaction to the speech was not as 'great' as expected but central interference in curricular matters was on the agenda from then on. Labour politicians in 1976 proposed once again that the curriculum be changed from the centre. Sir James Hamilton called for the Department to take a closer interest in the curriculum: 'the key to the secret garden of the curriculum has to be found and turned' he urged.[100] Shirley Williams, the most recent Labour Secretary of Education, made clear that although teacher's autonomy had to be safeguarded, the curriculum had to be under public scrutiny, from 'parents, teachers, employers, trade unions, Parliament and, of course, the Government itself'.[101] And if the Labour party at that time was seeking a policy of 'partnership and shared

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[99] G. Fowler, op. cit., pp.86-87.

[100] C. Chitty, 'Central Control of the Curriculum, 1944-87', p.330.

[101] Quoted in *Education The Great Debate* (London, National Union of Teachers), 4 in C.Chitty, 'Central Control of the Curriculum' p.331.

objectives'[102], the Conservative party was launching campaigns on education where the central state would definitely take the initiative on the content of education. The 'standards campaign '77' and the 'values campaign '78', were to bring back basic Conservative ethics in schools, while the vouchers was intended to give consumers financial power in education.[103] But it was only when the Conservatives came to power that central intervention in the curriculum was on the agenda, on Conservative principles that is, without partnership and shared objectives with other interested parties.

The Conservative educational policy launched in the eighties, was said to work in the framework of the 'social market economy', as the party aimed to rationalise the existing nationalised and state sector.[104] Thus, ironically enough, the legislative power to centralise the curriculum came from the right, rather than the left which had so often advocated it. The right's campaign to improve standards in education became 'synonymous with restoring relevance to the secondary school curriculum'.[105] The introduction of attainment targets for schools and pupils was a first step towards the national curriculum of the 1988 Education Act. These were consistent with the policy of 'excellence in education' and they tried to impose 'grammar school ethos' on comprehensives.[106] This was done without discussion with teachers who were now to be only the agents for delivering the curriculum, not the principal decision makers as before. Furthermore, the government established 'categorical funding', that is money paid for 'specific innovations and improvements' it wished to encourage.[107]

What seems a paradox, that is a Conservative government abandoning its traditional policy on a crucial political matter and imposing a measure which could be used for massive intervention in market forces, is just another element of the new right ideology.

> ... For some right-wing Conservatives, the national curriculum is both illogical and unnecessary since, in their view, the whole state system should be dismantled and handed over to market forces. Schools would then be free to devise a curriculum in line with the wishes of parents and local business interests. One of the paradoxes of the Education Bill is that it involves central control of the curriculum alongside an hierarchical system of schooling which will be subject to consumer demand. Yet for other adherents of New Right

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[102] This is a phrase of Chitty ibid, p.332.

[103] C. Knight, op.cit. pp. 117-129.

[104] Ibid, p.135.

[105] Ibid, p.167.

[106] Ibid, p.178.

[107] C. Chitty, 'Central Control of the Curriculum, 1944-87', p.332.

ideology, a central controlled curriculum has validity precisely because it facilitates the 'commodification' of education.[108]

It is important to see that the new right would embark on such a policy only if it could have at the same time 'an hierarchical system of schooling' or a separatist policy.

The battle over curriculum control exposes national and highly political tendencies. When one is dealing with the apprehension and development of a cultural subject, such as the teaching of European History in secondary schools, the field in which such a subject was being sown must be taken into consideration. What comes as a conclusion of the historical analysis of educational policies on the curriculum of the thirty years after the Second World War is the maintenance of differentiation between tiers of education corresponding to different cultural and social arrangements. History was a subject which in both school tiers had the role of forming character and ethos. Yet, it was mainly in schools with higher academic standards, where the complexities of history were more deliberately taught, that history was to play a role in educating pupils for leadership. European history in particular was also to demonstrate the inherent differences of national character with the rest of Europe. The next chapters will concentrate on analysing what the role of history teaching was as well as the content of history material in secondary schools during the period under examination. However, it is very important to take in consideration that the ideas which were communicated to the pupils through history were taking place in an educational environment which was striving for social equality and educational coherence - two targets which were not always attainable.

The separatism of British society was depicted out of the battle over the curriculum. Politicians and policy makers on education had the task of reducing the disparity between the two educational tiers as well as the disparity between social tiers. This chapter considered the efforts of the agents of the state to reach, through the curriculum, a policy of creating citizens with adequate qualifications for a modern world. Their policies were found wanting in producing radical solutions and much of the old order was maintained. The next chapters examine the efforts of the agents, who were directly involved in creating the history curriculum in many different levels of authority, to create an identity for the modern British society by re-telling the story of their own and others' past.

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[108] Ibid, pp.332-334.

CHAPTER IV: THE EDUCATIONAL SOCIETY AND HISTORY TEACHING IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS 1945-1975

This chapter will discuss the expectations of the historians, educationalists and other thinkers of post-war Britain about the teaching of history in secondary schools, as well as the actual changes which occurred during the period 1945 to 1975 as a result of educational decrees, academic historical trends and general educational enquiries. It aims to put into perspective the role of history in the continuously changing secondary education sector, and in so doing it aims to reflect on the role of history teaching in a post-war society which claimed to be devoted to new dimensions of the participation of citizens in political and cultural life and new ways to experience national unity.

The first part deals with the efforts of distinguished intellectuals, especially from the educational world, to establish ideas on the civil and national identity of pupils, through history teaching. These ideas were expressed in educational journals, newspapers, conferences and meetings of professional associations such as the Historical Association, as well as in leaflets produced by civil servants at the Ministry of Education and later the Department of Education and Science, all of them in the form of recommendations for the history teacher.

These documents need to be examined to place history teaching at schools in the general context of the arguments about and principles of what history should be. History has been traditionally seen as a training for citizenship, and this period of post-war British society was not an exception to this view.[1] However, the various historical phases which

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[1] The idea that history teaching is the best training into citizenship is as old as the teaching of history in schools. In 1931 G.P. Gooch argued at an address at University College London that 'to the writer and teacher of history in a democratic community such as ours falls a task which can be performed by no one else, a service of vital significance and utility to which we can never devote too much study and reflection'. G.P. Gooch, 'History as a Training to Citizenship', *Contemporary Review,* March, 1930. See also Phyllis Doyle's article, 'Education for Citizenship in Secondary Schools', (Oxford, 1935), in the *Norwood Report on Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools,* HMSO, 1941, p.100, and W.H. Burston's article, 'The Contribution of History to Education in Citizenship' in *History,* October, 1948, pp.226-240. Citizenship here is taken to mean the opportunity given by the state and the willingness of citizens to participate in making decisions which determine their collective lives.

the country experienced all defined citizenship differently, and therefore required different things from history teaching. The arguments of academics and professionals, as well as the suggestions of the official state, about the way history should contribute to the formation of national consciousness, reflected a system which promoted certain moral values widely accepted in British society and thus not confined only to schools. History teaching was to be a moral barometer which could reflect the change of national moral codes, as the country was transformed from a victorious yet impoverished society, to a modern relatively affluent country, with a strong welfare state and equally strong aristocratic conceptions of the world order.

The second part of this chapter will deal with the actual influences and changes in the content and methods of history teaching as they emerge from ministerial decisions, the Schools Council's projects, academic publications and even European and international research. As should be obvious from the previous chapter the official state would not intervene to impose ideas on the man or woman in the classroom. However, it is also obvious that all of the above were influential in the classroom, in the indirect yet dynamic way British educational matters were arranged. So it is important to look at the discussions of the professionals on what should be taught and how it should be taught.

This chapter will not look into the changes in history writing for secondary schools as a result of the development of academic research. To do that it would have to concentrate on specific subjects and periods and follow their development. Instead it will concentrate on the conscientious attempts on the part of some educationalists to give new dimensions to history teaching for secondary schools in order to cover new educational needs. The development of historical research will be tackled only as another factor leading to new trends, but it will not be considered separately by focusing on a special subject.

Section I: The Educational Society

A. History for World Citizenship 1945-1955

The main preoccupation of the educational world immediately after 1945, concerning the place of history in schools, can be seen in what was said to be 'a campaign of education for peace'.[2] The calamities of the war, the moral humiliation that pacifist intellectuals suffered, unable to prevent it, made most people in Britain aspire to a new world which would abolish war. Intellectuals, and more specifically educators, were to think and plan about peace, about training young people in acquiring not a national but a world citizenship. A decisive step in this direction was prepared by the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and Council for Education in World Citizenship.[3] The report, which was first published in 1943, was an extensive survey of the situation of education in all countries involved in the Second World War, enemy or allied countries, said that education should be the foundation of the post-war world and provided resolutions to achieve this. Education was to create 'world citizenship' by:

> Preparing plans for the establishment of an International Organisation for Education to promote the advancement of education generally and in particular of education for world citizenship so that education may provide a sure foundation for the post-war system.[4]

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[2] A phrase used in an article in *The Times Educational Supplement*, 7 June 1947, commenting on the First General Conference of UNESCO, in Paris, November 1946, on nationalistic bias found in geography and history textbooks.

[3] Report of the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and the Council for Education in World Citizenship *Education and the United Nations*, p.52. Professor Gilbert Murray a well known Professor of Greek at Oxford University and political activist during the first part of the twentieth century, had been among other things President of the League of Nations. During the war he became the President of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation and Chairman of the Joint Commission of the London International Assembly and Council for Education in World Citizenship in 1941. He forwarded the report of the Commission on the place of education, science and learning in post-war reconstruction, which researched the countries which participated in the Second World War, surveying their then circumstances and proposing policies towards the cultivation of world citizenship.

[4] Ibid.

This was in complete agreement with the resolutions of the International Conference of Teachers in Lynmouth in August 1942, who insisted that:

> young people should learn something of the political and economic interdependence of all men everywhere, of the institutions that are created for local, national and international affairs and of the responsibilities of citizenship towards them.[5]

In that context history teaching was central to this scrutiny and re-examination. The view that the war happened because of the promotion and cultivation of nationalistic bias through schools was not new either at the end of the Second World War. Moreover Germany was not the only country guilty of this evil. After the First World War the League of Nations had set up committees to revise school textbooks.[6] Textbook revision studies were taken up by the League of Nations in 1920. In the following year the first examination of textbooks took place with the exchange of textbooks between the French and the British Association of the League of Nations. The League's work during this period was concentrated on defensive action and the campaign against tendentious teaching and constructive actions to direct education towards peace.[7] The 'International Textbook Revision' was developed as an educational-scientific activity from 1925, with international committees set up in co-operation with teachers' associations in different countries. It intended to hold international meetings and conferences.[8]

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[5] Ibid, p.54.

[6] International textbook research goes back earlier than the First World War, to the late 19th century, when the first history textbooks for schools were available, as education was becoming a national commodity for many countries. Already by that time many books were found to be 'full of mistakes and distortions, containing statements glorifying the own nation and disparaging others, and fostering nationalistic prejudices and even overtly portraying adversary images'. Georg Eckert Institute leaflet.

[7] *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding,* UNESCO , (Paris, 1949), p.16.

[8] In the mid-twenties the International Institute of Intellectual Co-operation was set up, responsible for similar activities. It published important and comprehensive studies such as *School Textbook Revision and International Understanding* in 1930. It also approached several National Committees to promote similar research, and by 1937 it had found a response in many countries such as Denmark, Finland, France, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden, and Spain. Before it terminated its activities after the Second World War the Institute published a volume of all its achievement under the title: *L'Institute International de Co-operation Intellectuelle, 1925-1946.* Ibid, pp. 16-23.

In Britain, the Historical Association set up an international committee for textbook examination in 1942, on the initiative of E.H. Dance, who turned their attention to the fact that although these committees had existed for 17 years, there had not been an attempt to exercise control over textbooks published in England, by approaching either the authors or the publishers.[9] This was no wonder given the liberal nature of the production of textbooks, the lack of any institution to co-ordinate this procedure at a national level, and of course the reluctance to acquire one. Nevertheless, the committee was soon joined by distinguished academic historians and textbook writers, who considered a 'Memorandum on Nationalism in the Teaching of History', tracing the movement from 1915 to 1939.[10] Their other main aim at this early stage was to ascertain from the Board of Education what was involved in the report 'International Syllabus in History' that the President of the Board and the Ministers of the Allied countries were working on.[11] What the Memorandum on nationalism during the inter-war period showed was closer to the reality of a war-driven Europe than to the pacifist aspirations of the politicians and educationalists of the League of Nations - that is, very few countries had actually done anything about world citizenship in their everyday history teaching practice.[12] By 1943, the Allied Ministers of Education were considering the question of supplying textbooks to occupied countries after the war.[13] But the more educationalists spoke about planning a

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[9] Minutes of the Historical Association, 11 July 1942. E.H. Dance was a teacher and textbook writer himself. Since 1927 he had written textbooks covering a variety of historical subjects but mainly on British history such as Alexander the Great, Britain in World History, the Middle Ages and British Social History. Two of his most famous works were *History the Betrayer,* (London, 1960) and *History for a United World* (London, 1971) where he commented on the difficulty of writing history without bias. He also wrote on the place of history in secondary schools as part of research of the Council of Europe, cited pp.109-110.

[10] Minutes of the Historical Association, 24 October, 1942.

[11] Ibid.

[12] It was mentioned that the only body which took some action as a result of textbook examination was the Norden Association which 'vetted' school books from three Scandinavian countries. *History*, No.107, March 1943. This is a statement which neglects the activity of the League of Nations as shown above. However, it is true that in many countries teachers' associations were suspicious of official interference in so complex matter as textbook production and use. See J.A. Lauwerys, *History Textbooks and International Understanding*, UNESCO (Paris, 1953), p.40.

[13] Minutes of the Historical Association, December, 1943.

curriculum in Britain, the more they had to confront the quintessential problem of violating the teachers' freedom to conduct their own curriculum. In the discussions of the committees of the Historical Association, it became clear that they would not decide on an ideal syllabus to be imposed as the syllabus for peace.[14] Meanwhile the international committee of the British Historical Association was setting up:

> advisory committees of historical experts to supervise the scrutiny of history textbooks written for use in schools, with the view to remedying omissions, misstatements of fact and misplacements of emphasis likely to cause misunderstanding or ill-will between peoples; and that the Committee of Experts should publish the findings from time to time.[15]

The war seemed to accelerate the cause of promoting international understanding. In May 1944 the Historical Association published a report on post-war plans with the intention of laying down and renewing the major aims of the Association. Amongst them were the collection and distribution of information concerning available materials for historical study and systems of teaching; the organisation of local branches to discuss questions relating to the study and teaching of history; and the representation of the interests of history and the opinions of teachers to the authorities having control of education. The report concluded:

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[14] The Historical Association was the professional body of history teachers at all stages of education. It was founded in 1906, mainly by academic historians. Their main aims were to provide history teachers in schools with academic and methodological aid. They had branches all over Britain and their membership went from 6,503 in 1945 to 11,386 in 1975, professional and lay. They published pamphlets on academic and other issues during this period, criticizing ministerial decisions, they organized conferences and published several esteemed journals including *History, The Historian* and *Teaching History.* The Historical Association was very popular especially among grammar school teachers, as it represented the ethos of the informed professional, responsible, independent, and studious. Compared to other historical societies, the Historical Association was closer to secondary school history teachers than university history teachers, who were more likely to belong to the Royal Historical Society. It was one answer from the civil society to central ministerial movements. Some distinguished academics who held office at the Association had prior experience as school teachers. Their opinions therefore give an idea of the main preoccupations of the professionals.

[15] Minutes of the Historical Association December, 1943.

'It is reasonable to assume that there will be a great deal of revived interest in educational and academic activities after the war; advantage must be taken of this, as was done after the last war.'[16]

In many respects this hopeful cry was justified after the war, at least as it concerns the turn to education to improve human nature, which had been pushed to extremes with the war experience. As for history, it was the favourite of all subjects taught in schools.

All should be offered enough historical training to be able to continue their studies or to take an intelligent interest in the world in which they live. Only thus can a democracy be worthy of its name, or in fact exist as a democracy.

noted S.M. Toyne in an article about the planning a history syllabus.[17] In January 1946, at the Annual General Meeting of the Association at University College London, a discussion was devoted to 'International Understanding and the Teaching of History'. The majority of the speakers thought there should be 'world history' rather than 'national histories'. 'World History, 1870-1939', should be made a compulsory subject, said one of the participants.[18]

UNESCO triggered a wider discussion about history's role in the formation of world citizenship when the Preparatory Commission proposed an international conference in November 1946 in Paris, where education, science and culture would be 'discussed and defined'.[19] It made it clear that the purpose of the conference was not to conclude a

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[16] *Report of the Historical Association on Post-War Plans*, May 1944.

[17] S.M. Toyne, 'A History Syllabus, Thoughts on what to learn and how to learn it', *History*, September 1945, pp.159-172.

[18] 'International Understanding And the Teaching of History, A Discussion', *History*, March 1946.

[19] Before this conference a document was prepared by the preparatory Commission of UNESCO entitled *Looking at the world through Textbooks*. It contained in addition to historical background of the work of the League of Nations, a statement of principles governing textbook analysis and revision and a series of recommendations for action by UNESCO based upon the record of past experiences in the field. This document provided a foundation for the development of UNESCO's programme in the improvement of textbooks and teaching materials as aids to international understanding. *A Handbook for the Improvement of Textbooks and Teaching Materials as Aids to International Understanding,* op. cit., pp.59-68.

written agreement, but as the Minister of Education noted in a letter to G.M. Trevelyan, the then president of the Historical Association, to provoke 'international publicity and discussion, which would exert a very considerable influence on national policy'.[20] This also made clear that UNESCO did not intend, with such activities, to interfere in the internal affairs of any country, since this was forbidden under the terms of its constitution, but that they thought it would be essential that the British point of view should be put forward with the support of British historians and British teachers of history.[21] The chairman of the Association's international committee wrote a letter of suggestions for the conference and the future activities of UNESCO. It is interesting to note that the committee made clear that although they would encourage the review of textbooks, and report to the governments or the author themselves, they would never accept an international history textbook for use in schools of all countries. They also suggested a conference on history teaching only, because history teaching was so vitally important to the peace of the world that it should not be merged in any general conference on educational ideals, and an international centre should be set up where students of methods of history teaching would find research material. Furthermore, an international committee should be set up on teaching history in the ex-enemy countries. They suggested that an international body of historians should be appointed to supervise historical research in Germany and Japan.[22] An interchange of teachers was also seen as vital but most importantly the Council of the Historical Association made clear that

> the instruction in citizenship, current events and international affairs
> should be based on a study of history. Any diminution in the time allotted
> to the teaching of history in favour of such instruction is to be
> deprecated.[23]

One of the main resolutions of the UNESCO conference was that committees be established for the exchange and examination of history textbooks, which would make suggestions to the professional associations of various countries, criticizing any nationalistic bias and working for its abolition. There were to be international meetings of educationalists and even ministers of education to tackle the problem of 'bias'.[24]

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[20] Memorandum to the Council of the Historical Association March 1,1946.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Letter to the President of the Historical Association from the chairman of the International Committee, March 1946, on the teaching of history in the ex-enemy countries.

[23] Ibid, on the issue of international governmental conferences on the teaching of history.

[24] *A Handbook For Improvement of Textbooks*, op. cit.

In an Historical Association discussion of 'International understanding and the teaching of history', following UNESCO's suggestions both academics and educationalists agreed that the issue of tolerance in historical teaching was very important. Furthermore some recalled that the teaching of national histories was a fairly recent trend and that until the eighteenth century all the history that was taught was world history. In England one participant claimed the reasons for the teaching of a national view of history were originally utilitarian rather than merely chauvinistic, because it was thought that a knowledge of national history would help in the formation of good citizens.[25]

But if international conferences fervently planning a pacifist new world condemned nationalist historical bias as a cause of the war, and constructed bodies to abolish it, academic historians who had to write history were more careful. In the Presidential Address entitled 'Bias In History' at the Annual General Meeting of the Association in 1947, G.M. Trevelyan was sceptical on the subject. The problem of bias in history is fundamental and all-pervading, but it is not necessarily good or necessarily bad, he argued.

> ...the historian's bias may sometimes help him to sympathize with the actual passions of people in the past whose actions it is his business to describe. Clio should not always be cold, aloof, impartial. Sometimes the maid should come down from yonder mountain height, the Judge descend from the judgement seat, and the historian share the passions of the past and not a false reflection of some modern dogma or prejudice.[26]

But there were good and bad biases an historian might have, argued Trevelyan.

> The most odious form of moral bias is found in the history that loudly condemns the crimes and persecutions of one side, and conceals or defends those of the other. It is these histories that do the harm and make misunderstanding, hatred, fanaticism and war....The object of history is to know and understand the past on all its sides. History in this sense is the basis of modern education in the humanities, and the best school of citizenship... Since history is our interpretation of human affairs in the past, it could not exist without bias. But with a wrong bias, it can be gravely distorted. God give us each a true bias.[27]

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[25]A.J. Toynbee, 'International Understanding and the Teaching of History: A Discussion' *History*, March 1946.

[26] G.M. Trevelyan 'Bias In History', *History*, March 1947, pp.1-15.

[27] Ibid, p.15.

His views were shared by many educationalists of the whole educational scale in schools and universities, as shown by articles in *The Times Educational Supplement*. A contributor there argued that since the role of history in the classroom was to inspire love, pride and loyalty for one's country, it was unwise to bombard pupils with the bad actions of one's motherland. What you needed to do, was stress the good aspects of the history of a country, and once you had established respect and love for it, refer to its shameful moments. So bias did serve a pedagogical cause, if not an historical one.[28]

However, even if the question of bias was set aside, the need for a new kind of history, ecumenical rather than nationalistic, was on the agenda. As we have seen above in the discussions of the Historical Association, historians were urging the establishment of a compulsory world history in schools.[29] Giving the Creighton Lecture in History at Senate House, London, in November 1947, A.J. Toynbee supported this view, and elaborated on the need to see different points of view in history. He argued that many of our preconceptions of the world come from looking at the western world as the only civilized unit, while the rest are considered barbarians. Most civilizations of course believe themselves to be unique. However, many non-western civilizations had been violently re-educated out of their egocentric views, by being conquered by western societies, and thus forced to admit the existence if not the superiority of the west.

> The paradox was that the whole world had profited by the education provided by the West, except the West itself. The West was still looking at history from the old parochial, self-centred standpoint which other societies had now transcended.[30]

Toynbee urged a 'unified world' where an ecumenical history would not simply provide partial views of the achievements of a single civilization. He portrayed this unified world as an historical inevitability and in that context:

> ... It will be harder for us to accept the not less plain fact that the past histories of our vociferous, and sometimes vituperative, living

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[28] V. Ogilvie, 'Teaching Without Nationalistic Bias', *Times Educational Supplement*, 7 July 1947.

[29] World Affairs appears in the syllabuses of some examination papers even before the war. See next chapter p.142.

[30] *Times Educational Supplement*, 'A Unified World', Nov 22, 1947, p.627.

contemporaries - the Chinese and the Japanese, the Hindus and the Muslims, and our elder brothers the Orthodox Christians - are going to become a part of our western past history in a future world which will be neither western nor non-western but will inherit all the cultures which we westerners have now brewed together in a single crucible.[31]

Toynbee's views on the need for an ecumenical approach to history were to be more lasting than his vision of the unified world. The post-war world was to be shaped on the terms of another war, the cold war. Ironically enough, the western/non-western distinction did not cease with this war, as Toynbee predicted, but acquired an even wider meaning very often breaking logical convention. It was now a political not a geographical distinction so that Russia was more eastern than Japan on the new political map. For the post-war world, the eastern-western distinction was reinforced in every aspect of social and intellectual life. In that context the educationalists discussions about the mission of history and often the safeguarding of history were tinted by the east-west division.[32]

At the same time British educationalists were to fulfil yet another post-war mission. This was the inculcation of a democratic ethos in the countries which so desperately lacked it. The British Zone in Germany was the main field of action for this, and the Association was the main co-ordinator of the activities. These included teaching,

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[31]A.J. Toynbee, 'The Unification of the World and the Change in Historical Perspective', *History*, Feb & Jun 1948, p.26.

[32] An early example of the bitter language which started to build up is an article published in January 1948 in the *New Times*, a Russian magazine in English circulated in Britain, which criticised the Historical Association as a 'dangerous and reactionary body whose aim was to prevent the teaching of 19th century European History'. The chairman of the Association answered in a letter in a Soviet newspaper, that they were not ignoring the history of Russia and the Soviet Union since they had published a pamphlet suggesting a course for that very subject in the secondary modern schools, but they would never suggest that the history of Russia began in 1917, as the article claimed. No Historical Association worthy of its name would recommend that. (Letter to the editor of the *New Times, Trud Newspaper,* Moscow, USSR, 25 May 1948). Six years later, in 1954, W.H. Burston published in *History* a critique of Russian history syllabuses in ancient, medieval and modern history. 'This is a Whig history' Burston concluded, 'aiming to show the evolution of the world to achieve its highest and best form of society known to man, that of the Soviet Union...It is to show Russia pre-eminent and the rest of the world as worthy only of contempt and hatred'. W.H. Burston, 'Soviet History Teaching', *History,* Feb & June 1954, pp.76-89.

exhibitions, publishing pamphlets, dealing with the teaching of history, revision courses for German teachers, scholarships to be granted to selected men and women to attend training colleges for three to six months and emergency training colleges for the further education of ex-servicemen and women, where history was taken as a main subject. There were also scholarships for attending a session at certain university training departments where history was stressed, while arrangements were made to send German teachers into British schools, and to show films and film strips in Germany.[33] The spirit of such activities was that Britain was victorious because it was democratic and liberal, and one of its first duties was to teach this ethos to those who lacked it. The exhibition in the British zone in Germany included among other things photographic reproductions of fundamental documents of British freedom such as Magna Carta.[34]

Those Germans attempting to construct a new pacifist Germany welcomed these activities. Georg Eckert, at the time chairman of the History Section of the German Teachers' Association, asked the British Historical Association for a further revision of German history textbooks and syllabuses that had appeared in Germany after 1945, in order to help them diminish 'unscientific one-sidedness and partial falsification of the historical picture'.[35]

The first years of the fifties proved very fruitful for the cause of textbook examination. History textbooks had been exchanged and revised, mainly on Dr G. Eckert's initiative in Germany and E.H. Dance's initiative in Britain, while more and more European countries were participating in these exchanges. In July 1950 an Anglo-German conference took place in Brunswick to give the first results of the mutual revision of textbooks. Soon however, problems on matters of principle occurred. These problems were mostly due to an inability to receive criticism and not only to exercise it. When the Association was to publish a report with the comments of the Brunswick conference in *History* many members of the international committee felt that they should never publish the report because the teachers who would read these comments might think that this was an

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[33] Minutes of the Historical Association, International Committee, October 1948. On the efforts of the Allies to reconstruct and de-nazify the German educational system see D.R. Bark, D.R. Gress *From Shadow to Substance, 1941-1963,* (Oxford, 1989), pp.165-174. It is quite ironic that the allies tried to change something that they deeply admired. The German educational system was seen by the British and the Americans as more efficient, despite its rigidity. The efforts to change this system fundamentally were soon abandoned.

[34] Minutes of the Historical Association, May 1949.

[35] Letter from Georg Eckert to the Historical Association, 30 August 1949.

intervention in their own affairs and that the Association was urging teachers to act in a particular way.[36] The report was finally published as a factual document and not a recommendation, but it is interesting to note the Association members' framework of thought.[37] What they did publish was an article by Harold Bing, a participant in the conference, who reported on what he thought were useless theoretical discussions the German scholars tended to fall into, and the inability of the German teacher 'to come down from that pedestal of authority upon which tradition has placed him, and how hesitant were even those with "progressive" ideas to make the descent.' Bing thought that the spirit of the German teacher could be summed up in the resolution they passed at the conclusion of the conference, asking for 'the one history text-book for the history teacher, and the one history text-book for the pupil', not a variety of books but one officially approved one.[38] This could sum up the difference between the different ways of perceiving the role of the state in the two countries as well.

Soon the idea of having politicians, and especially foreign politicians, even if they came from UNESCO, intervening in what was considered an internal affair, was rejected. In its place the Association recommended that the revision of textbooks be carried out by teachers and historians rather than by Governments or by UNESCO itself.[39] This view prevailed in the discussions of the committee, especially after the seminar on textbooks organised by UNESCO at Brussels the previous year. The teaching of 'universal history' and similar projects which were recommended there, seemed now, as the immediate post-war spirit was fading, an educational policy for an utopian world and therefore largely unrealistic. Instead, a bilateral examination of textbooks would be far more illuminating.

Furthermore, after strong criticism of the inefficiencies of bodies which wished to interfere in educational matters, let alone the criticism of interference at all, especially by a foreign political body such as UNESCO, the members of the Historical Association decided on May 1951 that 'the work undertaken on revision of textbooks be allowed to expire; not because it was unimportant, but because it was beyond the scope of the

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[36] Minutes of the Historical Association, October 1950, discussion of International Committee.

[37] Report of the Second Anglo-German Conference of History Teachers, Brunswick, July 1950: 'The First Results', *History,* October 1950, pp.253-255.

[38] H.F. Bing, 'The Study & Teaching of History in Post War Germany', *History,* Feb & June 1951, pp.92-107.

[39] International Committee, 'Bilateral Revision of Textbooks', leaflet circulated to the meeting of the Council of the Historical Association, 3 March, 1951.

Historical Association and there were other agencies with backing which the Association did not possess.'[40] The international committee was to stay so as to inform the council of the Association of the international conferences of historians, maintain contacts with historical associations in other countries, and provide advice and assistance on request to foreign and overseas historians and British historians who wished to make foreign contacts.[41] The same year, 1951, the 'International Institute for Textbook Improvement' was founded in Brunswick under the presidency of Dr Georg Eckert providing a basis for more bilateral textbook examination. The international committee of the Association was not cut off, but actively co-ordinated Britain's presence in international exhibitions,[42] collections of foreign textbooks, research, translations and publications.

B. History for a European Citizenship? 1955-1970

Between the mid-fifties and the early sixties, a silent transformation took place. If some educationalists of the immediate post-war period could envisage a world with ecumenical citizenship, where citizens would enjoy equal rights, the questions the next generation had to answer were predetermined by the factions of the cold war. The formation of the European Economic Community by the late fifties, as a counterbalance to the extremes of the two opponents, was not only a political movement for the maintenance of peace but a cultural one as well. The idea of a united Europe as envisaged in the Treaty of Rome was a new-born political reality by the mid-fifties even though it was a far more ancient idea.[43] It was alluring to the intellectuals and more specifically the educationalists, who could see Europe as a buffer field for the two political giants. By the end of the forties more and more conferences of intellectuals were to project European culture as the only spiritual solution to the moral dead ends to which political polarisation

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[40] Ibid.

[41] Minutes of the Historical Association, November, 1951.

[42] An exhibition of textbooks was organized in the Festival of Britain in 1951.

[43] The first attempt of the twentieth century politicians towards a united Europe was the League of Nations. The Second World War stood as the tragic failure of this attempt. The revival of the idea immediately after the end of the war justified its initial conception. Yet the idea of a united Europe can be located in several points in time since the Roman empire. An extended bibliography on this subject includes books such as D. Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*, (New York, 1957), J. Browle, *The Unity of European History*, (Oxford, 1970), D. Heater, *The Idea of European Unity*, (Leicester, 1992).

was leading. For many Europe was an answer because there was a common culture which could serve as a fortification against separatism and intolerance.

As early as 1949, writers, philosophers and other intellectuals from western Europe gathered in Lausanne to discuss questions concerning the role of the state in a free and united Europe, the moral and spiritual foundation of European culture.[44] The discussions concentrated on how to facilitate, through schools, universities and popular education, a greater unity of what was agreed by some to be 'a common civilization'.[45] During the early fifties more and more educational institutions were founded, sponsored by the Council of Europe, and the teaching of 'European Studies' was established in some universities. At the same time a lot of European universities were mutually recognizing each others' degrees. Academics were keen to show that the idea of a united Europe was not new, but it already had a history of its own which was worth teaching. In academic conferences and meetings, it was stressed that 'universality', 'the sense of concrete', 'the human aspect' and 'objectivity' in the European approach to university teaching, should be of prime importance.[46]

On the occasion of the conference of European University heads which opened at Cambridge in July 1955, Dr Gilbert Murray gave a 'memorable' - according to *The Times Educational Supplement* reporter - oration on the subject. If there is to be a European union, he argued, then it should start first among universities, among scholars who should be most free of prejudice and rancour. If it cannot grow up there, in these places of all most suitable, it will remain the dream of a coterie of Quixotes.

> ...the heart of a tradition lies in its literature...in its sacred book of its classics...There are books which all Europe shares, and if there is a concern to make Europe more real than the nations that comprise it then those books should be studied by all, humanists and scientists alike, who aspire to leadership and place. If they read the same books, they are some way to thinking the same thoughts.[47]

However, Britain's abstention from the Treaty of Rome brought most cultural movements for a united Europe under suspicion. After 1957 the articles concerning Europe's unity and its projection in education were either to reject the vision of unity as

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[44] *Times Educational Supplement*, 16 December, 1949, p.876.

[45] Ibid.

[46] *Times Educational Supplement*, 3 October, 1952, p.806.

[47] *Times Educational Supplement*, 22 July, 1955, p.795.

unrealistic, or if they supported it, they first had to make clear that they were not unpatriotic. The enthusiastic tone that prevailed in articles before the Treaty of Rome retreated and instead more articles expressing fears and doubts on the success of European cultural institutions appeared. A correspondent in *The Times Educational Supplement*, in an column titled 'Europe's Rebirth', commented on the intention of the six countries to create a European University:

> The new university will have to guard against two dangers: the devaluation of regional European cultures, from which national universities have emanated, and the promotion of a new 'European Nationalism.' Provided its doors are kept open to students and professors from outside the six countries these pitfalls may be avoided.[48]

Although the correspondent expressed a genuine agony about the emergence of a new kind of nationalism, what is also clear between the lines is an agony at Britain's exclusion from the new intellectual community in which Britain's academics would have liked to be leading members. More ironic and bitter comments were expressed in another article the following year. Writing about the Romantic Movement exhibition at the Tate Gallery in July 1959, a correspondent wonders if there is after all a European culture or whether there should be a European culture? The exhibition was the fifth in a series held in various countries under the auspices of the Council of Europe aiming to illustrate some aspects of the unity of European culture. The writer noted that the idea of Europe as something superior to the sum of European countries was somehow metaphysical and the belief that the countries of Europe have something exclusive in common ludicrous since it is very easy to slip from 'we have something in common' to say that 'we should have something in common'. The sliding over from the concept of Europe as a field of co-operation to the more grandiose one of Europe as a homogeneous unit if not an almost mystical entity is deceptive. As for the multitude of bodies which sprang up during the fifties to convince that there is a European culture, and he mentions almost a dozen of them, they bump into each other and overlap. However, although those bodies undertake many positive tasks, they can also be dangerous, seeing culture as a political weapon. The tendency to project a homogeneous European culture, and a European self-consciousness, is artificial and not historically sound and one must be careful not to respond to the lure of the possibly beneficial outcome of these ideas.[49]

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[48] *Times Educational Supplement*, 12 September, 1958.

[49] *Times Educational Supplement*, 17 July 1959, 'Definition and Dialectic, Towards a European Culture'. The author refers to the European Cultural Foundation, the Association of Institutes for European Studies, the European Centre for International

As the question of Britain joining the European Economic Community and further affiliating with European culture was still open, the bodies of European educational exchanges multiplied and became more active. In February 1960 the United Kingdom Council for European Movement, together with the European-Atlantic Movement for Education in Atlantic Citizenship, organised their second conference in Bournemouth on 'Making Children Europe-Minded'. The president of the UK Council of the European Movement, Alfred Robens, emphasized that 'without a united Europe, the destiny of the world might as well be in the hands of two great nations already capable of destroying themselves and everyone else.'[50] The conference was attended by 90 teachers and representatives of education authorities, and aimed to 'explain and put into perspective the substantial changes occurring in Europe; describe the aims and powers of the major international institutions concerned; relate the implications to the United Kingdom and at the same time examine the sources by which these aims and issues can be made known to teachers and older pupils in English schools'.[51] Among the interesting views expressed in the conference was that of John Sewell, who urged that European affairs be given parity with the teaching of Commonwealth and United Nations affairs.[52] His article the following week in *The Times Educational Supplement* urged four reasons - economic, sociocultural, political and strategic - why Britain's role in Europe was essential both for Europe and Britain, despite Britain's strong connections with the Commonwealth and the United States.[53] We see thus that Britain's priorities had to be tested between the Commonwealth and Europe even as late as the early sixties. This statement provoked a

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Exchanges, the World Assembly of Youth, the International Catholic Youth Federation, the International Association for Vocational Guidance, the European Bureau for Youth and Childhood, the European Youth Campaign, the International Literary and Artistic Association and the European Cultural Fund, about whose aims he is more analytical.

[50] *Times Educational Supplement*, 'Britain in Perspective: Making Children Europe Minded' 12 February, 1960.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Ibid. J. Sewell was the chairman of the European-Atlantic Movement for Education in Atlantic Citizenship.

[53] J. Sewell, 'Our Place in Europe, Four Points' , *Times Educational Supplement*, February 26, 1960.

series of letters to the editor, from enthusiastic Europeanists urging more research into Britain's connection with European culture. [54]

Many educational conferences were still organised about becoming harmonised with Europe, such as the one at Theydon Bois on 'British Education and the United Europe', where they resolved that Britain would have to abandon early specialization and broaden the curriculum, if it wanted to bring its education system into line with the rest of western Europe.[55] Furthermore educationalists argued for the adoption of resolutions coming from bigger organizations outside Britain, such as the Council of Europe. When the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe passed a resolution regarding the teaching of European civics in member countries to create a 'European consciousness', in October 1964, the secretary of the British Section of European Teachers' Association wrote that although the British public was uninterested by or hostile to the idea of Europe, since the links with the Commonwealth are still alive, Britain needed to get rid of this conservatism and the deep-rooted suspicion that the new Europe was another power block impeding the establishment of a world order under the aegis of the United Nations, and instead teach a sense of European citizenship as the Council of Europe asked.[56]

During the sixties the meetings of the international committee of the Historical Association became fewer and fewer. In the early years of the sixties bilateral Anglo-American examination of school textbooks took place. But it seemed that projects took longer to result in specific reports, (the Anglo-American more than six years), and that the interest of the Association was simply fading on this issue. The same was true about UNESCO's interest which seemed to be left to particular individuals. Educationalists such as E.H. Dance, a founding member of the committee and active throughout these decades, looked to more organised institutions such as the Brunswick Institute in Germany for the continuation of the efforts made at the end of the war. Meanwhile Dance's book *History the Betrayer*, published in 1960, was an extensive study of the problem of history writing and teaching without bias, which became very popular amongst the teaching profession. The Historical Association's international committee did enrol specialists from other countries as honorary members of the international

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[54] Letters, *Times Educational Supplement,* February 19, 1960, Kenneth Lindsay, answer to John Sewell, February 26, 1960, John Leech Acting Director of Europe House, March 4, 1960, John Gifford, March 11, 1960.

[55] *Times Educational Supplement,* 'European Contact', March 20, 1964.

[56] *Times Educational Supplement,* C. Waterlow 'European Consciousness', December 4, 1964.

committee, ensuring participation in conferences relevant to textbook bias. In 1963 the UK National Commission for UNESCO was dissolved, but as noted in its last meeting, 'textbook revision was by that time a small and indirect responsibility of UNESCO's programme...while the revision of textbooks was included in a number of bilateral cultural conventions negotiated between the UK and other countries'.[57] Even the chairman of the committee raised the question whether there was any reason to maintain an international committee at all, since there seemed to be too little to do.[58] By the mid-seventies it was merged with the Publicity and Development Committee with its main responsibility to bring to attention all activities such as conferences, bilateral examination of textbooks, or publications related to the subject. However, in other places the centres for that purpose acquired a more permanent status. The institute in Germany was officially recognised by the Council of Europe as the centre for textbook examination in 1968, while in Japan an organisation subsidised by the government was set up for this purpose.[59] It is interesting that the two allies of the Second World War were to acquire government-aided centres for the abolition of nationalistic bias in textbooks.

The Seventies

During the first years of the seventies, an interesting project on the position of history in the sixties was run by the Council of Europe, focusing on 'The Place of History In Secondary Teaching' in various countries of Europe. E.H. Dance wrote the report on this survey which showed that the same preoccupation in history were common to most European countries. That is, more social and economic history beside political history was required, and of course more world history parallel with the national ones.[60]

The Association was willing to send delegates to activities for the cause of international understanding, such as the conference in Dublin in July 1973, on Teaching and Textbook Bias. They were also willing to publicise initiatives such as the Education Advisory Committee of the One World Trust, founded in 1974 by the all-party Parliamentary Group for World Government for bilateral examination of history text-books by school teachers in a number of countries. However, the more international daily life became during the seventies, the more older traditions of looking at history in schools

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[57] Minutes of the Historical Association, September, 1966.

[58] Minutes of the Historical Association, June, 1968.

[59] Ibid.

[60] E.H. Dance, *The Place of History In Secondary Teaching*, Education in Europe Council of Europe, (Paris, 1970), pp.26-60.

were contested, not only as a result of international agreements, but also as the historical inquiry came under scrutiny - as the next section of the chapter will show.

Section II: History in Schools

In the previous section it became obvious that Britain during the first post-war years had a dynamic presence supporting internationalist and pacifist views for the teaching of history. However, beside the views of the intellectuals on the role of history in schools, it is worthwhile to look at the actual methods of and influences on history teaching in schools, as teachers worked in the classroom.

After the War 1945-1955

The immediate post-war years had not been the time for radical innovation, especially in secondary schools. However, at university level social and economic history had been taught for years, and it was gradually infiltrating school syllabuses from the inter war period. In the Norwood report of 1943, several recommendations on history were put forward which were partially implemented in the post-war years. One of these was the need to design a kind of history which would teach 'the interdependence of peoples and the far-reaching effects of political, social or economic ideas beyond their place of origin.'[61] However, great innovations were not on the agenda of this report, at least for the first years after the end of the war.

> ...in spite of the widening of the bounds of interest, the conviction remains that the child at school is first a citizen of the United Kingdom and that his extension of interest and grasp takes place most naturally outwards from the history of his own country and his own people at home and overseas to the larger field of foreign history.[62]

Thus the two most important issues to bear in mind in history teaching should be:

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[61] Secondary School Examination Council, *Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools; Report of the 1941 Committee,* Chairman Cyril Norwood, HMSO (London, 1943) p.99.

[62] Ibid.

(a) that the history of Britain must remain the core of the History syllabus, and to that the history of other people must be organically related.

(b) that the history of Britain at home and overseas in the later part of the nineteenth and twentieth century should receive adequate treatment.[63]

These two points are also related to the role of history, in introducing pupils to good citizenship, provided that historical subjects can show relevance and significance to the present day. So even before the end of the war two new demands were made of history together with the decision to maintain the basic status of history unaltered. More world history should be taught, but only relating to Britain, and more contemporary subjects to contribute to the consolidation of good citizenship and patriotism.[64] According to this report history was considered far too difficult a subject for the younger or less able pupils. It was a subject which could properly show its academic benefits only after the sixth form. By the age of sixteen every pupil should have had the opportunity to study aspects of British and world history, while in the sixth form pupils would be ready to study contemporary history approaching questions of central and local government, public affairs and special studies in the history of the foreign nations or the British Commonwealth, including such topics as the growth of democratic ideals.[65] Since history and especially contemporary history was a complicated and important subject for the sixth form, what the pupils in the first grades should be taught is a simplified version of older

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[63] Ibid.

[64] The report is explicit on the relation and importance of history as an instruction in citizenship. History could replace and even prove better even than civics for instruction in the duties of the good citizen. The qualities that make a good citizen spring most naturally and effectively from the study of ordinary school subjects, particularly history, provided that those subjects are treated as relevant and significant for the present day, p.100. G. Whitty argued that civics and social and political studies had always been seen in English education a subject for the lower streams, a low status activity when compared with the academic subjects of history and geography which were the authorities in training into citizenship. This was consistent with the public school tradition which British education valued highly. G. Whitty, 'Social Studies and Political Education in England since 1945', in I. Goodson, (ed.), *Social Histories of Secondary School Curriculum,* (London, 1985), p.270.

[65] Secondary School Examination Council, *Curriculum and Examination in Secondary Schools; Report of the 1941 Committee,* op. cit., p.100.

times.[66] Thus, a chronological order of historical teaching should be adopted for the school years. These lines were kept at least for the first decade after the war for the majority of secondary schools of most types.[67]

Methodologically, there were two main trends in history teaching which prevailed in post-war secondary schools. In the academic streams for the fewer competent pupils, the traditional analytical type of history remained supreme. Political events, emphasis on personalities and great deeds, were to construct the moral values on which the adolescent would base a gentlemanly character. As a response to the fate of the Commonwealth during the late forties and fifties, new syllabuses were added to boost interest in Imperial History, but without success.

More changes were on the agenda for non-academic history teaching. A great influence had been M.V.C. Jeffreys's book *History in Schools: Study of Development,* published before the war.[68] He argued that a different approach to historical events was needed to catch the attention of the less able pupil. The 'lines of development' approach which he suggested was based on the selection from the past of a particular limited area of human activity, to be traced through the centuries. He claimed that this arrangement was suited to the young and limited mind, because it provided a clear and simple ordering of events over a narrow and well-defined area, such as 'The history of transportation through ages'. These methods were not immediately adopted but they did provide a basis for new theories and insights on how to achieve a maximum pedagogical benefit from history for the less able.

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[66] This view was elaborated later by G. Elton, 'What sort of history should we teach?' in M. Ballard (eds.) *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History,* (London, 1971), pp.221-220.

[67] An exception to that, were the public schools where the teacher could ignore the holistic approach suggested by the Ministry and use their own expertise. See appendix, interview E with R. Cockett, pp.292-293.

[68] M.V.C. Jeffreys, *History In Schools: Study in Development,* (London, 1939). M.V.C. Jeffreys, Professor of Education and director of the Birmingham Institute of Education, was a major educationalist. He was Chairman of the Religious Education Committee of Schools Council up until the early seventies. He wrote a number of books on the philosophy of education and especially on religion and education, such as *Beyond Neutrality: five essays on the Purpose of Education,* (London, 1955), *Education Christian or Pagan,* (London, 1952), *The Unity of Education,* (London, 1966), *The Ministry of Teaching: Seven Essays on Education,* (London, 1967).

The basis for a parallel development was thus consolidated already from the first post-war years. In a rather paradoxical way, all pedagogical experimentations on history teaching were destined for the 'less able' when questions about history teaching in secondary education arose. The more competent received a more impenetrable method of teaching which was not widely questioned, since their interest in history and their success in the examinations - which were designed along the lines of what they had been taught - were taken for granted.

The history of 'history teaching' in schools inevitably follows the history of the development of secondary schools, as it will become clear in the next period when the numbers of secondary pupils rose and a new type of history had to be invented, along with the new types of secondary schools, to grasp the interest of the allegedly 'less able'.

History for the Unintelligent 1955-1965

Most suggestions about Europeanising educational goals were considered by educationalists. The creation of European Studies in universities, collaboration with the College of Europe, participation in international or strictly European educational conferences, to mention but a few, were all welcomed. But when it came down to schools European history was not to be boosted as a result of the various attempts to 'harmonize education with Europe'. On the contrary, all these institutions seemed to be active on the side of the syllabuses of secondary schools. In those schools, the problems to be solved were practical rather than idealistic. As many more pupils stayed at school, and especially at secondary modern and later to comprehensive schools, history must be invented for the less able pupil. The idea was that since these pupils were going to leave school earlier, it would be useful to learn a sort of history which would explain the present better, and would prepare them for 'adult life'. Elaborate psychological theories to explain the pedagogical benefits of the non-traditional kind of history, were published during the first years of the sixties and adopted in school and examination syllabuses after the mid-sixties. To the 'lines of development' approach of history teaching, the 'era approach' was to be added. P. Carpenter argued for the benefits of teaching in depth short and unrelated themes. [69]

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[69] P. Carpenter, *History Teaching - the Era Approach*, (Cambridge, 1964), pp.1-3.

The combination of the two methods was to become popular as schooling for the less privileged, with its common and characteristic name 'Patch'.[70] These methods received a great amount of criticism, as it became obvious that lines of development did not make sense out of their historical context, while teaching unconnected eras made them largely incomprehensible.[71] One has to take in consideration that this was the period when comprehensives were searching for a new academic identity and teaching lines were not concrete. History teaching was to find a compromise between the traditional approach which was unshakeable in the grammar schools and the new theories which were flourishing in the secondary modern schools. With the central aim 'to catch the pupil's attention' a wide literature started developing in the early sixties. Its immediate targets were secondary moderns and comprehensives, but as the numbers of these schools increased in the next decade, while the number of grammar schools decreased, the question ceased to be only about catching the attention of the less able, and focused on teaching interesting history for the successful candidate. During the next decade, not only methods of history teaching were to go under scrutiny but history itself had to defend itself as suitable to mould the nation's character.

History Challenged? 1965-1975

During the mid-sixties Britain was transformed. The international character of everyday life in Britain as elsewhere in the world brought the tendency to break with everything old, parochial or even traditional. Many factors contributed to that, some of them common to the western world and some exclusively British. Television brought coverage of global issues to the post-war generation every day, while in post-imperial countries there were growing numbers of immigrants in local schools. In Britain this was on a larger scale. Contemporary society was to be scrutinized as if discovered anew by the citizens of the late twentieth century. History was again under attack as a subject which had no utility for the modern age and its place in the curriculum was endangered.[72]

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[70] Ibid.

[71] W.H. Burston, 'The Syllabus in Secondary Schools', in W.H. Burston, C. Green (eds.) *Handbook for History Teachers,* (London, 1972), pp.59-74. See also W.H. Burston, *Principles of History Teaching*, (London, 1957, 1972), criticised as potentially misleading, pp.116-117.

[72] M. Price, 'History in Danger', *History,* October 1968 on the defence of history. Earlier evidence is in the documents of the Historical Association, 'The Aims and Purpose of

During the first years of the sixties several new theories and approaches to history flourished. In 1962 the Institute of Education published a bulky volume entitled *Handbook for History Teachers*, containing the wide spectrum of extremists' point of view as well as the compromising tendencies. Both the 'method and matter' of history were equally suspect for the wrongs of education and a vast new scholarship at all levels of the history teaching profession flourished to alter that.[73]

Many attacks upon traditional history teaching came from within the historical profession as well as from other subjects. Economists and sociologists who had been influential in the United States of America were first in line to attack history. They claimed that history was not fit to teach world perspectives and that it was not enough to stand on its own. Instead, they called for an interdisciplinary curriculum, where the humanities would be taught as a single body.[74]

However, in Britain these theories had not been as influential as to cause any massive changes of the syllabus, at least at that stage. A very important educationalist who wrote extensively on history teaching was W.H. Burston.[75] He suggested a kind of history which would use the traditional methods, enriched by the disciplines of economics, sociology or anthropology, but not presenting overgeneralisations and iron laws true for all historical circumstances.

The counter arguments for this compromise approach to traditional history came from advocates of present-dominated history. A world perspective and the contemporaneous universality of the seventies, could not be taught by insisting on national histories.

History Teaching', March 1962, explaining why history is indeed a useful subject for the pupils of average or less than average ability between the ages 13 and 16. In 1969, Mary Price started the journal *Teaching History,* specializing in the problems of the history teacher in secondary modern schools and comprehensives.

[73] W.H. Burston, C. Green, op.cit.

[74] Ibid, p.21.

[75] W.H. Burston, 'Laws, Generalizations and the History Teacher', in W.H. Burston, D. Thompson (eds), *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History,* (London, 1967), pp. 49-64 , see also W.H. Burston, *Principles of History Teaching*, op.cit.

Furthermore, a greater integration of subjects was a prerequisite according to some who wanted 'humanities' to replace 'history'.[76]

The scientific backing for this view could be found in the work of the American psychologist Jerome Bruner. He thought that the certainties and general laws which came out of behavioural studies in anthropology or sociology served the learning capacities of the children better. Therefore it was this kind of subject which should be promoted in schools rather than the open-ended individuality of historical interpretation.[77]

Many opposed these ideas without totally rejecting the analysis of their proponents. Derek Heater condemned the framework of this approach, although he believed that history had a lot to gain by adopting methods from other disciplines. It was true, he argued, that present-minded history, that is looking at the historical past as serving the present, could lead to anachronisms and biases to those historical features which serve the present.[78] On the other hand the utilitarian aspect of social sciences, with their quantitative and classifying techniques, which led to general laws, could be used in history to provide evidence. 'To many', Heater argued, 'history, like God, is dead, because, in contrast to social sciences it has little evident utility.'[79] Heater believed that 'history should be perceived not merely as a subject, but rather as a mode of thought...thus, it should be taught in such a way that it is used as a vehicle for the basic social science concepts.'[80] A social sciences education was supposed to serve modern times better.

Apart from present-related history and integrated history, another appealing subject which emerged during the decade from the mid-sixties to the mid-seventies was 'Twentieth Century History'. The twentieth century was seen as a peculiar and unique historical phenomenon which deserved a special section in the history syllabuses. In the

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[76] S.J. Magraw 'The Status of History in the Secondary School Curriculum' Unpublished M.A. University of London, Institute of Education (London, 1983), pp.20-25. The author gives an extensive picture of the debate between social sciences versus history for secondary schools, during the sixties.

[77] J. Bruner, *Towards a Theory of Instruction,* (Harvard, 1966), cited in S.J. Magraw, op. cit., p.23.

[78] D. Heater, 'History and the Social Sciences', in M.Ballard, (ed.) *New Movements in the study and teaching of History*, (London, 1970), pp. 134-146.

[79] Ibid, p.137.

[80] Ibid, p.141.

examination papers, it appeared either as 'World Affairs Since 1919',[81] or as 'The Twentieth Century', dealing mostly with the Second World War and the division of the world between the superpowers.[82] Many doubted the historian's ability, let alone that of the school history teacher, to deal with contemporary history. W.H. Burston claimed that there was no detachment from contemporary life, so it was impossible to give a significant account of historical events.[83] It was very difficult for the historian to write (and teach) history when he or she was a participant, rather than a detached spectator. It was not impossible to be impartial, Burston argued, but it was definitely more difficult to do so when you had your own first hand account of events.[84] Furthermore, the modern historian lacked knowledge of the effect of the events he was supposed to be teaching, even though he had more available evidence in the first place.[85]

Others claimed differently.

> The true contemporary historian moves among his subject like an anthropologist among the tribesmen of Papua, neutral, detached, his professional ethics in control of his personal ones, concerned to understand rather than to condemn. He is, and must regard himself as, the vanguard of future historians.[86]

D.C Watt argued for the great pedagogical benefits of studying twentieth century history, which amongst other things is the greatest challenge for the history teachers.

> It taxes their professional ethics most strongly, it demands a particular clarity about the nature of the historical argument and the character of historical statements it faces them with peculiar problems of identity and perspective. Yet it has a peculiar fascination too, that of working on or close to the frontier at which history is in a state of continuous creation, the present. The contemporary historian is the midwife of

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[81] See chapter V, pp.135-143.

[82] Ibid.

[83] W.H. Burston, 'The Nature and Teaching of Contemporary History' in W.H. Burston and D. Thompson, (eds.) *Studies in the Nature and Teaching of History*, (London, 1966), pp.107-136.

[84] Ibid, p.111.

[85] Burston in this chapter actually makes a distinction between the 'real history' of the remote past and contemporary history, p.107.

[86] D.C. Watt, 'Twentieth Century History', in M.Ballard, (ed.) *New Movements in the Study and Teaching of History*, (London, 1970), pp.62-75.

history. It is only just that this responsibility should call for particular professional care.[87]

Present-centred history, world affairs, twentieth century history and history integrated with other disciplines were the rivals of traditional history from the mid sixties to the late seventies. But was there any real danger for traditional history teaching? It seems that the British educational system had found accommodation for each one of these trends in history teaching with the usual separation of classes. Although one might think that world history or social history would entail more complicated notions, only for the very competent, what in reality happened was that those labelled as less able were offered a simplified version of 'a practical past', in the words of M.J. Oakeshott.[88] So starting from the reality of Britain of the sixties, that is an advanced technological society with strong international links around the world, with the beginning of massive migration from the colonies, history was to find a practical and quick explanation of 'how it all started'. Those in favour of this tactic argued that this was the major way to catch pupils' attention and those against it would speak of the strength of history in encouraging scepticism, openmindness and distrust of certainty by providing contradictory evidence.[89]

All these arguments in the educational world urged the need for change in the traditional approach to history. Traditional syllabuses had either to adapt or be abolished and replaced by other more utilitarian subjects. World history, contemporary history, local and family history, or history integrated with sociology, had to find a place in the school curriculum. And if these were the content changes methodologically things had to change as well. Active styles of learning had to be adopted as child-centred learning was gaining

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[87] Ibid, p.74.

[88] M.J. Oakeshott, 'Mr. Carr's First Volume', *Cambridge Journal* (Cambridge, 1951) cited in S.J. Magraw, op. cit., p. 25. Also on the same issue, in 1969 the Schools Council published a pamphlet addressed to the teacher, defending history per se for the young school leaver, *Humanities for the young school leaver - An Approach through History*. It was an attempt to make history meaningful for those who stay at school after the raising of the school leaving age. History was described as a subject which leads to self knowledge of a society and would help those less able children 'to organize their relationships within an increasingly complex society', p.16.

[89] Against history stood psychologists such as J. Bruner, and for history philosophers such as M.J. Oakeshott, and historians such as Barraclough, see S.J. Magraw, op. cit., p.24.

ground. Group work and the use of original sources, documents and visits to historical places were at the centre of attention. [90]

Until the mid-seventies world history and contemporary history were gradually infiltrating both secondary schools and examination syllabuses. They had been influential in the production of new kind of textbooks, as the textbook market had been traditionally a free market and thus responded flexibly to the new teaching tendencies.[91] These textbooks could reach the class via the well-informed teachers who would initiate the new trends in history teaching mainly because of their own professionalism. By the mid-seventies all examination boards had syllabuses in world and contemporary history.[92] In the main political history remained the standard history to be taught, although social and economic history had their place too. In that sense, one could claim that the resolutions of the Norwood report had by and large been met during the course of the first thirty post-war years. The 'matter' of history teaching in schools did include more world history, while British history always remained the centre of gravity. However, 'the manner' of history teaching, that is, the methods which were springing out of the new psychological and pedagogical theories, was to tell another story. That is the story of educational separatism which was inherent in the British educational system. At the end of the day, what mattered was 'standards' both for school work and for the examinations. In schools with higher academic standards, the new methods, if and when applied, could make sense, because the teachers, the pupils and the educational materials they used could enrich the learning experience. In schools without these standards the new methods were more likely to lead to inadequate if not absurd results. The use of original sources, for example, without a sound textbook for all pupils was little help, while visits to historical places without historical training were not as useful as initially intended.[93]

The following decade was to see the rise and fall of the new ideas of history teaching. What is interesting is that the fall was not caused by the nature of the ideas themselves but by the nature of the field in which they were sown. One example of this trend is an institution which lost the blessing of the Department of Education and Science - the Schools Council and its project for teaching history in the third, fourth, and fifth year of secondary education.

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[90] Ibid, p.26, see also appendix interview B with Ann and Graham Morris, pp.270-275.
[91] See chapter VI, p.162-165.
[92] See chapter V, p.135-143.
[93] See appendix B p.269.

This project incorporated seventies educational values, and adopted the beliefs of the teachers, making it very popular amongst them.[94] It was very important because by becoming a recognised examination qualification at GCE O level as well as CSE, it made possible its incorporation into mainstream history. In this project, the pupil would act as an autonomous moral agent trying to understand the process of change and continuity in human affairs. History would become an activity of enquiry into the past. It introduced the pupils to the relativity of notions such as truth, selection of subjects and moral judgements; it even advocated empathic reconstruction of the past, as Trevelyan did in the forties. Most important it stressed that history was essentially a methodology and that school history was a medium rather than an end for education.[95]

Along with the pedagogical values of this project, what was really contested were the social values of the time which carried strong political beliefs. That history along with other humanities was the culprit for the alleged economic decline of Britain, because it had not invested properly in technological education, was the dominant view of politicians about education during the late seventies. History was on the defensive once more, at the same time as the practical implementation of the 'New History' promoted by the SC project, failed in the classroom. The New History, although it was supposed to concentrate on the adolescent's needs, proved to have a greater impact on teachers' talk about theories than pupils' activity in history lessons. It was said that it overestimated the teachers who were trained in a traditional way and expected to teach in a radical one.[96] The years between the mid-seventies and mid-eighties saw a need to turn back to the content of history rather than the method. The content had to include world history but the question now was increasingly how to reconcile a national history with a multicultural society.[97]

The new right saw in history a way to contribute to the socialisation and the mark of the educated person, who no matter what he or she does in life has to have a minimal knowledge of British and western European history; the qualifications for what I. Lewis calls 'instinctive conservatism'.[98] This secured the long-disputed place of history in the school curriculum, even though the role it should have in schools once settled there was

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[94] I. Lewis, 'Conflicting Values In The Debate Over School History', unpublished M.A. University of London, Institute of Education, (London, 1990), pp.35-70.

[95] Ibid, p.63.

[96] See appendix B, p.306.

[97] I. Lewis, op. cit., p.88.

[98] Ibid, 116.

far from being agreed. The peak of the debate on history in the eighties was in the Conference at Ruskin College, taking the argument of what should history be (skills or knowledge) to extremes. What at least was acknowledged, even from the left, was that the right brought history to the centre of interest, encouraging the study of 'history for its own sake' and not as a subsidiary to any of the social trends of the sixties. It was argued that history once established anew in schools to be studied for its own sake, its value in understanding and interpreting the past would be developed, instead of the meaningless 'empathy' and skills of handling unrelated historical evidence, as was the case with the prevalence of the child-centred pedagogy.[99]

Conclusion

History teaching in schools from 1945-75 was dominated by two parallel trends. One was a history for the 'less able' pupils, who had to gain quickly some useful notions for their adult life from history. The multitude of educational theories which flourished during the early sixties, were all intended to solve the problem of catching the attention of the underprivileged pupil. In the meantime the history taught in academic streams was traditional, analytic and accurate, aiming to safeguard the nation's values. These two trends came closer as the underprivileged began to enter for the same examinations, which had originally been designed for the academic streams. It was after 1975 that the new tendencies of historical endeavour reached schools and examination syllabuses, when the new history and with it the comprehensive pupils became mainstream. At the same time the preoccupations of the educationalists with the role of history in schools developed from cultivating peace, to contributing to the new Europe, to contributing to the building of character and judgement in a world of conflicting values.

History teaching in schools reflected the agony of a society seeking a national and moral integrity. History had been seen in Britain as a moulder of national identity and as a moulder of social consciousness, long before sociology or related disciplines entered secondary schools. Because of this, educationalists and other intellectuals saw in it a vehicle for international peace and understanding, at the same time as boosting patriotism. Some aspired to promote common European links through a curriculum dominated by British history and many thought that history was the lesson which had enough windows for all the new disciplines, which could not enter through the door in

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[99] R. Samuel, 'History as an End in Itself', *The Guardian*, 13 March 1990 cited in I. Lewis, op.cit.

secondary schools, to come in. For all these reasons it was and remained the subject which carries significances debated by many outside the historical profession at all levels of education.

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PART II

The Educational Content

A: The Examinations

This part deals with the content of history examination syllabuses and history textbooks in secondary schools. It starts with examinations rather than textbooks, following the process of the teacher's decision on what to emphasize in history teaching and not the sequence in which the pupils themselves experienced it. It estimates the qualitative and quantitative content of the history examinations and locates the proportion of European history in them.

CHAPTER V: THE EXAMINATIONS

The external or public examinations at Ordinary and Advanced-level were chosen to be considered in this thesis, from a multitude of examinations for schools operating during the thirty years following the Second World War.[1] Unlike examinations which were organised locally by the regions or internally in different schools, they were the examinations which had 'external currency' in the social market in Britain.[2] The successful candidates in these examinations could purchase with their certificates, along with other requirements, white collar jobs, as well as places in the universities. Therefore they account for the national standards in the subjects they were examining, safeguarding at the same time the liberal education given in public, grammar, and competent comprehensive schools. The small percentage of candidates in secondary modern schools who did attempt the external examinations, at least in the first years of the fifties, did so 'to raise morale' since these examinations worked as 'a social symbol, which helped to wipe out the sense of failure at the age of eleven plus'.[3] Yet these examinations were not designed for them, even though officially the examinations were open to all who were able to attempt them.

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[1] During the thirty years following the Second World War there had been a variety of examinations scheduled for several types of secondary schools other than GCE. R.J Montgomery argued that internal examinations were favoured by the Ministry and local authorities for the majority leaving at the age of fifteen, in a SSEC report in 1947. Yet, he claimed, few of these examinations were known at any distance from the school concerned. Local examinations organised by teachers started taking root in the fifties which had the beneficial effect of making modern school children stay at school for an extra year. However, the lack of uniformity and the variation of standards almost cancelled the effect of these examinations in employers' eyes. This is the reason that CSE was successful in taking over from all these examinations as at the same time the school leaving age was raised. Furthermore, other regionally organised examinations were by and large assimilated by more centrally organised examining institutions which were now ready to cater for the non-academic pupil. The Associated Examining Board, created in 1955, became the main Board addressed to the less academic candidate, R.J. Montgomery, *Examinations*, (London, 1965) pp.183-211.

[2] Ibid, p.187.

[3] Ibid, p.190.

The examination syllabuses and the examination questions were the products of the eight - at one point nine - examination boards.[4] These examination boards were set up in different times and with different goals, often addressing themselves to different types of pupil. Their origins as well as their internal organisation determined their output, that is the construction of the examination syllabuses and questions. This was also determined by the special role that each one of them had in the whole procedure of the examination, in relation to central authorities, the other boards and the schools.

This first section will locate the nature and the role of the examination boards as agents of change and influence in the school life of the pupils. It has to recognise the origins of the organisation of the boards as well as where the power to produce the syllabuses really lay. Thus the special role of the examination boards in the general examination procedure as it was experienced in post-war British society is analysed before the analysis of the published syllabuses themselves.

Yet the main target of this chapter is the analysis of the content of history syllabuses and examination papers for O and A levels. Therefore it will particularly focus on detecting the position of European history proportionate with other historical subjects and it will draw a map of the historical periods and areas of European history which were covered in them. The second section will analyse the subjects of European history as inscribed in the syllabuses and the third section will analyse the examination questions on European history. The analysis aims to show the changes these syllabuses went through as the conceptions about history as a discipline changed, as well as the features which remained stable in the course of these years. Furthermore, the scrutiny of examination questions aims to reveal what the examiners believed about European history. Questions which concentrated on the history of specific countries rather than others implies that these countries were for the examiners the true European countries whose history could account for the total of European history. Geographically, Europe extended from the Urals to the Atlantic, and from the Arctic to the Mediterranean Sea, but examiners' choices only partially filled this map. The three sections of this chapter will deal with the analysis of the role of the examination boards setting the exams, the syllabuses they produced and the examination questions. The analysis aims to look behind the dates and the titles and reveal the boundaries of Europe as perceived by the educationalists who designed the examinations.

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[4] The Associated Examining Board was established in 1955, while the Durham Board did not close until 1964.

Section I

The Boards

Most of the eight examination boards had their roots in the late nineteenth century. The Oxford and Cambridge Universities were the first ones to organise examinations designed to test the products of the middle class schools, in 1858. More specifically it was the Oxford Convocation in 1857 that passed a statute 'Concerning the examination of candidates who were not members of the University'.[5] The Oxford Delegacy was founded in response to approaches made to the University by schools and others interested in education, who represented that the University might confer great benefit on those who could not afford or did not want a university education for their children, by undertaking to examine them about the time of their leaving school.[6] It was made clear even from this early time that although this examination would allow the school masters to test their work, in no way was it expected or wished that the University would undertake to prescribe authoritatively any course of instruction or interfere in any other way with the work of the schoolmaster. The examinations were organised at a Junior and Senior level. The Juniors offered more subjects, aiming to discourage specialisation at an early age. The Cambridge Syndicate started their Senior and Junior Examination six months after the Oxford one. Between 1939 and 1953 the Junior examinations disappeared. The Senior Local had become the School Certificate in 1923, while the Higher Local was succeeded by the Higher School Certificate at about the same time.[7] Initially examinations were kept quite distinct from the schools, being 'consciously an extension of the universities to the outer world rather than part of the education system'.[8]

The other boards were set up by the end of the nineteenth or the beginning of twentieth century either as bodies examining secondary education and issuing certificates of secondary education or as matriculation examinations or both. The London Matriculation examination also started in 1858 but it was in 1902 that it introduced the examination for secondary schools. In 1903 the four universities of Manchester, Liverpool, Leeds and Sheffield set up the Joint Matriculation Board initially to conduct a common matriculation examination, but soon this was taken by many who had no intention of

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[5] G. Bruce, *Secondary School Examinations Facts & Commentary*, (London, 1969), p.74.

[6] Ibid, p.75.

[7] Ibid, p.79.

[8] J.L. Brereton, *The Case For Examinations*, (Cambridge, 1944), p74; see also R.J. Montgomery, op. cit., p.49.

continuing to a university education.[9] By 1910 a Senior School Certificate was issued by this Board, equivalent to the Junior certificate of the other Boards while at the same time it kept the Matriculation examination only for those intending to go to university. The Oxford and Cambridge Board were set up in 1873 providing an examination for the sixth form of those schools which sent a large number of their pupils to the two universities. The Central Welsh Board came into being in 1896 in response to the need for an examining and inspecting body to check on the standards of the secondary schools. This Board, which was set up by Welsh enthusiasts and patriots, was different from the English boards, keeping a regional character especially up to the First World War, when it came under the orbit of the Secondary School Examinations Council.[10] The smallest Board of the period was the Bristol School Examinations Board, operating since 1904 in a tiny area. This board was to become the Southern Universities Joint Board for School Examinations in 1954, while the other small board, the Durham Board, which began, operating in 1858. The close relationship of the examining boards to the universities continued into the twentieth century and certainly after the Second World War. This relationship was criticised especially as different types of secondary education were developed for the majority of the population and it was considered that examinations should be a credit for acquiring a secondary school education rather than a bridge for universities.

Some of the main problems which were central to the operation of the boards from the last century and which continued until the mid-seventies were related to the degree to which they influenced rather than followed the school curriculum and their relationship with central bodies set up by the Ministry to inspect curricula and examinations. There were also problems with the degree of collaboration with school teachers - both in allowing them to participate in the planning of their syllabuses and in employing them as examiners.

The examination boards influenced the school curriculum because for the greater part of this century they were the main agents for examination and because examinations were becoming incredibly important for all pupils. When examinations were various and independent, that is without any control from a central organisation, as was the case until the establishment of the Secondary Schools Examination Council in 1917, they were bound to be the only factors determining the work of the schoolmaster or schoolmistress other than their own initiative. Yet at the beginning of the century far fewer people were

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[9]G. Bruce, op. cit., p.83.

[10]Ibid, p.85 and R.J. Montgomery, op. cit., p.63.

taking these examinations compared to the second part of the century, so their influence was restricted to an elite. The SSEC was established by the Board of Education to inspect the examination syllabuses prepared by the examining boards. Originally representatives of the examining boards participated in the SSEC, yet the ultimate power of control, through 'approval' granted to the examinations, was exercised by the Board of Education.[11] The creation of bodies such as the SSEC shows that at that time the Board aimed to function merely as a co-ordinating authority to secure the equality of standards, leaving the responsibility for the conduct of secondary school examinations with the universities and the examining boards.[12] With all its merits and defects this policy was carried out until the late twentieth century by the Board, later the Ministry and later still the Department of Education. In 1932, an Investigators' School Certificate Report was published about the work of the eight examining boards.[13] One of its main concerns was the famous 'cardinal principle' that examination should follow the curriculum and not determine it. The examination bodies were accused of failing to put that into practice and of still dominating school work. Yet it was not clear how the examination bodies could do anything else since there was no official authority to determine the curriculum anyway. Brereton commented on the criticism of the report:

> Instead of crying for the moon with their 'cardinal principle' the Board
> should have been sufficiently realistic to say: 'these examinations will
> play an important part in determining the curriculum'.[14]

And this was not the only criticism that examining bodies received during the interwar period. The Local Education Authorities had grown in influence by the 1930s and begun

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[11]J.L. Brereton, op. cit., p.94. The SSEC was originally composed of twenty one members, of whom ten represented the examining bodies, six were appointed by the Teachers' Registration Council, and five represented Local Education Authorities. The Chairman was appointed by the Board of Education.

[12]From circular 849 (in 1912) the Board of Education's intention to limit the number of examinations which might be taken by pupils in secondary grammar schools became clear. They intended to free secondary schools from 'the nightmare of the multiplicity of examinations' by establishing a First School certificate to be taken at 16 and a Higher School Certificate to be taken at 18. Ibid, p.93.

[13] In each subject there was three 'investigators' acting as inspectors on the examination syllabuses, one HMI, one school teacher and one university teacher. Ibid, pp.96-101.

[14] Ibid.

to resent the universities' control of examinations - since they regarded this as equivalent to control of the curricula of the secondary schools they administered.[15]

It has been said that since the Second World War the Ministry's policies have always tended towards central control.[16] However the Norwood Report attempted to put power into schools reversing the thread towards examinations controlling the general education that the schools should give.[17] It suggested that the way to do so was to diminish the power of the examining bodies and reduce them to simple executors, without at the same time empowering any other agent sufficiently to put the work of the examination bodies in a secondary position. Examining bodies were no longer represented on the SSEC, and they were 'to consider routine matters concerning the procedure and conduct of examinations and report their conclusions to the Council'.[18] With Circular 113 Wilkinson announced that she assumed full responsibility for examination policy and management while relying at the same time 'on the co-operation of the approved examining bodies to carry out the examinations'. Yet the examining bodies were to have no share in deciding what kind of examination they were to conduct, since they were swept off the Council.[19]

However, it is worth asking at this point how far the examination boards were university oriented and thus alienated from school work, how far they collaborated with teachers and schools and whether central authorities were right to consider them the culprits for an examination-oriented curriculum? The answer is not simple as the boards differed both in origin and purpose. Although university matriculation was originally their common aim, the way the different examining bodies perceived and actually implemented

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[15] P. Fisher, External Examinations in Secondary Schools in England and Wales, 1944-1964, (Leeds, 1982), op.cit. p.4.

[16] Ibid; see also R.J. Montgomery, op.cit. p.154.

[17] P. Fisher, op.cit. p.31.

[18] In 1946 in an attempt to reconstitute the SSEC, the Ministry decided to take the lion's share while Local Education Authorities representatives and representatives of the Joint Four (Incorporated Association of Headmasters, Association of Headmistresses, Association of Assistant Masters and the Association of Assistant Mistresses) were finally adequately represented in the Council. All however, seemed to agree on excluding the representatives of examining bodies, who were seen as representing university interference in the work of secondary schools. Draft Circular, Secondary School Examination Council, 15 February 1946, also Circular 103, Secondary Schools Examination Council, June 1946.

[19] Circular 113 and J. Petch, op. cit., p.167.

that had been remarkably different. The Joint Matriculation Board of Northern Universities for example, was from the start closer to teachers and schools than other boards, as was the London University Examination Board.[20] During the first decades of the twentieth century the Board of Education encouraged teachers to make representations to the examining bodies 'on the suitability of questions, and to be represented on the examinations boards on equal terms with other members'.[21] The JMB and London board responded to these requests and became by far the largest in the country. Examiners were employed from schools as well as universities for the Boards, to be able to mark the large number of scripts.[22]

Other boards such as the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board, as well as the Oxford Delegacy and the Cambridge Syndicate worked more closely with their university teachers and to a smaller extent with teachers from public and grammar schools until the Second World War. Yet after the war all three of them used more and more school teachers in their committees as counsellors or examiners, with the Cambridge Syndicate having the closest relations with schools.[23]

Circular 168 in 1948 announced that the examinations for O and A-level would start by 1951.[24] It has been argued that the main difference between the new examinations and the old ones was the amount of central control.[25] This was intended to put the 'cardinal principle' into practice, but in fact, ironically enough, with the SSEC and eventually the Ministry approving the syllabuses and with external examinations becoming more and more in demand, GCE was used to raise the standards of teaching in schools and furthermore to style the teaching syllabuses to fit the examining ones.[26]

SSEC's control was not the only attempt on the part of the Ministry to define examinations and get closer to schools. The Norwood report of 1943 has stated that 'all

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[20] J. Petch, op. cit., p.125; see also G. Bruce, op. cit., p.83; see also J.L. Brereton, op. cit. p.100; see also R.J. Montgomery, p.67. A teacher's letter in 1913 praises JMB and London Board for giving representation to teachers along with university staff. Teachers were encouraged to act as examiners under the London Board.

[21] Cd. 60004, p.120, quoted in R.J. Montgomery, op.cit., p.72.

[22] J.L. Brereton, op. cit., p.101.

[23] G. Bruce, op.cit., p.80.

[24] Ministry of Education, Circular 168, 1948.

[25] J. Petch, op. cit., p.174.

[26] Ibid.

encouragement should be given to the schools to offer their own syllabuses and some of the prescribed syllabuses should be lightened'.[27] However all examining bodies reported that very little use was made of this facility.[28] It has also been argued that during the 1930s the university members of examination boards were endeavouring to discover what schools wanted from their examination, particularly the School Certificate examination, without themselves taking any decisive role.[29] Yet, at the same time 'the schools' could not agree as to what they did want, and in the words of J.Petch, 'in such conditions refusal of leadership produces what in other spheres has been called a power vacuum, upon which comes the fate of the chamber swept and varnished'.[30]

Another step in the direction of co-operation with schools, was when each examining body appointed an External School Moderator in every subject, an active schoolmaster who would use his or her experience to judge whether the question papers were suitable to the schoolchildren who were taking them. From the early 1940s, as more examiners and chief examiners came to be schoolmasters themselves the role of the Moderator (otherwise known as Reviser) was reduced.[31] Before then, the examination syllabuses was usually constructed by two university teachers.[32] As school teachers participated in the subject committees of the Boards the syllabuses were becoming more detailed in their instructions to schools.

The exclusion of the examining boards from central curriculum bodies did not essentially change things even with the new examinations, since other factors were more decisive. The increased number of examination scripts, forcing examining bodies to employ more examiners from schools, was more effective in allowing schools to influence examinations, than the vague and unverified attempts on the part of the Ministry to set up their own alternative syllabuses.

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[27] Report of the Committee of the Secondary School Examination Council, *Curriculum and Examinations in Secondary Schools,* (London, 1941), p.46.

[28] J.L. Brereton, op. cit., p.104.

[29] J. Petch, op. cit., p.131.

[30] Ibid, p.131.

[31] J.L. Brereton, op.cit., p.104; see also J.L. Petch, op.cit., p.128. Petch claims that in 1950 the Board appointed for the First and Higher School Certificate Examination 605 examiners; 486 were at the time practising schoolmasters and schoolmistresses. By 1950 the Board found it a matter of urgency to draw attention to the scarcity of university teachers who were willing to serve as examiners in these examinations.

[32] J.L. Brereton, op.cit., p.114.

As chapter three showed, the period from 1951 to 1964 was one when secondary education was transformed from an elitist process which concerned only a few to a compulsory experience for all. In 1950 only 10% of sixteen-year-olds were in full time education; by 1964 this had more than doubled to 23.6%.[33] The examining boards developed in response to this; the bigger boards increased the numbers of their examinees, while smaller boards ceased to exist and new ones were created. By the end of this period the Durham board had to close down because of the small number of its examinees. Parallel to the discussions in the mid-fifties about creating a new examination for the less academic secondary candidate was the establishment of a new board especially for these pupils.[34] The Associated Examining Board was founded in 1955 and was to become the board for all those who demanded an alternative examination syllabus, closer to the needs of the candidates coming from secondary modern schools and later the comprehensives and the further education colleges.[35] This board was financed initially by the City and Guilds of London Institute and was to become in a very short time one of the three most popular examining boards.[36] It was the way into mainstream education for all those who had failed to get in first time around with the eleven plus examination. The AEB's existence allowed the other boards to continue with their conservative academic syllabuses, since there was no urgent need for them to make any radical changes in their content.[37] It is very characteristic that in 1960 the Oxford Delegacy made an attempt to cut down the number of entries to their examination by restricting it to grammar schools and independent schools fully recognised by the Ministry of Education.[38]

However, even though some boards persisted with elitist policies, by the mid-sixties most of them had been transformed into massive organizations catering for unprecedented

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[33] DES statistics on school attendance.

[34] See chapter III, P. Fisher, op.cit., on Alexander's efforts to create the CSE, p.63.

[35] In 1955, 23,361 candidates came from technical colleges, secondary modern, and secondary technical for the O-level examination and 1,592 for the A-level. Only 1,642 candidates came from grammar and other independent schools for the O-level examination, and 89 for the A-level. In 1975, 86,336 came from further education colleges and comprehensives for the O-level and 22,698 for the A-level. Data collected from AEB. See also R.J. Montgomery, op.cit., p.172.

[36] P. Gordon, R. Aldrich, D. Dean, op. cit., p.304 and see also table 5.2, p.160.

[37] This will be obvious later in the chapter in the discussion of the history syllabuses of each board.

[38] G. Bruce, op.cit., p.77.

numbers of candidates. These candidates could not be deterred even by highly academic syllabuses and were ready to take their chances even when they were coming from less academic schools. By 1964 the Ministry had become the Department of Education, the Schools Council had been set up and the new CSE been constructed. Although when the Schools Council was established the examination boards were not to participate as members, when its constitution was revised in 1968, they were given representation.[39] Later the Schools Council invited each board to nominate a member for each of the Council's A-level subject panels and announced that it would no longer require the submission of O-level syllabuses for approval, although it still wished to receive copies of syllabuses and reserve the right to comment upon them.[40] As shown in chapter three this led to agreement between the different committees on the planning of syllabus, since the Schools Council was a body which tried to generate consensus rather than conflict.[41] As the number of the candidates kept multiplying so did the involvement of teachers in the examination boards. Teachers' representation on the examining boards varied considerably, some boards having serving teachers, some their representatives and others co-opting individuals.[42] By 1964 fifteen out of twenty-two members of the Advisory Committee on the GCE examinations were practising teachers, exercising significant control.[43] By 1972, two thirds of all examiners were school teachers and only a third university teachers.[44] One of the main aims of the GCE had been achieved, to bring examinations away from the universities and closer to schools. In the words of Montgomery:

> Power was sometimes seen to be held at two levels, one the theoretical and one the effective...The university bodies held theoretical control of the GCE, yet effective control was largely in the hands of certain practising teachers who examined in their spare time or who had a part to play in arranging the syllabuses.[45]

Did this mean that by the mid-seventies the 'cardinal principle' had been achieved and examinations were following the school curriculum? No, because the teachers who were participating in the subject committees or as examiners could not speak for the majority or even a minority of 'typical' school curricula. All they could do was comment on the

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[39] Ibid, pp.16-18.

[40] Ibid, p.18.

[41] T. Bercher, S. Maclure, *The Politics of Curriculum Change,* op. cit., p.42.

[42] R.J. Montgomery, op.cit., p.175.

[43] Ibid.

[44] J. Pearce, *School Examinations,* (London, 1972), p.28.

[45] R.J. Montgomery, op.cit., p.263.

syllabuses presented by the examining boards. Schools were generally reluctant to propose special syllabuses and it was the subject committees which had to take the initiative. Montgomery argued that the examinations controlled the curriculum, and yet the people controlling the examinations were not in a strong position to alter them and keep them up to date.[46] He argued that there was no built-in device for ensuring that syllabuses were modernised.[47] Yet change did occur as will be obvious from the next section of this chapter even though it was not as radical as that taking place in the textbooks.[48] The participation of practising teachers in the examination boards did guarantee some interaction between the experts and the chalkface, yet in the absence of any other dynamic source, the examining boards remained at the centre of the formation of the school curriculum.

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[46] Ibid, p.265.

[47] Ibid.

[48] See chapter VI, pp.162-167.

Section II

The Syllabuses

The syllabuses taken into consideration here are the ones which were in use for the whole range of the years examined, with the exception of the Durham Board.[49] They are from the two Boards operating in London, the University Entrance and School Examination Council,[50] the Associated Examining Board,[51] the two Boards operating in Oxford, the Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations and the Oxford and Cambridge Examination Board, which issued identical syllabuses,[52] the University of Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate,[53] the Joint Matriculation Board of Northern Universities based in Manchester,[54] the Southern Universities Joint Board in Bristol[55] and the Welsh Joint Education Committee in Cardiff.[56] From the beginning the boards were different and continued to be so despite of their common aims which might inspire some uniformity. As a reporter attempting a comparative study of the boards in 1977 concluded:

> ...there is no such creature as a typical GCE board: they are all different. In size, in clientele, in the syllabuses they offer, in the provision they make for alternatives within subjects, in the examining procedures used...in their outlooks and their practices.[57]

It is interesting to note that history's popularity as an examination subject was stable throughout this period. Among about forty subjects it has remained the fifth or sixth most popular on average, usually following English, Mathematics, French, Physics and occasionally Geography. The following chart shows the number of passes in various subjects, between the years 1957 to 1975. Only the fourteen most popular ones have a special entry and history is among those, with a steady and high popularity.

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[49] After its closure in 1964 the archives of the board were destroyed.

[50] Referred as UESEC, data collected for the years 1947-1975.

[51] Referred as AEB data collected for the years 1959-1978.

[52] Referred as ODLE and OCEB respectively, data collected for the years 1951- 1978.

[53] Referred as UCLES, data collected for the years 1951-1975.

[54] Referred as JMB, data collected for the years 1946-1975.

[55] Referred as SUJB, data collected for the years 1958-1975.

[56] Referred as WJEC, data collected for the years 1953-1975.

[57] *Comparability in GCE A review of the Boards' studies 1964-1977*, JMB on behalf of the GCE Examining Boards, May 1978, p.14.

Table 5.1: Passes at G.S.E Ordinary level and G.C.E Advanced level Summer Examination by subject in thousands each year.

	1957		1965		1975	
	O Levels	*A Levels*	*O Levels*	*A Levels*	*O Levels*	*A Levels*
English Language	107,715		190,407		260,010	
English Literature	70,040	12,110	122,332	29,057	145,702	44,959
History	53,546	10,734	82,585	22,765	83,332	26,855
Economics	2,252	3,576	19,320	15,276	50,967	31,466
Geography	51,516	6,398	90,449	16,939	103,740	24,330
Latin	25,242	4,851	33,396	6,012	20,715	2,657
French	60,897	8,359	94,996	18,075	92,053	16,919
German	8,891	2,320	18,864	5,311	25,440	6,225
Mathematics	79,905	19,657	157,379	41,894	177,747	46,103
General Science	14,574	1,188	87,708	4,914	76,592	6,855
Physics	25,182	15,430	54,335	29,948	78,527	29,296
Chemistry	22,828	12,979	44,833	21,810	66,220	23,828
Biology	31,735	3,392	72,695	16,724	114,443	23,023
Art	31,220	7,178	52,668	9,913	68,910	16,323
Other Subjects	55,803	1,517	71,466	2,326	100,161	12,964

Source: Reproduced from Statistics C.S.E and G.C.E. Examinations 1957-1975.

A. The Period of Reconstruction

During the first period after the war and for the great part of the fifties, most of the boards produced a two-page document where they described what history they intended to examine. In most cases it was two thirds British history to one third European History at O-level, and equal proportions of British and European history at A-level.[58] Occasionally there was a paper on the history of the United States of America, while most Boards had a special paper on the history of the British Empire, and another on ancient Greek and Roman history.[59]

This division of subjects continued during the greatest period of the fifties. The only boards which launched history of other parts of the world at that early period were strangely enough two boards with very different clienteles. The Cambridge Board offered a paper on world affairs since 1919 at A-level, while the Associated Board offered a whole syllabus on Britain in world affairs since 1870 at O-level. These papers mostly

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[58] See syllabuses UESEC 1951-1967, JMB 1945-1964, ODLE and OCEB 1951-1962.

[59] See syllabuses JMB, UCLES, and UESEC.

concentrated on the role of Britain and other great European powers of the nineteenth and twentieth century in the creation of international organizations.

Most Boards also provided a special or scholarship syllabus (in addition to A-level) which covered a selection of some popular historical periods.[60] About half the subjects in this syllabus were from British history, with two thirds of the rest European history and one third American history. In many cases there was a section for social and economic history and this was usually British.[61]

The date which they started examining each historical period served as a guide for the type of history they considered most important. It is interesting that dates concerning British history were relatively standardised, while those concerning European varied considerably. There were two dates of commencement for British history. These were 55 BC, investigating Roman Britain,[62] and 1066, with the Norman invasions by William the Conqueror.[63] For A-level some boards used different dates. UESEC started in 450 AD while UCLES and the AEB started in 827 AD, marking respectively the invasion of the Anglo-Saxons and the establishment of the seven kingdoms in Britain, and their unification.

The periods of European history being examined were various. JMB and UCLES started in 800 AD with the crowning of Charlemagne in Rome. The SUEB started in 476 AD with the end of the Western Roman Empire. UESEC started for O-level in 1500 AD with the great discoveries, and for their A-level in 395 AD, with the final division of the Roman Empire into West and East. The AEB, which did not have a special section for European History at O-level, started their A-level European history syllabus in 992 AD, with the great schism of the Christian Churches. So did the two Oxford Boards for A-level but for O-level, they started in 1848, with the revolutionary uprisings in Europe.

British Imperial history started either in 1461 or in 1783, that is either with the victory of East India Company or after the first Maratha War. All of the above historical units ended at about twenty years before the time the syllabuses were issued.

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[60] See syllabuses UCLES, SUJB, UESEC, AEB, ODLE, OCEB.

[61] See syllabuses JMB, SUJB, OCEB, ODLE, AEB.

[62] See syllabuses UESEC, SUJEB.

[63] See syllabuses JMB, UCLES, AEB, ODLE, OCEB.

It is interesting to note the periods of ancient Greek and Roman history which were examined by the boards which offered ancient history. The JMB and the UESEC were interested mainly in the classical years of both these civilizations while exceptionally the board in UCLES included the years of the Hellenistic era as well. Most of the other boards did not include historical periods which were in between great civilizations, and could show the transition and continuity from one civilization to the next. On the contrary the usual attitude was to examine periods of peak of the great civilizations without showing the links between one era and another.

The divisions and subdivisions into several sections varied again in each board both for English and European history. The whole range of the historical experience was covered in all these cases but the arrangement of the periods which constructed a historical unit was almost unique both for each board and each level of examination. The Glorious Revolution, for example, served both as the end or the beginning of a period of examination. The end of a long war such as the Seven Years War in 1763, or the Parliamentary reforms of 1832, could serve as milestones in the historical continuum and as a reason for the examiner to divide a section.[64]

Although arrangement by date was typical of all the Boards, three of them also included a topical section. The AEB in the third syllabus, 'Special Periods and Topics', offered subjects such as 'The Growth of Parliament', The History of Commerce', The History of Building in Britain', 'The History of Agriculture' and 'The Growth of the Commonwealth'.[65] This arrangement suggested a more relaxed and general approach to history instead of a strict chronological one. This was typical of the AEB which addressed itself to a wider clientele including people who had left school for some time and wanted to resume their education. It is also worth noting that the topics in this section were mainly on British history.

The Oxford boards also arranged historical periods by topic. However, they were trying to give perspective in factual history rather than simplify the story to be told. So in the section on British and Foreign History for O-levels, it was under the title of 'Nationalism' that subjects such as the unification of Italy and Germany were examined, together with the second and the third French empires, imperialism and the scramble for

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[64] A typical division of English history could be 1485-1649, 1649-1763, and 1763-1832 - UESEC O level. Another was 1485-1688, 1689-1815, and 1815-1931 - OCSEB and ODLE.

[65] See AEB syllabuses since 1959.

Africa, economic nationalism and protection, the rise of the USA and the rise of Japan. Under 'Democracy' the Revolutions of 1840-1849 were examined as well as British Parliamentary reforms, socialism, the rise of socialistic parties, and Communism and Republicanism. 'Internationalism' included subjects like 'The End of the Concert of Europe', 'The Papacy and the Catholic Revival' and the 'League of Nations'. They did the same for British history so that under 'Democracy' they examined the constitutional reforms of 1832, 1867 and 1872 and the working class movements as well. 'Welfare State' included the factory legislation as well as education and poor relief. This kind of dealing with history implied a rather more sophisticated approach where although traditional historiography demands, such as knowledge of dates and personalities were made, candidates would also be expected to show awareness of themes in history. A note under the syllabuses warned the candidates that: 'Attention should be paid to great personalities, e.g. Gladstone, Disraeli, Bismarck, and to significant changes of opinion, e.g. Darwinism in relation to religion.'[66]

The map of history which could be drawn after the chronological wandering of the syllabuses contains almost all parts of Europe but it is obvious that the centre of gravity is the north-western part of European history. In a note preceding a Cambridge Board syllabus chart we read that:

> ...the history of Northern, Eastern, and South Eastern Europe, Russia, and the extra European areas will be included only so far as it is of general European importance.[67]

This statement already implied that the 'proper Europe' was north-western Europe, and this should be the subject of examination, while the marginal parts surrounding it would be mentioned only when they affected the great north-western European powers. Taking a closer look at the dates mentioned above we see that the body of history to be examined was constructed by this north-western attitude towards history. Since these were British syllabuses for British pupils, Britain had naturally the most central position in them. But when dealing with European and other foreign history they included only parts of history ideologically and historically relevant to Britain.

The periods which were examined in the chronological charts can be illustrated in some textbooks. Very few syllabus charts actually gave details of which historical

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[66] See OCSEB history syllabuses 1956 p.17. This was a statement repeated in the syllabuses of the following years until the late sixties.

[67] See UCLES, syllabus of European History, 1962, p.3.

subjects they were referring to. Yet if we follow the dates and the corresponding content we end up with two basic periods of ancient Greek and Roman History and four periods of British and European history.[68]

The first period of British history usually ran from the Norman Conquest to Richard III.[69] The second period examined the Tudors and Stuarts.[70] The third period covered the years of the consolidation of constitutional monarchy and the wars with France.[71] The last period usually started with the impact of the French Revolution and the political reforms of early nineteenth century and ended with the impact of the First World War.[72]

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[68]When they examined ancient history they concentrated on classical Greece and Rome, with the exception of the Cambridge Board which dealt with the origins of Greek and Roman civilization to the time of their decline. Other ancient civilizations related to the origins of Greek and Roman ones, such as the Phoenician or the Etruscan, were ignored. Immediately after that, they went to Roman Britain, 55 BC - 1066 AD and dealt with the Roman and later the Saxon invaders of England, the coming of Christianity, and the Danish conquest.

[69] This ran from 1066-1485, including the state of England under foreign kings, the making of Scotland, the monarchy and the Church, Henry I, Richard I and the Crusades, King John and Magna Carta, the Parliament and the Charter, the Hundred Years War, Richard II, the House of Lancaster and the House of York, the French War, the War of the Roses, Edward IV and Richard III.

[70]The next unit, 1485-1689, covered the period of the strong monarchy of the Tudors, Henry the VII, Mary Tudor and the Catholic Reaction, the Elizabethan period, the struggle between Crown and Parliament and James I, the Civil War, the Commonwealth and Protectorate and the beginnings of the British Empire, Charles II and James II and Ireland and Scotland under the Commonwealth and later Stuarts.

[71] The period 1689-1815 included the struggle with France and the growth of constitutional monarchy, William and Mary and Anne, the Hanoverian Dynasty, the Seven Years War, John Wesley and the rise of Methodism, Great Britain and India, Pitt the Younger and his Ministry, the French Revolution and the Great War, the Napoleonic War, the history of Ireland and Pitt's home policy after the outbreak of the war.

[72] The last period usually included the years 1815-1931, and they were dealing with George III and George IV, the Whig reformers, Queen Victoria, the working class movements such as Chartism, trade unionism and co-operation, Palmerston, Crimea, India, Gladstone and Disraeli, Ireland, Salisbury and Chamberlain, Canada and Australia, George V, the First World War, the Treaty of Versailles, the post-war political development in Britain, Edward VIII and George VI.

The first period of European history referred to the division of the Roman Empire and ended with the Crusades.[73] The second period covered the Hundred Years War to the Reformation.[74] The third period covered the Thirty Years War to the revolutions of the mid-nineteenth century.[75] The final period included the unification of major nations of Europe and concluded with the treaties after the First World War.[76]

So we can see that although most parts of Europe were mentioned the main consideration was of countries such as England, France and Germany, with occasionally Italy or Spain. Eastern, northern, or southern Europe make brief appearances when their crises affected the bigger countries. Usually the candidates were supposed to know a few things about the origins of the crises in these areas. This will be obvious further on in the chapter with the analysis of the questions on these periods.

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[73] The earliest period of European history was 395-1216. This dealt with the reconstruction and final division of the Roman Empire the barbarian invasions, the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire, the Rise of the Medieval Empire in the West, the Carolengian Empire, the Foundation of the Holy Roman Empire, the struggle between the Papacy and the Empire, the rise of the French monarchy and the Crusades.

[74] The second section 1216-1610 included the Hundred Years' War between England and France, the War of the Roses, the political condition of Germany, Spain, and Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the rise of the Italian despots, the Ottoman Turks, the Italian Renaissance, the German Renaissance, the Franco-Spanish rivalry in Italy, the Turkish peril, the German Reformation, the Empire of Charles V, Calvinism, the Counter Reformation, the rise of the Dutch Republic and England and Spain.

[75] This period referred to the years 1610-1830, which included the Thirty Years War, the ascendancy of France, the Spanish succession, Russia and Prussia and the rise of new powers in the eighteenth century, the French Revolution, and the Napoleonic Wars, the Concert of Europe and the Revolution of 1830.

[76] This is the period 1830-1939, where topics such as the unification of Germany and Italy, the Crimean War, the Third Republic, the First World War, and the subsequent peace treaties were examined.

B. The Opening to World History?

During the sixties, the syllabuses of the boards gave a more detailed idea of the body of history to be examined. Usually the headings of British or European history were followed by a detailed list of the subjects to be examined. In the introductory paragraphs preceding these lists advice like the following was found:

> ...In British history major themes such as constitutional developments, foreign policy, economic and social changes, religious history and the growth of the Empire might be studied. In foreign history candidates might concentrate on the histories of two or three of the Great Powers...[77]

In the syllabus on the 'Era of the Renaissance and the Reformation, 1450-1600', we read that:

> The history of England and the chief states of Europe should be covered in sufficient detail to make clear the main changes in politics, religion, thought and social life. Except where the affairs of smaller states impinge on those of the larger powers they will not be subjects of special study.[78]

Most of the Boards during this decade developed their syllabuses to include more non-European history, and a more elaborate study of modern history. Many Boards other than UCLES added a separate section for world history, or world affairs, from 1919 to the present day. These syllabuses provided a detailed list of the subjects covered in world affairs and in the case of Cambridge there was an extensive bibliography suggested for each topic. The objectives of the examination from this board seemed to be more ambitious compared with the suggestions of other syllabuses on European history:

> The aim of the examination in this subject is to promote objective understanding of the political systems, economic conditions, and social life of other nations, with some knowledge of international relations...[79]

This paper was divided into six sections examining the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the British Empire and Commonwealth, India,

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[77] See syllabus A, of JMB, 1964-1967, Aspects of British and Foreign History, from about 1500 to 1939, p.13.

[78] See syllabus D, of JMB, 1967, p.15.

[79] See syllabus of UCLEB, 1962, Paper 7. World Affairs since 1919, p.14.

Pakistan and China, Europe and a general subject on modern political theories and political systems, economic policies and world trade.'[80]

The UESEC syllabus under the same title, introduced in 1967, included topics such as the League of Nations and the United Nations, the origins of the Second World War, the Cold war and the history and problems of disarmament after 1918 and 1945.[81] Six more paragraphs covered those parts of the world they considered it absolutely crucial to examine. Britain was the subject of the first: the changing structure of its economy, the growth of the welfare state and social and political change as well as the changing constitution of the British Empire and Commonwealth. Britain as a factor in world politics was also examined.

The next paragraph examined Europe, covering the breakdown of parliamentary democracy between the wars, Western (now a political term) Europe since 1945, the problem (not the vision) of European unity, the internal development of Russia since March 1917 and its relations with the rest of Europe. This syllabus then turned to the USA to examine the system of government, the causes and world-wide effects of the American Depression of 1929, the USA as a world power since 1941, the social problems of the USA (a topical subject during the sixties with the civil rights movements), as well as the political, social and economic problems and developments in Latin America and the Caribbean.

Asian subjects included the revolution in China from Sun Yat Sen to Mao Tse Tung, the development of Japan in the twentieth century, India's problems before and since 1947, as well as social, political and economic problems in south east Asia. The journey ended with the examination of the end of colonialism in Africa, and the subsequent problems of independence and those of under-development, as well as developments in the Middle East and their international significance. And like all syllabuses of the time it concluded with the examination of the latest technological developments and the change in arts and culture.

Although this syllabus covered world affairs, if we take a closer look we see that again the axis of interest was revolving around Anglo-European interests, and the emergence of the new great powers. The League of Nations and the United Nations were mostly European institutions to protect European interests, while the Cold War again concerned

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[80] Ibid, pp.14-17.

[81] See syllabus of UESEC, 1967, World Affairs, pp.73-74.

the conflict of the new great powers. The consideration of the changing role of Britain in world affairs and the rise of the USA as the new world power also reflected this western bias, the emergence of Japan, China, India, Africa and the Middle East were examined in relationship to the degree of control which the greater European powers had over them and not necessarily aspects of their histories which were not related to the western world.

The other board to initiate a world affairs syllabus which it issued in 1968 was the SUJB.[82] This syllabus was divided into two parts. The first part dealt mainly with ideas rather than the histories of several countries; systems of government, political ideologies, social and economic problems world-wide, the balance of power since 1945 and the international organizations. The second was divided into six part: the USA, Russia, Europe, China, the Indian Subcontinent and the Far East, Africa and the Middle East. This syllabus was on the same lines as the London one, that is examining the influence of greater powers on the smaller ones. However, occasionally new aspects were examined and old ones expressed without prejudgement. In the section on Russia, apart from the revolution and the Cold War, subjects for examination included the industrialization of Russia, the agricultural problems and the development of Russia in Asia and the relations between Russia and China. In the section on Europe, they were to examine not the 'problem of European unity' but the 'movement towards European unity'. In the section on China the syllabus included the modernization of China, agriculture, industry, the armed forces and nuclear power and Chinese expansion. This syllabus implied an interest in the affairs of these parts of the world even when they were not directly involved with the European universe.

The major change for the syllabuses during this decade was the expansion of their interest in the non-European world; however, this still largely took Britain, Europe and the new great powers as the centre of gravity. The non-European countries were only occasionally examined from their own point of view, while the rule was to examine their interaction with what was considered as a great power at the time of the formation of the syllabus.

Different boards had different attitudes towards European history, as mentioned above, and this was true for the new arrangement of European history which some of them adopted during this decade. The JMB adopted a confrontational arrangement of European history versus British. The OCEB and ODLEB just enriched the section of foreign history, which in the past meant only European history, with more world history. At the other end

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[82] See syllabus of SUJB, 1968, World Affairs since 1945, pp.28-29.

the Welsh Board continued with the contrast of local and national history within the wider European world.

The JMB constructed a general syllabus for the O-level, where under the title of 'History' they included all British European and world history.[83] The fifth section of this syllabus under the title 'British limited monarchy and European autocracy, 1660-1789' examined on the basis that Britain was a country of limited democracy and Europe an arena of autocracy. This was followed by section six which was entitled: 'Revolution, Reaction and Reform, 1789-1870', revolution and reaction being processes which took place in Europe and in America, while in England reforms occurred without war. This was followed by a section on 'The Great Powers 1870-1939'. Here a great deal of world history was included, by examining the relations between the great powers in this case defined as Austria-Hungary, Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia and the USA. It was also made clear as in the previous syllabuses that 'the domestic affairs of these powers will be required only where it is necessary to an understanding of international affairs'.[84] In the same spirit a section entitled 'Democracy and Dictatorship 1870-1950' was examined. Here Great Britain was to account for one third of the questions, while the aim of the study was 'to bring out the development of the different forms of government and how they operated into practice.'[85] The countries which they considered great powers in this section were: Great Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Russia and the USA.

The Oxford and Cambridge Boards also offered more international history during this period in the general foreign history syllabus. So, candidates taking foreign history 1871-1914, '...were expected to know the internal history of the main European Powers only in so far as it exerted a major effect on their foreign policies...' They should also consider 'the struggle for power in the Balkans, the Near and Middle East, Africa, and the Far East, as well as the origins and causes of the First World War'.[86] In another section examining more or less the same period of time, 1871-1939, the candidates were asked to examine 'the rise to importance in world affairs of Japan and the United States of America, the rise of international socialism, international co-operation, the Hague and Geneva Conventions, ILO disarmament conferences, and finally the latest developments in medicine,

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[83] See syllabus of JMB, 1967, Aspects of British and Foreign History from about 1500 to 1939, pp.13-17.

[84] Ibid, p.17.

[85] Ibid, pp.17-18.

[86] See syllabus OCSEB, 1968 pp.18-19.

communications, fuel and power and their social significance.' [87] The distinction that the JMB used when dealing with European or international history was between democracy and absolutism, while the Oxford boards' was those countries who claimed world power.

The Welsh board was the only board to make the distinction between Welsh history and English history at this time. Out of the six O-level papers, they offered four sections on the history of England and Wales (800 to 1939), one section on European History (1815 to 1939) and one section on the social and economic history of England and Wales (1760 to 1939). The A-level syllabus had two papers, one for England and Wales (55 BC - 1939), and one for European history (395-1939). There was also a syllabus for ancient Greek and Roman history (600 BC to 362 BC and 218 BC to AD14). The Welsh board therefore implied that Wales was not an assimilated region of England but a special case with strong historical connections with it. It is interesting that what they were trying to preserve was the identity of a nation within a nation and at the same time as part of the wider European world. Because there were not analytical lists of the exact subjects to be taught, other than the chronological ones, we cannot see if there were other parts of the non-European world included in the syllabuses. However, for this phase the Welsh board seemed to be able to afford the regional distinction only at the expense of an international perspective.

C. Experimenting with History

The beginning of the seventies marked the onset of greater change and general pedagogic experimentation. By 1973, the majority of the boards had changed their syllabuses dramatically. The pages covering the material had tripled, as whole sections on the attainment targets of each thematic unit had been added. The new pedagogical objectives of teaching the twentieth century as well as the new perspective on European history now that Britain had joined the EEC were the main characteristics. As had been the case in the previous decades, the above changes were not uniform and each board's syllabuses retained their individual characteristics.

The UESEC added to the O-level syllabuses the warning that:

> ...The examination seeks to measure the candidates' ability 1. to reproduce, accurately and coherently, relevant sections of this information in response to

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[87] Ibid.

specific questions, and 2. to develop a simple historical argument based on relevant facts.[88]

For the A-level of examination the candidate was expected: 'to analyse historical material, construct an historical argument and display historical judgement...'[89] The UESEC examiners were now making it clear that they required a more holistic approach to history, asking for judgement instead of just knowledge, comparisons between countries instead of simply national histories seen separately and the ability to put a topic against its historical background.

By 1972 they had added several new syllabuses, or added new sections to old ones. Syllabus D for the O-level was one of these new additions. It was composed of two papers, one on 'International Problems since 1931' and one on 'The world since 1945' and it seemed to be the equivalent of the world affairs syllabus for the A-level.[90] What is interesting here is the new way of seeing Europe. The first section included '...The failure of collective security in the 1930s; the causes of war in 1939 and of the collapse of Europe, 1939-41...'[91]

Another entry was to include 'The Decline of European Imperialism'. In the second paper in the first section Europe was to be studied in contrast with the USSR, as geographical and political opposites. Europe in this context was an area in decline, an image quite compatible with the politicoeconomic crisis of western European states in the early seventies. The world affairs syllabus contained among other topics two sections for Europe, one for 'The USSR and Eastern Europe' and another for 'Western Europe Including Britain'. At that time the image of Europe reflected in the syllabuses was coinciding with the divided of the 'Europe' of the Cold War.[92]

However what came as an impressive change was the addition of historical syllabuses which contained sociological inquiry. The alternative syllabus for the O-level is an example of this.[93] There were eight sections dealing with the last three centuries covering historical subjects from all over the world. In the first section the candidates were

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[88] See UESEC syllabus A (261) O level, 1974, pp.132-133.

[89] See UESEC syllabus B (267) A level, 1974, p.136.

[90] See UESEC syllabus D (269) A-level, 1972.

[91] Ibid.

[92] See UESEC syllabus C (263) O-level, 1975, p.149.

[93] Ibid, pp.150-153.

supposed to reflect on the subject of history itself. The individual in history, historical evidence, bias in history, cause and effect in history as well as the reasons why interpretations of historical development change, were some of the subjects included in this section. Other sections included subjects such as 'Race and minority problems in the twentieth century', 'Society and technology since the middle of the eighteenth century', 'The nature of the Revolution, from the middle of the eighteenth century', 'Women in society in Britain since 1850', 'The growth of popular culture and its effects on twentieth century Britain', 'Commonwealth studies since the First World War' and 'American studies since the First World War: frontiers and conflicts'. In this context European history often mingled with British and world history. A different approach for the various topics was adopted. These syllabuses showed more interest in the weak nations and their relations with the stronger ones, or the social problems of racism, ethnicity and religion. They also had a special interest in what was modern and the changes it brought to the everyday life of the people, the eruptive movements in history, the changing role of women and the encapsulation of modern life by popular culture. The board had abandoned or at least lessened its interest in the stronger and successful nations of the world and out of an educational trend of the time had turned to the weak nations, or the life of the individual in modern society, questioning even the historical discipline itself.

The pattern of the UESEC was followed by many other boards, although not to the same extent. The JMB syllabuses set the objectives of the examination as being to test the candidate's knowledge of a given body of factual material, their understanding of historical material and their ability to select and organise relevant information.[94] The AEB syllabus offered more subjects on the twentieth century at this time. In a paragraph which followed a paper called 'History of world powers and world events in the twentieth century' we read that:

> It is felt that an understanding of twentieth century world history is important because, in an increasingly interdependent world, it gives the background and perspective necessary for an understanding of current problems from a global rather than a national or continental point of view. It also lends itself particularly well to a study of an essentially interdisciplinary nature.[95]

The ambitious aims of this course were analysed in five extensive paragraphs with the following targets:

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[94] See JMB syllabus History, The aim of the syllabus, 1973, p.23.

[95] See AEB syllabus History of world powers and world events in the Twentieth Century, 1976, p.139.

a. to foster an understanding of the significance of change and continuity for historical study; b. to promote an awareness of the availability of primary and secondary sources; c. to encourage the use and evaluation of materials of various types; d. to elicit from the student imaginative and empathetic responses; e. to encourage students to communicate their personal understanding and involvement through historical study.[96]

We see thus that twentieth century history was used as an excuse to introduce new educational methods and perspectives, which weakened the academic tendency to limit history teaching to national boundaries and the most powerful countries.

The same board was to initiate in 1976 a new syllabus not on European history but on 'European Studies'. This syllabus seemed to be the direct product of the country's first years as a member of the European Community. It planned to examine the cultural factors which unite Europe. It characteristically stated that:

> The syllabus is designed to enable teachers to bring out both the common threads in the experience of Europeans and the diversity that exists and is likely to continue. The syllabus should lead to an understanding both of the tendency towards integration and co-ordination and the desire to preserve national regional identity. ....Understanding of contemporary Europe demands a background knowledge of recent history; of economic resources; of political organisation and ideologies; and the cultural legacy of Europe.[97]

They proceeded by stating that although they intended to cover the whole of Europe the primary emphasis would be on western Europe. This is quite surprising because it was the first time a board indicated that western Europe did not equal the whole of Europe.

Even the more conservative boards at Oxford and Cambridge, the OCEB, the ODLE and the UCLES offered more syllabuses for the study of twentieth century European history along with the traditional European history syllabus. UCLES launched a syllabus on the 'History of Europe (including Britain) 1902-1964' to examine among other themes general European developments, relations between European states and general aspects of the inter-relationship between Europe and the rest of the world.[98] In this board too, in the world affairs syllabus when they refer to twentieth century Europe they distinguish between western Europe as one thematic unit, and the USSR and eastern Europe as

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[96] Ibid, p.139.

[97] See syllabus AEB, 1976, pp.154-155.

[98] See UCLES syllabus 1974, p.19.

another unit.[99] The 1974 Oxford world history syllabus also dealt with European movements towards political and economic integration.[100]

Also in the early seventies the Welsh board added syllabuses on the social and economic history of England and Wales as well as on the history of the modern world from 1919 to the present day.[101] So did the SUJB with two new syllabuses. The first one was on modern history and contemporary society, with specific concentration on Europe and some references to American history.[102] The other syllabus was a response to an educational fashion of the time for local history, called 'Looking for History'. It was supposed to: 'extrapolate and interpret the visible evidence of history around us, making use of the material available in libraries and museums and of historical monuments'.[103]

The examination syllabuses during the thirty years after the war reflected the general attitudes of the establishment towards history, including European history. During the fifties European history was the main subject to be examined other than national history. The world of history was dominated by England and western Europe, with some interest in the Empire. During the sixties educationalists became interested in the international organisations of the post-war world which, although supposed to be for the preservation of world peace were mainly dominated by the great powers of the time. The history of the successful nations was still the main theme of every history syllabus, even of the new ones. During the first years of the seventies the educationalists attempted to change this pattern. Along with the traditional syllabuses on Britain and Europe, new ones were created which were concerned with the modern life of the twentieth century. In this context European history took on a different dimension while the distinction between eastern and western Europe became apparent. The syllabuses begun to make this distinction as if they had been acknowledging that there were two Europes and till now they had been examining only one of them.

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[99] Ibid, pp.20-21.

[100] See OCSEB syllabus, World Affairs, O-level, 1974, p.22.

[101] See WJEC syllabus, 1972, O-level p.45.

[102] See SUJB syllabus, O-level 1974, pp.28-29.

[103] Ibid, pp.29-30.

Section III

The Questions

The content of the examination questions clearly reflects the syllabuses described in the previous section. The questions were designed on a broad thematic basis and not on specific textbooks as was the case in many European countries which prescribed textbooks.[104] The British examinations tried to include the enormous thematic variety of the syllabuses, but some themes were more constant than others. This section initially focuses on the character of the questions, that is the type of enquiry which the candidate had to answer in the examination. For this part a sample of questions from Ordinary and Advanced level was used from 1945-1975. Then it focuses on the type of European history the questions were about, depicting in that way the conceptions of the educational establishment of the history of Europe. Skimming through the questions one becomes aware of which areas of Europe and the world were considered to be historically important and therefore worth examining. The chronological as well as the national continuities and discontinuities are particularly interesting as some periods are examined intensely and others abandoned or left in a historical vacuum. A sample of 2,742 questions used in this enquiry was gathered from five large boards, which catered for the majority of the candidates.[105] These boards kept a great number of their past examination papers for O and A-levels in their archives, although not a complete set especially for the years before 1970s. For this second section which was based on a detailed statistical

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[104] See next chapter pp.159-160.

[105] The popularity of the boards remained largely stable during this period with the exception of the ascendancy of the AEB in the sixties. In 1950 JMB was first followed by University of London, Oxford Delegacy of Local Examinations, and Cambridge Local Examination Syndicate, Oxford and Cambridge School Examination Board, Welsh Joint Education Board, University of Durham and University of Bristol. *Education 1900-1950 The report of the Ministry of Education and the Statistics of Public Education for England and Wales for the year 1950,* presented by the minister of Education to Parliament by Command of his Majesty, (June 1951). In 1977 the first was AEB followed by JMB, UESEC, ODLE, UCLES, WJEC, OCEB, NI, and SUJB. *Comparability in GCE. A Review of the Boards,* op. cit. Thus the questions were gathered from four very popular boards - JMB, UESEC, ODLE, UCLES. AEB did not allow the researcher access to the questions. See also table 5.2, p.145.

analysis of the questions, only the A-level questions were finally taken into consideration since the O-level ones were very inadequately kept.[106]

Table 5.2: Numbers of entries for GCE examination in thousands in June of each year.

	1950		1960		1970		1975	
	O-level	A-level	O-level	A-level	O-level	A-level	O-level	A-level
UESEC	23,534	7,491	88,703	28,756	129,421	59,606	148,833	62,399
JMB	29,825	12,278	94,991	19,558	143,213	40,660	185,149	44,681
AEB	_	_	30,431	2,207	145,798	30,032	248,993	52,151

Data derived from information from individual examination boards.

A: The Character of the Questions

The types of question on various historical subjects varied between the different decades, between the two levels of examinations and between the boards. Already from the forties a vast range of questions covered the majority of historical themes enclosed in the syllabuses. What made the questions of different generations of examinations distinct was the point of view they adopted. During the late forties the educationalists who set the questions seem to have had the same views of what history should be as their predecessors of the nineteenth century, who considered that 'history formed a body of socio-political morality which the responsible citizen could ill afford to misunderstand'.[107] The same spirit ran through the questions in the examinations a hundred years later. Moral judgement on the life and work of a king as well as the outcome of a historical period was frequently asked for. Questions such as :

How far would Richard III have appeared a villain in his own times?[108]

What light does the history of Europe between 1713 and 1740 throw upon the wisdom and justice of the Peace of Utrecht?[109]

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[106] This is the case in UCJEB and others.

[107] P. Slee, *Learning and Liberal Education*, (London, 1986), p.21.

[108] UCLES, Higher School Certificate, July 1945, 'English History Outlines 827-1485'.

[109] UCLES, Higher School Certificate, July 1945, 'European History Outlines 1494-1914'.

Furthermore, special emphasis was laid on the role of the individual, a leader or an important hero, in the historical outcome. The ethics of great men, as shown in their careers, or the lack of them, were the prime focus of many questions. History examinations tested the candidates' ability to pass judgement on the deserving and the undeserving:

Does any French minister during the reign of Louis XV deserve to be called a great statesman?[110]

Give an account of Joseph Chamberlain in two of the following capacities: (a) as citizen of Birmingham, (b) as a Radical M.P., (c) as an Empire statesman.[111]

Not all questions begged a moral judgement. As a matter of fact the majority of questions were causal, asking for the causes of wars, factors which influenced the triumph of certain nations over others, or simply asking for the factual enumeration of the achievements of great Kings and Emperors. This was more so in the O-level examination where historical knowledge was a priority. Yet at that level too, some historical judgement was required. Typical questions for that level were:

Summarise the good and bad results of the Industrial Revolution.[112]

What is a totalitarian state? What is there to be said for and against it?[113]

At A-level judgement was more important than mere knowledge. Often questions were quotations from great men, both historical heroes or historians giving an appreciation of a historical period, asking the candidates to write an essay to discuss the validity of their opinions:

'The power of the city of Paris is evidently one great spring of their politics' (Edmund Burke). Discuss this view.[114]

'Philosophers were more important than priests in the eighteenth century'. Discuss this statement.[115]

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[110] ODLE, Higher School Certificate, July 1945.

[111] Ibid.

[112] UESEC, General School Examination, English and European History, July, 1945.

[113] Ibid.

[114] UCLES, Higher School Certificate, 'The French Revolution, 1789-1795', July, 1945.

Questions at the scholarship level emphasized argument and judgement even more. In an Oxford Board examination paper, a note preceding a group of questions for this level, warned the candidates that 'merely long historical accounts of a subject matter would be given very little credit'.[116] Typical questions of this group were:

How far should a statesman follow public opinion?

Is the institution of personal property necessary for real political freedom?[117]

What have been the effects of democracy on the art of war?[118]

The Oxbridge boards tended more than the others to ask questions which needed to be analysed philosophically rather than just requiring historical accounts. The equivalent JMB examination, for example, asked questions requiring knowledge and judgement but based on specific historical circumstances. Two examples from ancient history and nineteenth century Europe are typical:

Discuss the effects of the existence of slavery on Greek and Roman civilization. Were the effects different in the two cases?[119]

and

What circumstances and events should be borne in mind by the student who reads the Communist Manifesto of 1848? [120]

As the new fashions in history started infiltrating the syllabuses of the sixties the style of the examination questions changed too. Already from the mid-sixties even the scholarship questions became closer to the specific historical periods and judgement was required on specific historical circumstances rather than general philosophical statements based on some historical truth. Judgement was required on the effectiveness of a leader's work and not character alone. Different nations started appearing in the historical map and the effects of social phenomena were examined in different contexts. Furthermore

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[115] UESEB, Higher School Certificate, 'European History 1715-1815', July, 1945.

[116] ODLE, Higher School Certificate, History III, July,1945.

[117] Ibid.

[118] UCLEB, Higher School Certificate, Scholarship Paper, July, 1955.

[119] JMB, Higher School Certificate, Scholarship Paper, July, 1950.

[120] Ibid.

modernity and the presence of twentieth century history in the syllabuses became evident even in the questions of the traditional boards. In Cambridge in 1965 questions like the following were found under the section 'The Making of Modern England, 1885-1914':

What changes were taking place in population and the size of family in these years, and why?[121]

Why were women seeking emancipation, and what had they achieved by 1914?[122]

What do the works of any one author, painter, architect or designer tell us about this period?[123]

However, even in the seventies history remained the discipline where pupils were trained in 'socio-political morality' only at that time it was concerned more with the character of historical circumstances and ideas of citizenship arising from them, rather than judging leaders and historical events as good or bad. In European history at A-level (1763-1954), examination questions like the following were typical of this new way of serving the old goal of history:

Consider the contribution to the development of European culture between 1870 and 1914 of citizens of either the Third French Republic or the Austro-Hungarian Empire.[124]

Examine the character of Austro-Hungarian policies towards the Balkans from 1875 to 1914.[125]

B: Which European History was Examined

The non-British history covered by the examinations was here divided into three chronological periods. Category A covered ancient history, that is ancient Greek and Roman history. In this category there are three sections to include - in ancient Greek history under section (a) were set questions concerning the origins of these civilizations, under section (b) the peak years and under (c) the years of decadence. In Roman history,

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[121] UCLES, A-Level, July, 1965.

[122] Ibid.

[123] Ibid.

[124] UESEC, A-Level, July, 1975.

[125] Ibid.

under section (a) were set questions covering the origins of the Roman democracy, under (b) the years of the Roman empire and under (c) the years of decline. This division was made to examine to what degree the examiners concentrated on the climactic periods of these civilizations or whether the origins as well as the continuities of Greek and Roman civilizations were put into context.

Category B included a great chronological chunk of European history, from 800 AD to 1815. It was subdivided into two more sections: (i) 800 - 1492, and (ii) 1492-1815. Section (i) was further divided into four subsections: (a) questions covering exclusively the history of France, Germany and England, (b) questions on Italy and Spain, (c) other countries in Europe, and finally (d) questions on social or cultural issues affecting any of the above countries.

Section (ii) was also further divided into four categories: (e) questions on France, Germany and England, (f) questions on Italy, Spain, the Low countries and Russia, (f) questions on any other smaller country in Europe and (h) questions on a variety of subjects concerning more than one of these countries. This division aimed to examine how often the examiners asked about the European countries which were politically more successful as well as to what degree they were concerned with other less successful countries which were nevertheless quintessential European.

Category C concerned modern history and thus not only European but also world history. It included the years 1815-1975, and was subdivided into five sections. Section (a) included questions exclusively concerning power politics, mainly focused on Great Britain, France, Germany, Russia and USA. Section (b) included questions on other minor European countries. Section (c) included questions concerning European civilization as a whole, that is cultural or ideological movements, social or artistic manifestations of 'modern life'. Section (d) included questions concerning international relations and institutions around the world, not necessarily involving Europe and finally section (e) included questions where major European powers were interacting with other countries in the world. This division was intended to examine the extent to which a new spirit was entering the examination of modern history, with interest extending to all European countries or when examining world history whether emphasis was placed on the interests of some stronger countries or whether different parts of the world were examined for their own sake.

The numbers which emerged out of this categorisation are to be read as another text which reflects multiple images of European countries at different historical moments but

in the end they demonstrate the ideas British educationalists had about their position in Europe. Ancient history questions did not vary dramatically between the boards or the years examined here. Ancient Greek history mainly concentrated on the classical years of the second part of the fifth century BC. There was some interest in the years of the origins of Greek states after the sixties, but very little interest was shown in the Hellenistic age and the years of decadence.[126] Roman history questions followed more or less the same pattern. Questions on the years of the conquests and the years of democracy far outnumbered those on the years of the empire and the fall of the empire.[127] This reinforces the previous conclusions about the syllabuses concentrating principally on the peaks of civilizations to be seen as simple units, without connections to subsequent historical eras. On the contrary the questions, like the syllabuses, concentrated on the brilliant phases of the winners of history.

This is the conclusion which comes out of the study of the next period, the study of European history from 800 to 1492. The number of questions concerning exclusively France, Germany and England was significantly greater than the amount of questions concerning other countries.[128] This was so even for the periods that these countries were not the strongest in Europe. There were no questions examining the might and power of the Byzantine Empire and its influence on Europe, except a standard question enquiring: What do you know about the fall of Constantinopole? Although this pattern remained the same until the sixties what did change was the number of questions which concerned more than one of these countries, comparative questions which required broad historical knowledge and judgement.

The same pattern was true for the period covering the years 1492 to 1815. The first subsection which referred to questions on France, Germany and England, contained more than a quarter of the questions. A tenth of the questions were in the second subsection on the history of Italy, Spain, the Lower Countries and Russia while questions about minor European countries and comparative questions were under-represented .[129] During the mid-sixties and seventies, there was a rise of questions on a variety of countries, which means that comparisons of historical circumstances of different countries, strong and weak were encouraged.[130]

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[126] See table 5.3 and 5.4, Cambridge A-levels, 1955-1975, p.154.

[127] Ibid.

[128] See table 5.5 and 5.7, UESEC and JMB A-levels, 1945-1975, pp.155-156.

[129] See table 5.6 and 5.8, UESEC and JMB A-levels, 1945-1975, pp.155-156.

[130] See tables 5.5, 5.6 and 5.7, UESEC and JMB A-levels, 1945-1975, pp.155-156.

The third category, on modern history, presented the most varied distribution between the boards and the most equal distribution between the subjects. Again the emphasis was heavily on the stronger countries interacting with weaker ones but what changed especially during the seventies was that other subjects shared a substantial percentage of the total number of the questions. Interest in minor European countries as well as general historical subjects on ideologies, culture and social movements was from then on expected in the examination papers.[131]Yet great interest on the great powers still remained high.

The above thematic distribution of examination questions demonstrates that the official perception of European history was highly concentrated on the history of European powers who were important at the time the questions were set. France, Germany and Britain appear as the main historical protagonists with every other country seen as less important than them. Even international history concentrated on the role of the main European powers in remote places in the world. The questions on culture and civilization rose in popularity during the sixties and seventies but did not manage to stay in the centre of historical enquiry, as is obvious in table 5.9. It is also interesting to observe the rise in 1945 and the inevitable fall of questions on international organizations in the twentieth century since 1945.[132]

On the whole questions remained stable in content and outlook more than syllabuses. There was an inherent conservatism in the way questions were constructed which kept them back even from the syllabuses they were supposed to correspond to. Examiners for the larger boards, until the seventies, remained more concentrated with traditional academic standards, asking factual and causal questions, than with questions requiring a more relaxed appreciation of a historical era or event. They asked about great personalities, the strongest nations and most important alliances, rather than the position of 'minor' countries in a given historical era. Thus the interest in European history could only be in the nations who were strongest in twentieth century European history, with this importance projected onto the past.

Examination questions could serve as a compass for teachers to find their direction in the mass of teaching material they could use. The questions on the strong European powers of the twentieth century indicated to the teachers that this was the only history

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[131] See table 5.9 JMB, A-levels p.157.

[132] Ibid.

worth examining, at least in order for their pupils to be successful in the exams, and thus become students or employees in the professional sector. The official version of history took the contemporary order as a guide to the past which historians should study. British educationalists throughout this period were willing to consider seriously the cultural heritage of the north-western part of Europe and present it as the cultural heritage of the whole of Europe, occasionally of the whole world too. It is only natural then that the textbooks were found to have followed these basic lines not only on their view that the stronger European countries of the second half of the twentieth century were more equal than the other European countries but also on which elements of their heritage were more valid.

KEY TO TABLES

ANCIENT GREEK HISTORY

Origins: 1500 BC to 499 BC

Peak: 499 BC to 323 BC

Decadence: 323 BC to 146 BC

ANCIENT ROMAN HISTORY

Origins: Origins and the years of Democracy, 218 BC to 31 BC

Peak: The Empire AD 31 to AD 68

Decadence: AD 68 to AD 324

Section I: 800 - 1492

FGE: Questions exclusively on France, Germany and England

IS: Questions on Italy and Spain

OE: Questions on any other European Country

Var: Questions on a variety of countries including all of the above

Section II: 1492 - 1815

FGE2: Questions exclusively on France Germany and England

ISLCR: Questions on Italy, Spain, Lower Countries and Russia

Oth: Questions on other minor European countries

Var2: Questions on a variety of countries including all of the above

MODERN HISTORY

UGFBR: Questions exclusively dealing with affairs of USA, Germany, France,

Britain, Russia

MinEur: Questions dealing with affairs of any other European country

ECiv: Questions on culture, civilization, or ideological movements

II: Questions on the creation and role of International Institutions of the twentieth century

EWP: Questions on major European Powers interacting in non-European places world-wide

Greek History

Table 5.3

Roman History

Table 5.4

Cambridge A – Levels

Section I: 800-1492

Legend:
- % of FGE
- % of IS
- % of OE
- % of VAR

X-axis: Years (1945, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975)
Y-axis: % of Questions

Table   5.5

Section II: 1492-1815

Legend:
- % of FGE2
- % of ISLCR
- % of OE
- % of VAR2

X-axis: Years (1945, 1950, 1955, 1960, 1965, 1970, 1975)
Y-axis: % of Questions

Table   5.6
London   A – Levels

Section I: 800-1492

Legend:
- % of FGE
- % of IS
- % of OE
- % of VAR

Table 5.7

Section II: 1492-1815

Legend:
- % of FGE2
- % of ISLCR
- % of OE
- % of VAR2

Table 5.8

JMB   A – Levels

Table 5.9

JMB   A – Levels

B: The Textbooks

This part looks at the basic concepts emerging out of historical themes included in a sample of school history textbooks used in England and Wales from 1945 to 1975. More specifically it provides one interpretation of the ideals communicated to the pupils through these themes which influenced their opinions about the identity of Europe which reflected back on their view of Britain too. Through these concepts it aims to portray innate ideas about the distinctiveness of Britain towards Europe and thus define one aspect of national identity.

CHAPTER VI: TEXTBOOKS: CHOOSING FROM THE STORE -CUPBOARD

This chapter explains why textbooks have been used in order to study the teaching of European history in schools, providing a brief perspective of the role of the textbook in the classroom during the period. It also demonstrates the criteria which were applied to compile a representative sample of history textbooks, used in secondary schools, summarised with a table of the chosen textbooks. Furthermore it establishes the method employed to analyse meaning in the historical narratives used in the books.

In England and Wales textbooks were not as important as in other countries. Unlike other European countries there was no organisation set up for the publication or the control, local or central, of published textbooks for schools. Since the control of textbooks in most countries was connected with control of the curriculum, where there was a centralised curriculum textbooks were based on the publication of the official syllabuses and examination questions were closely based on them. Although in many of these countries there was a free market for textbooks, usually there were only a few textbooks which were considered appropriate for use in the classroom. Stuart Maclure gave a table of some differing approaches to curriculum development for some European countries.[1] In Scandinavia curriculum reform was seen as a product of social and educational reform, and curriculum policy and development were centrally controlled by a central government department, with clear objectives. Textbooks were based on the interpretation of the curriculum issued by these central departments, by independent publishers who conformed to these guidelines. In France, Belgium, Austria and Spain, textbook publishers played an important role in curriculum development, while textbooks were based on centrally published syllabuses. In West Germany the different Lander had been organised on the same lines as the above countries, both for curriculum formation and textbook production.[2] The same was true for the Netherlands where the Ministry issued general curriculum guidelines and remained the main financial sponsor of curriculum development - even though regional, religious or other characteristics of individual schools were allowed to exist, balancing local and central control.[3] In Greece, there was a special institute for the publication of school textbooks, basing its work strictly on the

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[1] T. Becher & S. Maclure, *The Politics of Curriculum Change*, (London, 1978), pp.32-33.

[2] Ibid, pp.29-31.

[3] Ibid, p.31.

curriculum issued by the Ministry of Education.[4] In the Soviet Union the Communist Party with the publishing house 'Radyanska Shkola' helped by the Science Higher Educational Institutions and Schools Department of the Central Committee of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was 'carrying on important work by removing substantial shortcomings and by publishing highly valuable, solid textbooks.'[5] In other eastern European countries similar types of control were employed. In Albania the authors of textbooks were commissioned members of the Communist Party; in Yugoslavia they were written by those educationalists who issued the curriculum and belonged to the Institute for the Development of Education; in Rumania the state chose the authors, and some textbooks were written collectively.[6]

In Britain, however, there has always been a free market in school textbooks and the ultimate decision on what to purchase was left to the headteacher, after taking advice from teachers. Although this choice was subject to a number of factors, such as the financial position of the school or the domination of the examination syllabuses, there was never any attempt to institutionalise this choice by any official or semi-official organisation, at a local or central level.[7]

In this respect it seemed that the British state, nominally at least, fully respected the professionalism of the man or woman in the classroom. Furthermore, since the only explicit published syllabuses were the examination syllabuses, and there was no restriction on or framework for how these syllabuses were supposed to be taught, the teachers felt free to cover this material with a number of books as they thought appropriate. Very often, the notes the classroom kept as the teacher taught were more important than a textbook in the store cupboard.[8] The mere fact that the state did not deem

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[4] 'L'enseignement de la Revolution Francaise dans les Balkans' based on Congres international d'histoire de Paris, July, 1989. Draft copy at the Institute for International Textbook Examination in Brunswick.

[5] J. Pennar, 'Party control over Soviet Schools', *Partiynaya Zhizn*, No. 8 (April, 1958), p.70, in G. Bereday J. Pennar (eds.), *The Politics of Soviet Education,* , (London, 1960), p.51.

[6] 'L'enseignement de la revolution Francaise dans les Balkans', opus cited.

[7] It is very characteristic that the Historical Association made clear to UNESCO that they would never accept any textbook of international history as a standard textbook in schools. See also the report from Brunswick in 1951, chapter IV, p.102.

[8] A number of interviewees answered that for their O-level and A-level examinations they mainly used their class notes and textbooks much less. See also W.J. Fowler's article,

it necessary to supply a unique textbook for each grade, so that teachers and pupils had to comply with it, put textbooks into second place when compared with the teacher's notes. The words of J.W. Hunt, himself a textbook writer, in a chapter in the Institute of Education publication, *Handbook for History Teachers*, are very characteristic on the attitudes to textbooks:

> There are intellectual dangers in too close a reliance on textbooks and there are two ways in which pupils, unless they are very young, should be protected against them. They should be taught to regard their textbook as anything but infallible, and they should be in every way encouraged to use other sources of information. History should never be something that comes out of one book.[9]

Nevertheless, for this research, history textbooks offered themselves as a second best guide to what the pupils were taught in the classroom, and one which was more feasible to locate in place and in time. They were also more formal and standardised than a sample of teachers' notes and therefore they could capture the normative dimension of the knowledge which was supposed to be transmitted. History textbooks summarised the standard historical views, as their writers were not pioneering but passing on to the classroom the established academic viewpoint. In the words of E.H. Dance:

> The best place to find the mass normal opinion about history is not in philosophical or even academic writings, however brilliant or foolish, but in the school textbooks. It is the business of a textbook to be commonplace: the school history books of any country contain the commonplaces of its historical thinking.[10]

Textbook writers were almost entirely history teachers in public and grammar schools during the years examined in this thesis.[11] Many of them had doctorates or a post-graduate degree and some of them were prominent personalities in the educational or the diplomatic world. In that sense, textbooks represented the views of people coming from within the educational society (mostly from the upper and middle layers of this society).

'History Books For Schools:VI', *History*, Feb 1958, p.35, where he argues that no matter the quality of the textbook 'the way in which the tangled and variegated texture of the Past is presented depends on the teacher, who may anyhow regard his textbook as a poor substitute for the ideal work which he will never write.'

[9] J.H. Hunt, 'Textbooks and their Uses', in W.H. Burston, C.W. Green , (eds.) *Handbook for History Teachers*, (London, 1962), p.44.

[10] E.H. Dance, *History the Betrayer*, (London, 1960), p.54.

[11] See biographical notes on the writers pp.167-173.

Their work would be judged by its performance in the market and not by any state authority. The writers as well as their publishers very often aimed at a commercial success which could serve the needs of particular grades of schools for many years.

Trends in Textbook Publishing

During these thirty years there were substantial changes and tendencies in academic history writing. School history textbooks followed these changes, though with a delay. Furthermore the history textbooks found in schools were usually those which had been written a few years, or often a few decades before. So in the late forties the school textbooks found in secondary schools were those written during the first decades of the century, while the ones which were used during the fifties and sixties were books written as early as the first years following the Second World War. This was true for the greater part of the period examined here and in many cases it is still so. Due to lack of economic resources schools usually had to put up with the textbook which already existed in their store-cupboard. If the school had a library other books would be recommended as well for the most competent pupils.[12] It was only during the late sixties that modern textbooks written only a few years before the time they were used reached the classroom. Frequently old and new books would co-exist in a school's cupboard.

The school textbooks which were widely used during the first years of the post-war period tended to be comprehensive surveys of European history, or more often British history containing great chunks of European history.[13] During the late forties, the publishing world was not affluent. Paper was rationed during and after the war without any margins for innovation in school textbooks.[14] The need to improve textbook materials was realized in the educational world, especially after UNESCO's initiative to abolish

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[12] See appendix interview C with Professor Conrad Russell, p.283.

[13] This is a conclusion derived from researching the titles of the majority of history books for schools in reviews or advertisements, in *History* and in *The Times Educational Supplement* before the thirties.

[14] Paper was rationed from 1939-1949. During this period the publishing trade found itself unable to produce enough, facing problems due to the destruction of existing stock of books, offices and records, and warehouses - usually located in the City of London - because of enemy action. Publishers could not meet demands even for educational publications. J. Feather, *A History of British Publishing*, (London, 1988), pp.215-218

bias in textbooks.[15] However, publishers could not produce many new textbooks and schools could not afford to buy them.

It was during the mid-fifties that the textbook market took off again and new titles began to appear, reviewed and advertised in educational journals and newspapers.[16] The new textbooks did not cover more than two hundred years on average from English and European history. An innovation of the time, characteristic of a more comfortable, if not yet affluent society, was the publication of auxiliary material for history teaching. This material, which was to cater for the new type of secondary school pupil, became a growing field in publishing. But did it really serve the need of the teacher who was 'free' to decide what was best for his pupils? A teacher from St. Paul's School was sceptical about that:

> Is Britain peculiar in having so large a range of textbook and auxiliary material for history teaching? Every year brings extensive additions, so that it might be thought that all tastes, let alone all ages and 'streams', had by now been adequately accommodated. Yet it is not so. Those responsible for choosing school books are often found seeking, but not finding, and the flood of new publications must indicate demand. Since the foreign textbook exhibition... one can see that there are some advantages in systematically planned courses as against the haphazard productions to which this country is accustomed...[17]

New trends in publishing flourished during the late fifties and became popular in the more affluent schools who could afford to renew their textbook stock. The 'series', that is, the chronological coverage of very wide periods in separate volumes by one or many authors, historical anthologies, and books of historical documents entered the scene of the school publishing. Criticism of the utility of these new publishing trends was often manifested in *History*.[18] Many reviewers of the new books noted that the new trends could not replace the 'comprehensive history book which spans vast periods of time'.[19]

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[15]Minutes of the Historical Association, July 1942, December 1943, January 1947. See chapter IV pp.88-97.

[16] *History* and *The Times Educational Supplement* being the two most prestigious.

[17] P.D. Whitting, 'History books for Schools: I', *History*, February 1954, vol. 144, p.81. History Books for Schools was an annual series of articles, launched in 1957, the year after the celebration of the fifty years of the Association, to serve as a guide for the well-informed teacher to the new history textbooks for schools of all grades.

[18] L.W. Herne 'History Books for Schools: II' *History*, June, 1957, vol.145, p.130, and E.I. Murphy 'History Books For Schools', June, 1958, p.118.

[19] F.E. Manning, 'History Books For Schools: VII', *History*, June, 1959, p.134.

The practicality of the more old-fashioned textbook catering for all syllabuses and most grades was hardly threatened by the new fashions. Other critics deplored the fact that the factual knowledge of political history these books were offering was still the surest way to success in public examinations and was the main reason for their popularity. W.J. Fowler very characteristically noted that the 'conservatism' in the form and content of syllabuses kept traditional textbooks ever more alive. Most teachers, after all, were taught before 'lines of development', 'projects' and 'patches' were fashionable, and believed that history as a study and a discipline could not be appreciated without a firm chronological backbone, best acquired through a basically political approach.[20]

But as the market of pupils in secondary schools was widening, so the new publishing trends responded to new needs. Books appeared for the less intelligent pupils in the sixth forms of secondary modern schools and later the comprehensives, aiming to maintain 'the same high standards of factual accuracy, careful organisation and clear presentation.'[21] Publishers were called 'pioneers' for initiating a 'new look in history' in format and content.[22] They began to produce books with emphasis on insular topics or books with a world perspective, alongside the orthodox factual textbook. In a way they contributed to the defence of history as a secondary school subject by offering new 'modern' outlook at a time when modernity was considered essential. Illustrations and cartoons, emphasis on technological achievements and relevance to everyday life of the twentieth century, were the best advocates for continuing to teach history in schools, in that period when history seemed to be threatened. The reviewers of the last years of the sixties were enthusiastic about the books they had to deal with. Presentation was as if not more important than content, as they aspired to a new age where 'no history book should be dull'.[23] World histories and books covering the twentieth century became more popular than British and European history books. How much of world history books was actually new is a different question. In theory they were to replace the nationalistic histories and bring an international perspective to education. In practice their point of view was that of the western world, which now included not only Britain and western Europe but America and Japan as well, acting in various places of the globe. In the words of a scholar in an article on the courses these textbooks were designed for: 'The great majority of the so-called

[20] W.J Fowler, 'History Books For Schools: IV', *History*, February, 1958, pp.34-35.

[21] H. Thomas, 'History Books For Schools: XV'*History*, October, 1963, p.338.

[22] P. Brook, 'History Books For Schools: XVI', *History*, June, 1964, p.189.

[23] D. Maland, 'History Books For Schools:XXI', *History*, February, 1967, p.160.

world history courses now taught are Western civilization courses with an Afro-Asian fig-leaf'.[24]

Some other reviewers claimed that the conventional outline of political history continued to dominate textbooks, although books crossing chronological and subject boundaries did co-exist with them, and were for the most competent as well as the less academic pupils.[25] The traditional textbook had not lost its advantageous place in academic schools by the beginning of the seventies, in the same way that elitist academic schooling had not disappeared from the British educational system. Many reviewers expressed the view that despite the overwhelming number of the new publications the traditional textbook still had a role to play, because it could provide 'an anchor for historical investigation centred on a particular period of time'. In the words of some of them: 'Whatever developments there may be in the teaching of History, it is likely that there will always be a place for the straight text-book.'[26]

If there was a change in the role of the textbook in the classroom because of the educational expansion of the late sixties and seventies, that was its gradual reinforcement as a reliable reference for the examinations. As long as examinations dominated classroom life, textbooks were seen as essential for achievement and success.

Criteria for Selection

In this study it was important to compile a sample of textbooks which were indicative of the multiple circumstances of British secondary education. It was important to include the traditional all-purpose textbook written in the beginning of the century and used until the sixties in the academic streams of secondary schools, as well as the modern textbooks of the seventies which aimed to attract younger pupils to history in schools in addition to teaching a coherent story. It was important to include textbooks for the teachers and reference textbooks for the most intelligent pupils, as well as the best-sellers of the school publishing houses. Textbooks which were used for cramming as well as textbooks which

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[24] G. Batho, 'History Books For Schools:33', *History*, February, 1974, p.62.

[25] Members of the History Department of University of London Goldsmith's College, 'History Books For Schools' *History*, February, 1969, p.234-235.

[26] Ibid, p.244. The same view is expressed in A.R. Hayes, 'History Books For Schools: 34', *History*, June, 1974, p.229. For a lamentation of the survival of the traditional textbook despite the changes in the publishing world see also G.J. Fothergill 'History Books For Schools: 27', *History*, February, 1971, pp.68-69.

were written during the mid-seventies and were to stay in schools until the nineties, were also included in this sample.

The most important criterion for the detection of the right sample was the popularity of a textbook amongst secondary schools. Such schools include public, grammar, independent, grant-maintained and the academic streams of comprehensives. Although the majority of pupils did not attend such schools, as shown in chapter III, they were the only ones likely to be taught history and especially European history at all or in a sophisticated manner.[27] They account for the majority of candidates for O and A-levels, again where European history was most likely to be taught. The sample of textbooks was therefore to include those most likely to be used by such pupils between thirteen and eighteen in England and Wales.

Finding out which books had been most popular was difficult. Publishing houses gave only partial information as of the number of several editions of specific books. They were able to provide information only for those books which managed to survive today.[28] Additional information could be obtained from the publishing details inside each book, listing the number of editions, as well as reviews in *History,* in the series 'History Books for Schools', and the testimonies of the former pupils and teachers interviewed.[29]

The analysis of textbooks is covered in the next two chapters. The first deals with textbooks used in schools from 1945 up to the first years of the sixties and the second with textbooks used from 1964 to 1975. The year 1964 was taken as a symbolic turning point, when the Ministry of Education became the Department for Education and Science, and when the expansion of secondary education took root in post-war Britain. It was also the year when an important textbook which initiated a new style in history writing for

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[27] Textbooks recommended for secondary modern or lower streams of comprehensives were usually series of history books on everyday life in various historical periods. After the 'lines of development' and 'topical arrangement' trend, several history books were especially produced for the non able pupil. See suggestions of K.A. Hooton, E.M. Lewis 'Secondary Modern Class Textbooks', in W.H. Burston, C. Green op. cit., pp.148-152, recommending books for the secondary modern schools such as M.E. Beggs, P. Humphreys, *Everyday History,* (London, 1953), H. Bellis, *History Through Great Lives,* (London, 1957), S.E. Gunn, *Journey Through Time,* (London, 1956).

[28] This was the result from contact with Macmillan, Edward Arnold, and Longmans.

[29] Most inteviewees in non-recorded conversations suggested textbooks they were using in their teaching or textbooks from which they were taught history themselves.

schools was published.[30] Finally in chapter IX a synthetic analysis of the main concepts the textbooks dealt with was attempted.

Although there were textbooks which dealt only with European history, it was important to examine other books which were widely used and contained significant periods of European history as well as other subjects. Books on world history, for example, included much European material. For the period immediately after the war, when resources were so scarce, many schools could only use one history textbook, usually on British history. However, the basic ideas informing attitudes to Europe as well as Britain can be found in such books. Most of those interviewed about this period remembered one such massive book which seemed to contain everything they needed to know on the subject of history in general. Such a textbook was chosen as a point of departure for this study, because even though it concentrated mainly on British history, it accounted for the history of the rest of the world as well. British history was the backbone of history teaching in English schools. In many places all the European history that pupils came across was through British history textbooks of this type. In a similar way during the later more affluent period, when new syllabuses and new textbooks were found more frequently in the classroom, it seemed safer to look for European history in the books which were mainly concerned with the twentieth century in general and included in the contents European, British and world history. These books could be used for a variety of syllabuses and were therefore more likely to be used in the classroom.

The Textbook Sample

The first book, entitled *New Groundwork of British History*, was originally written by George Townsend Warner and Sir Henry Marten.[31] The edition examined here is the one revised by Dorothy Erskine Muir, and published in 1943.[32] Up until 1957, 46 years after

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[30] This is the book of A. Wood, *Europe since 1945,* (London, 1964).

[31] G. T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, *New Groundwork of British History*, (London, 1943).

[32] The two main writers of the book were typical Edwardian scholars with an Oxbridge education and an outstanding teaching career. George Townsend Warner was a fellow of Jesus College Cambridge, and a Master of the Modern Side in Harrow school. He was a school textbook writer of several series on British history and the author of *Landmarks in English Industrial History. Who was Who.* Sir C.H. Marten was educated at Eton and

its first publication, this book was praised for its 'comprehensive' and 'irreplaceable' qualities.[33] Since it was appropriate for a variety of examination papers, it was more economical for a school to have it in its cupboard instead of a number of books specializing in different historical periods.[34] The 1943 edition provided a number of questions from past examination papers, as well as chronological tables and historical maps, at the end of each chapter, which made it very practical for pupils. It was divided in two sections. The first, covering the period 55 BC to 1603, was written by Warner, the second, covering 1603 to 1939 was written by Marten. The period from 1830 to 1939 had been revised by Mrs Muir with the approval of Warner's Trustees, and Marten's suggestions.[35]

The other big survey textbook of the sample is A.J. Grant's *Outlines of European History*.[36] It was initially published in 1918, and was reprinted and re-edited until the mid-fifties.[37] During all this time it was a standard on this subject and accounted for the general

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Balliol College Oxford. He was a regular master at Eton College after his graduation from Oxford. He was President of the Historical Association from 1929-31, and became Provost of Eton College in 1945. He wrote history textbooks with some of the most well known textbook writers of the time such as E.H. Carter, a book on *The Teaching of History and Other Addresses*, and he contributed to Prime Ministers of the 19th century. *Who was Who*, Vol.4, p.767. See also in R. Samuel, *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (London, 1989), vol.1, p.12. Dorothy Erskine Muir, the historian who revised the book in 1943, was educated at Somerville College Oxford, won several prizes for modern history, and published a number of historical works in the first decades of the century. She was a lecturer on the National Health Insurance Act from 1911-1912, and a secretary for the Women's Co-operative Guild from 1912-1918. H. Bryand, *Somerville College Register 1879-1959*, (Oxford, 1961). Although she did not contradict the spirit in which this book was written, she adopted a more modern approach with greater concern for social struggle.

[33] P. Whitting, 'History Books for Schools: I', *History* No 144, February 1957, p.82.

[34] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit. In the preface we are informed that the book is used for the Secondary Examination Certificate.

[35] Ibid, preface.

[36] A.J. Grant was a Professor of History at the University of Leeds 1897-1927 and at Cairo 1930-32, who wrote a number of standard textbooks on European history, as well as books on French history. *Who was Who*, Vol.4. p.458.

[37] Reviewed in *History*, 'History Books for Schools', February, 1959, p.26. See also D. Hay, 'Europe: General Histories', in W.H. Burston, C.W. Green, (ed.) *Handbook for*

perceptions of European history held by those studying history.[38] It was an account of the most important civilizations, historical events, and occasionally cultural and religious movements, occurring in Europe from antiquity till modern times, that is the end of the Second World War. It was a typical Whiggish history book, aiming to prove that 'the story of the centuries is not merely "full of sound and fury signifying nothing, but shows civilization a goal that grows clearer as ages pass".[39] It was divided into three parts: the classical world, the middle ages and the modern world. Although the book dealt mainly with European history, chapters on English history were scattered chronologically in the second and third parts of the book. The writer regretted he could not include American history since:

> As Athens has been called the most 'western' of the cities of Europe, so it is hardly a paradox to hold that the United States of America are the most 'European' part of the earth's surface.[40]

These two books represented the views of the pre-war generation, but they continued in use for so long that they became two of the most characteristic textbooks used in the late forties and early fifties.

The period of the late fifties is represented by two textbooks dealing with the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is because as history tended to be taught chronologically, European history taught by using an academic textbook usually covered the period after the French Revolution and ended with the two World Wars. They were initially written after the First World War and re-edited and republished until the eighties. They enjoyed an enviable longevity and popularity amongst schools, the greatest in this sample of books.[41] The first was a book for the pupils and the second mainly for the teacher, the most intelligent pupils, or to be used as a reference book. Both these books came from a genre which radically differed from the surveys of the early twentieth century.

Denis Richards' *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe 1789-1945*, was a 'bread and butter' European history textbook.[42] It was first published in 1938, and was extensively

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History Teachers, (London, 1962), p.531. The book was mentioned among 'the oldish books which proved themselves enduring'.

[38] See table 6.1, p.175.

[39] A.J. Grant, op.cit., preface vii.

[40] Ibid.

[41] See table 6.1., p. 175.

[42] See appendix interview B, p.280.

used during the fifties and late sixties; many schools still have the latest editions of this book in their cupboard, making it one of Longman's greatest publishing success.[43] The majority of pupils remembered this book, if not for the text itself, certainly for the cartoons from *Punch*.[44]

Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries 1789-1950, was written by A.J. Grant and Harold Temperley, who had been Professor of Modern History at the University of Cambridge.[45] Temperley unlike his co-author had a cosmopolitan approach to the historical material he dealt. His wide non-academic as well as academic career was reflected in the way this book was written. He had also had an Oxbridge education, followed by an academic career in Britain and America and military action in the Balkans during the First World War.[46] This book too had an enviable record of re-editions and re-

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[43] Because of the huge success of this book Denis Richards was commissioned by Longman to write other school textbooks, even outside his expert knowledge. Together with J.W. Hunt, A. Quick, J.A. Bolton, A.W. Ellis, R. Hough, he wrote books about the ancient, the medieval and modern times.

[44] D. Richards, *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe, 1789-1945*, (London, 1956). Denis Richards started his career as an Assistant Master at the famous Manchester Grammar School, where he stayed for eight years, until the Second World War broke out. It was during this period that he first published *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe*, which was followed in the next two years by another, again on modern European history. He played an active part in the war as an historian - narrator in the historical branch of the Air Ministry, writing confidential studies on various aspects of the air war and between 1942-47, writing an official history of the Royal Air Force in the Second World War. From 1949-50 he was established in the Civil Service, as Principal Permanent Under Secretary of State for Air. After the war he returned to the academic world as Principal of Morley College from 1950-65 and was a Longman Fellow at the University of Sussex, from 1965-68. In the teachers' world he was mostly known as the most successful textbook writer of the time being the author or the co-author of a number of history school textbooks on British and European history. *Who's Who*, 1991, p.1543.

[45] H.I. Lee 'Europe: The Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914', in W.H. Burston, C.W. Green, op. cit., p.584.

[46] Harold Temperley was an attache to Serbia, at the Peace Conference and Mission to Montenegro 1918-1920, and the President of the International Historical Congress, receiving numerous honorary awards from various European academies. He was also an editor of *British Documents on the Origins of the First World War*, as well as of *A History of the Peace Conference in Paris 1920-24* vols. I-IV. He published several books on

impressions, the latest being in 1984 (ed. Agatha Ramm), 57 years after its first publication, and 45 years after the writer's death.[47] Moreover, it was reprinted throughout the forties, when paper had been rationed and books were impressed only very selectively. The edition of 1952, which is examined here, had been revised by L.M. Penson, Professor of Modern History at the University of London.[48]

This book was a rather sophisticated one for the secondary level of education. It was a book for the teacher, the more competent candidate for the A-level examination, and very often for the first years of undergraduate courses. It was used as a reference book in many grammar schools rather than as a basic textbook. However, it is worth including this book in the examined sample, since it stood as an exception to the usual approach of history textbooks in use till then.

The textbooks selected to represent the period from the early sixties to the mid-seventies deal exclusively with modern history, that is the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The first is a book characteristic of the transitional period when it appeared. It is a school textbook, but with a very original point of view. Anthony Wood's *Europe 1815-1945* adopted a sophisticated approach to European history, combining a chronological and a thematic approach. It was popular in grammar school sixth forms for A-level history or as a reference book.[49] The look of the book was very close to the older generation of

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Britain and Europe of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Who was Who*, vol. 3, p.1332.

[47] See table 6.1, p.175.

[48]Amongst the people that the authors acknowledged for their direct criticism and advice were J.M. Keynes, for help in dealing with the reparation and economic sections of the Treaty of Versailles, Colonel Sir Arnold Wilson, who had served in the Middle East as the British Commissioner during the twenties and thirties, for advising on the chapter on 'World Settlement and Nation-Making in the Near, Middle and Far East' and the British Military Representative at the League of Nations 1925-35, Major-General A.C. Temperley, for advice on the history of disarmament and the later League developments.

[49] It is a book that was usually recommended by the interviewees who were professional historians themselves. See also D.J. Peters, 'History Books for Schools XVII', *History* February 1965, p.40. He recommended it as 'a stimulating and exciting book'. Anthony Wood was a History Headmaster during the time he wrote the book. C. Davies and J. Martell, 'Europe 1789 to the Present day', in W.H. Burston, C.W. Green, (eds.) *Handbook for History Teachers*, (London, 1972), p.382, note that 'A. Wood has produced probably the best single volume in this period for the sixth form pupil. It is well written

textbooks since apart from maps and statistical charts there were no radical innovation in its layout.

The other book was also selected as typical of this transitional stage. David Arnold's *Britain, Europe and the World 1870-1955*[50] was written for four O-level syllabuses: English History 1865-1955, European History 1871-1954, the Great Powers 1870-1939, and World Affairs since 1919.[51] It was a book intended to be used as a practical manual, a simple introduction requiring classroom notes as a complement, rather than as an independent history textbook, what colloquially was called a 'crammer'. It was one of the last books which contained only text and maps and statistical tables to illustrate the facts of the historical periods it was dealing with. It dealt with Britain, Europe and the world from 1870 to 1955. It was a book which attempted to examine some historical themes thoroughly in each chapter without having a backbone of narration. It was a book which initiated the scholarly version of recent historical events in the classroom which were to become standard.

Two textbooks were chosen to show the contradictory tendencies of the generation of textbooks written between 1964-74. They are both photographic textbooks, with illustrations, cartoons, maps and statistical distributions making up almost 50% of their content. These books dealt with twentieth century history mainly right up to the date of publication. This means that they were unlikely to follow established historical views from other textbook writers as very often they had to write the history of the immediately preceding year. In many ways their authors were pioneers since they attempted for the first time to put their history in a pedagogical context. They were typical textbooks for middle grades of secondary schools. One dealt exclusively with twentieth century history, and the other with the modern world since 1870. However, despite their modern appearance their contents show a more traditional approach to history than the authors claimed.

C.F. Strong's book, *The Story of the Twentieth Century*, first published in 1957, was for fifth formers taking O-levels. It was part of a series of history books. The reviews

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and clearly organized to provide a detailed analysis of both national developments and general movements, and includes a discussion of economic and social issues. As well as maps appendices are provided which contain valuable statistical and factual information'.

[50] The book had a negative review by D. Maland, 'History Books For Schools:XXI' *History*, February, 1967, p.163.

[51] David Arnold was Head of History at Quentin School in London.

were both positive and negative but the series became popular mostly during the late sixties and was republished several times.[52] It was divided into two parts, one concerning historical events and one concerning the phenomenal technological and scientific achievements of the twentieth century. 'The history of the twentieth century is a world story', the writer claimed in the introduction, a sixteen page text which was supposed to describe previous centuries briefly and indicate how they all contributed to the creation of the twentieth century.[53] Strong, like Grant in his *European History*, aimed to tell us the story of how we reached the highest living standards known to humanity. He based his argument on the scientific revolution which was taking place in the twentieth century and more specifically on the fact that science was being applied to everyday life rather than only to industry.[54] A clear Whiggish attitude was back in the excessive optimism of this book, written with the confidence of the sixties, when it seemed that the new era of affluence and prosperity was there to stay. The history of Europe was told from the first years of the century until the mid-sixties, while other parts of the world were dealt with as they interacted with European wars or as in many other books, as part of colonisation or decolonization. Strong's twentieth century history like that of earlier authors, was one where most events took place in Europe, especially Britain and only occasionally in other parts of the world.

L.E. Snellgrove's book, *The Modern World since 1870*, was another one of Longman's greatest publishing successes.[55] Historical photographs of great events or simple snapshots of everyday life were evenly arranged in a lengthy text, beside statistical spreads and cartoons relevant to the historical subjects, while at the end of the chapters were timelines of the most significant events, and suggestions for further reading or projects on the topic. The arrangement of chapters, though, was a traditional chronological one, following the major European events of the end of the century and moving at the same time to all parts of the globe to examine contemporary major events. The style of the book was enthusiastic and provocative, aiming to stimulate discussions in the classroom. A description of the spirit in which it was written is found in the preface:

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[52] See A. Fellows, 'History Books For Schools: III' *History*, October 1957, p.206, see also P. Seaby, 'History Books For Schools: XII', *History*, February 1962, p.173. and D.B. Heater, 'World History', in W.H. Burston, C.W. Green, (eds,) (London, 1972), op. cit., p.402.

[53] C.F. Strong, *The Story of the Twentieth Century*, (London, 1966), p.7.

[54] Ibid.

[55] L.E. Snellgrove was Head of History, at de Stafford School, Caterham, Surrey. L.E. Snellgrove, *The World since 1870*, (London, 1968) cover.

History which ignores the humour, excitement or grandeur of great events, which is silent about the sufferings of men and women, is not worth telling.[56]

The final book in the sample was written in 1974 and addressed exclusively to candidates in twentieth century world affairs. It was selected as a typical book which combined a moderate modern outlook with a moderate modern approach to history. It was an approach which was to determine the period to follow, and epitomised in more than one ways the genre of academic history textbooks of the seventies. This is Jack Watson's book, *Success in Twentieth Century World Affairs*.[57] It is obvious from its title that this was a book designed for passing examinations and it was part of a series of 'Success Studybooks', nevertheless it was also appropriate for the general reader who sought an understanding 'of how the problems of our day have come about'.[58]

The following table provides a key to the selected books. The date of their first publication and the subsequent publications suggest the popularity of each book.

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[56] Ibid, preface.

[57] N. and N. Strachan, 'History Books For Schools: 36', *History*, June 1975, p.230.

[58] J. Watson, *Success in Twentieth Century World Affairs*, (London, 1974), forward.

Table 6.1: Textbooks

TITLE	Authors	Year of First Publication	Year of Publication Used	Year of Most Recent Impression	No. of Editions
New Groundwork of British History	G.Warner, H.Marten, D.Muir	1911	1943	1964	3
Outlines of European History	A.J.Grant	1918	1947	1958	5
An Illustrated History of Modern Europe, 1789-1938	D. Richards	1938	1956	1985	7
Europe in the 19th and 20th Centuries	A.J.Grant & H.Temperley	1927	1952	1984	7
Europe 1815-1945	A.Wood	1964	1964	1995	3
Britain Europe and the World, 1870-1955	D.Arnold	1966	1966	1973	2
The Story of the Twentieth Century	C.F.Strong	1958	1966	1966	2
The Modern World Since 1870	L.E.Snellgrove	1968	1968	1984	2
Success in 20th Century World Affairs Since 1914	J.B.Watson	1974	1975	1995	3

Reading the Books - Themes and Variations - A Method

This section provides a key to the method used to read and interpret the images and features of European as well as British and world history - to a lesser extent - found in this sample of textbooks. The aim of the study of textbooks is not only to locate the geographical or national boundaries of historical subjects treated in the school textbooks, but also to discover the wider intellectual environment in which these texts were produced. For the first textbooks examined here, that is up until the publishing boom of the mid-sixties, there had been a disparity between the time - and therefore the intellectual climate - at which the books were produced and the time at which they were used. However, after the mid-sixties, the textbooks used in the classroom were in the main those which were produced just a few years earlier. It was important to distinguish these different moments when interpreting the textbooks.

Several studies examining history textbooks have used quantitative methods to place the value of subjects in the books.[59] The number of pages devoted to a subject, the degree of competence of the pupils to whom the book is addressed, the number and quality of illustrations, as well as the negative or positive perceptions of several historical incidents, were quantified. Others such as J.A. Lauwerys suggested a method to detect bias such as turning attention to conspicuous omissions of great historical periods, emphasis on differences between civilizations, or controversy between nations.[60] This study also used these methods when dealing with each specific subject. However, the quantitative approach on its own did not seem adequate for an interpretation which aimed to detect the collective memory of a nation. Furthermore this study was not solely targeting bias in these books. Therefore it was deemed necessary to discuss the dominant conceptual patterns which emerged from these textbooks as various historical subjects were elaborated. It is on these dominant perceptions that this study was concentrated. Usually these concepts are examined through the entirety of a book's content, although at times they concern certain historical subjects which exemplify the spirit in which a book was written.

These concepts underlay the recurrent themes which build up the images of European, British and world history in these books. Although they were by no means uniform in this sample of textbooks during the whole period, there were distinctive notional attitudes

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[59]This is the case with the study: 'L'enseignement de la Revolution Francaise dans les Balkans' op.cit.

[60] J.A. Lauwerys, op. cit., pp.31-33.

which were repeated in textbooks written in different years and with different pedagogical intentions. In that sense this study shows both compliance and diversity with these dominant concepts, due to the variety of the books and the ability of the system to tolerate divergent views on several historical topics.

Trying to put things into context, the analysis of textbooks will discuss concepts such as the importance of constitutional development in different European countries, the role of religions and the ranking of their contribution to European civilization, the appreciation of imperialism as a civilizing agent, the apprehension of the secular philosophy which developed during the seventeenth century, as well as attitudes towards the crises and revolutions of several periods, all according to the authors of these textbooks. Special attention will be paid to the writers' attitudes towards the peripheral nations of Europe, or those they considered peripheral in various historical periods. The twentieth century was also given special attention since most writers of the late sixties consider it an unprecedented historical phenomenon. Moreover these concepts will be discussed as they change or remain the same in the different generations of books, showing how or whether the historical connections as taught in schools altered.

This is of course only a sample of textbooks, so throughout the study this is borne in mind, as well as the fact that teachers then interpreted the text for their pupils. These textbooks do display a dominant view of European history, but the system in which they were used also fostered more than one interpretation of this history. What follows is an attempt to find one interpretation.

CHAPTER VII: TEXTBOOKS 1945-1964

Section I

The Two Surveys - A History for Good Governors

The analysis of history textbooks will start with the examination of the two history surveys written at the beginning of the century. History was a relatively new subject at this level of education when these books were written, and it was believed to be important in the moral upbringing of the pupils. It has been argued that because history was conceived as a way of teaching the principles of good government, it was part of its dignity as a subject that it was concerned, almost exclusively, with national institutions and events.[1] The formation of an ethos for the English race was central to the mission of history as a lesson in the early twentieth century.[2]

These ideas were part of the post-war desire to create moral citizens. UNESCO's campaign to abolish bias in textbooks and the proposals to teach world citizenship were at odds with these books, since the books were popular precisely because they emphasized an image of greatness and continuity with an ideal national past. The Secondary School Examination Council's report in 1941 stated that the pupils should still learn to be good citizens of their own nation and British history therefore should remain at the centre of history teaching.[3]

National values, national characteristics and moral priorities were vouchsafed in these books. They represented the 'drum and trumpet' style of history aiming to prove that England was the most rounded and developed country in Europe and that Europe was the most civilized part of the world. They were overrun with value judgements concerning historical events, decisions of sovereigns, the character of different countries' populations and individual historical heroes.

The analysis of these two books was based on a search for the essential elements of Britain and Europe as they emerged from their narration of historical themes. The elements of what was considered quintessential English, later British and more widely

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[1] R. Samuel, 'Continuous national history', in R. Samuel, (ed.), op. cit., p.11.

[2] Historical Association leaflet, 'Teachers of History' 1909, cited in R. Samuel, ibid. See also P. Slee, *Learning and Liberal Education,* pp.163-164.

[3] See chapter IV p.103.

European created a moral code with which the historical events were consistent. Moral values attributed to the collective character of nations, in these books, predetermined the outcome of historical events. The aim of this analysis is to deconstruct this moral code and demonstrate how it was influencing the building of images of Britain and Europe as historical personas. The books themselves suggest the major concepts which should be examined, compared and contrasted.

A: Invaders and Englishmen

Out of the early history of England which was, according to the first writer of the British survey, Warner, 'the history of its invaders', sprang a distinctive national character.[4] The invaders moulded this character and it was to become distinctively British after choosing several virtues and rejecting several vices from them. The Romans, the first civilized conquerors to set foot on the island imposed themselves as oppressors but at the same time contributed to organizing Britons into an orderly community. However, the material wealth which Roman culture promoted along with the notion of law and order did not appeal to the essence of the British character.[5] That was to be fulfilled with the advance of the second conquerors, the Saxons.

The description of the Saxons was the description of the foundations of modern England. Although they were invaders, their coming was not to disrupt British history but to bring it to a superior stage of existence, with Warner claiming that 'it is with the coming of the Saxons that the continuous history of our country begins'.[6] Citing Tacitus, the Roman historian, he contrasted the 'degenerate Rome' and the 'noble savage' to conclude that the most important idea that Saxons brought was the principle of freedom.[7] This along with the predecessors of county councils, the folk moots, and the development of the smaller kins into kings with limited liberty, laid the foundations of modern England.

> ...barbarians though they were, the Saxons are of great importance to us, for their language has become ours, and amongst them were perhaps germs of some political institutions and ideas that are our peculiar pride to-day.[8]

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[4] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D.Muir , op. cit., p.5.

[5] Ibid, p.12.

[6] Ibid, p.13.

[7] Ibid, pp.15-16.

[8] Ibid, p.15.

Other invaders such as the Danes, the conquerors following the Saxons, were to be appreciated for their contribution to trade, and the prosperity this brought to some towns, nevertheless they were not to be in any way assimilated with the English.[9]

The Normans, unlike the Romans and the Danes, were to have a lasting effect on English history. The idea of the noble savage was prominent in the book, and the long period of French domination according to the writer could not destroy the genuine English character which not only survived, but constantly manifested itself. However, Warner did not try to communicate to the pupils the ideal of a lost Arcadia with the predominance of the Normans. He made clear from the beginning that the first four Norman kings were foreigners ruling by right of conquest - Norman kings ruling Saxon people. Yet this was not true of their successors.[10] On the contrary, from the reign of Henry II Norman kings were sometimes referred to as English kings, sometimes as foreigners, usually depending on the incident mentioned. Henry II was particularly praised for the development of the judicial system, 'taking an old Saxon institution and bending it to a new shape'.[11] His reforms aiming to reduce the barons' power and the expansion of the judicial system, were what baptized a Norman king with an English ethic, according to Warner, and thus incorporated the Norman practices into the English ones. After him Norman descent or identity would not determine unlawfulness and subjugation, while each king would be individually judged for his willingness to respect and develop those institutions which were founded by the Anglo-Saxons. In that context Magna Carta, which could be interpreted as the greatest gain of English ideals, taken from the Norman king at such an early stage, was underplayed and presented in a rather sober manner as internal conflict between the small barons and an arbitrary king.[12] Moreover Henry III was a bad king but Simon de Montfort was praised as the patriot and statesman who 'himself a foreigner, took arms against the King and his foreign favourites for the sake of good government.'[13]

Out of this early period of English history a kind of Englishness emerged, derived from an Anglo-Saxon past, which was respected and developed by the most able of the

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[9] Ibid, pp.49-54.

[10] Ibid, p75.

[11] Ibid, p.106.

[12] Warner, made clear that although this early charter had been the stepping stone of the most celebrated English institution, that is, 'individual liberty in front of central authority', it was the interpretations that later generations gave to it that made it important. Ibid, pp.137-8 and note 21, p.145.

[13] Ibid, p.160.

Norman-English kings, and finally consolidated into a nation with defined borders and more or less homogeneous leadership and people. Warner stressed continuity instead of conflict between the English and the Norman kings especially after Henry II. At the heart of this approach was his view that representative institutions were both Saxon and Norman.[14] Furthermore, he did not use the Norman yoke theory to raise national or social issues, as it was used after the sixteenth century - explained in Christopher Hill's classic essay.[15] Warner would not employ radical theories of socialism in the manner of Paine and Spencer because unlike them he was not trying to demand social rights by projecting the present into the past.[16] On the contrary, his purpose was to generate consensus amongst the pupils and socialise them to the idea of the unity of the nation rather than its controversial elements. Warner wrote along the lines of Victorians like Macaulay, Stubbs, Freeman and Green, who made a different use of the Norman conquest. Carlyle earlier went as far as claiming that not only was Parliament not a Saxon institution but that it had been established for the English by the armed violence of the Norman noble Simon de Montfort.[17] Macaulay would claim that the conquest which 'gave up the whole population of England to the tyranny of the Norman race, brought an end to English history for a century and a half.'[18] Yet it was with the amalgamation of the Saxon and Norman races that 'the history of the English nation commences'.[19] Stubbs, in his *Constitutional History of England*, emphasized how essential the Norman monarch had been for the creation of

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[14] Ibid, p.157.

[15] C. Hill, 'The Norman Yoke', in *Puritanism and Revolution*, (London, 1958), pp.50-123.

[16] C. Hill mentioned several approaches to the Norman conquest where, in his own words, 'arguments based on questionable history shifted to arguments based on the rights of man'. In the last category belonged the Painean use of the Norman yoke theory, which saw in Magna Carta the frustration of a revolution against the foreign invaders. Before him philosophers like Spencer and Bacon claimed in the sixteenth century that the conquest meant England lost its laws and liberty to the violence of William. Ever since the 1830s the prevalence of the theory of continuity of Saxon and Norman history acquired anti-revolutionary connotations. Whig historians wanted to have it both ways with a golden Anglo-Saxon past and a conquest which brought law and order, but the Norman theory was subsumed into theories of socialism.

[17] R. Carlyle, 'The Republican', vol.II, 25 February 1820, pp.198-9, in A. Briggs, *Saxons Normans and the Victorians*, (London, 1966), p.8.

[18] T.B. Macaulay, *History of England*, vol. I, (London, 1898, The Albany edition), pp.12-13.

[19] Ibid, p.16.

the modern nation.[20] He stressed the view that the Normans, so far as they became English, added nerve and force to the system with which they identified themselves; so far as they continued to be Norman they provoked and stimulated by opposition and oppression, the latent energies of the English.[21] Along the same appreciative lines the historian E.A. Freeman claimed in the 1880s that the best changes in laws, institutions and customs, were really returns under new forms to 'our oldest ways of all'.[22] He thought that the Normans, these 'disguised kinsmen...gave the old life and the old freedom a new start'.[23] Stubbs and Freeman, unlike Macaulay, emphasized the idea that the Normans did not stop English history, but that there was institutional continuity instead. Freeman characteristically claimed that 'William conquered neither to destroy nor to found but to continue'.[24] Furthermore the historian J. Green, a student of Stubbs and Freeman, in his *History of the English People*, concluded about the Norman conquest that '...it is to the stem of our foreign kings that we owe not merely English wealth and English freedom but England herself'.[25] In Warner's textbook the Saxons were noble savages with primitive democratic institutions and the Normans were kings and knights who developed and honoured these institutions. The conquest did not lead to subjugation and misery for the English nation, although this might have been the case for its first phase. William was not 'the bastard with an armed banditti'[26] and the conquest itself was not solely the result of foreign aggressiveness. It was because the Saxon character at that particular moment in history was in decline that the conquest was possible:

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[20] W. Stubbs, in the first volume of *The Constitutional History Of England*, 1897, (reprint 1967) argued that the effect of the Norman Conquest on the character and constitution of the English had been threefold: 'It invigorated the whole national system; it stimulated the growth of freedom and the sense of unity, and it supplied, partly from its own stock of jurisprudence, and partly under the pressure of the circumstances in which the conquerors found themselves, a formative power which helped to develop and concentrate the wasted of the native race', p.269.

[21] Ibid, p.270.

[22] E.A. Freeman, *A Short History of the Norman Conquest of England*, (London, 1880,1922), pp.155-156.

[23] Ibid, p.156.

[24] G.O. Sayles, *The Foundations of Medieval England* (London, 1966), cited in A. Briggs, op.cit., p18.

[25] J.R. Green, *History of the English People*, Vol.I, (London, 1888) p.125.

[26] T. Paine, *Common Sense in Politics,* (London, 1776) quoted in C. Hill, *Puritanism and Revolution,* op. cit., p.99.

The failure of the Saxons goes to show that the Saxon character had declined or at any rate was lacking in some of the great qualities that make a nation. The invasion of the Normans, the rule of a conquering race, and the eventual fusion of Norman and Saxon blood made, out of much adversity, the 'Englishman' who proved himself stiffer material than his Saxon forefathers.[27]

Not even the feudal system, which was used to denote subjugation,[28] was a novelty of the Normans because it had already existed from the time of Edgar, where every landless man was supposed to have a 'lord and commendation'.[29] Warner was not delivering a polemic against a foreign practice imposed on the English as so many others claimed feudalism to be. Of course he stressed that the manorial system created a 'pyramid where order was obtained but the Norman friends of the king were put at the top, while the English sank to the bottom'.[30] Yet the nation was created materially and ideologically from both the Saxons and the Normans, who therefore had to appeal equally to the pupils' imagination. Warner, writing in the post-Victorian period, projected most emphatically the merging of the two elements to create the uniqueness of a racial quality, what Christopher Hill called the 'Germanic and Anglo-Saxon heritage of freedom.'[31]

B. Democratic Ancestors and Europeans

A.J. Grant began his European history with the classical world, aiming to show those elements of it which were of European interest in his day. His main concern lay with the values and ideals of the Greek world which survived and flourished in different periods in European history.

Greek history was examined from the Homeric years to Macedonian rule. The Homeric world was a lost Golden Age, which 'knows freedom, thought and beauty.'[32] This, argued Grant, was the earliest vision of European life which was eminent and attractive and was

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[27] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op.cit., p.87.

[28] A. Briggs argued that during the nineteenth century the Norman yoke theory persisted longer not because of the demand for parliamentary reform but in relation to attacks on the aristocracy. Chartists and other radicals were attacking 'landed aristocracy' when referring to 'the custom of primogeniture' introduced by the Saxons. Thus the Norman kings' willingness to develop Parliamentarian institutions alone were not enough to wipe out the social burdens which they brought. A. Briggs, op. cit., pp.8-9.

[29] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit., p.78.

[30] Ibid, p.80.

[31] C. Hill, op. cit., p.115.

[32] A.J. Grant, op. cit., p.4.

followed by a period of darkness.[33] Because there was no political unity between the Greek city states, there was no uniformity of government and society was based on slavery and polytheism. Yet the various governments were mostly based on aristocratic or democratic regimes, it was slavery with a humane face and religion tended to concentrate on worshipping Zeus in a sober rather than a theocratic manner. A turning point in Greek and therefore in European civilization was when Greece found herself threatened by the Oriental and despotic power of Persia at the end of the sixth century, when 'European civilization was threatened with extinction'.[34] The contribution of Greek civilization lay in the principles of democracy, rational thinking and intellectual achievement. Greeks were triumphant over Persians because of their intellectual vigour and dexterity. 'It was a victory of liberty over despotism', claimed Grant.[35] Greeks drew the borders between the absolutism of the orient and the democracy of Europe. The values of the Greek world as opposed to the oriental world were very schematically contrasted in Grant:

> On the one side was political freedom, and on the other despotism; on the one side monogamy and on the other polygamy. In Greece the seeds of art, literature, science and philosophy were sown and were already giving promise of a great harvest, while Persia was in all the things of the intellect unprogressive and lifeless. Had Persia triumphed, European civilization would have been destroyed in its cradle.[36]

At the zenith of Greek civilization, Grant could see not only European ideals but specific English ones too. When he described the political assembly, the ecclesia of Demos, Grant put that idea in a modern context:

> The great size of modern states and the idea of representative government have made it impossible for the mass meetings of the people to assume now the importance which they possessed in Athens and in many states of the ancient world; but when first the English came to our island the moots, or public meetings, must have been something like the Athenian ecclesia.[37]

Furthermore, because absolutism in the east was not a European notion, the writer ended Greek history with the death of Alexander the Great - the Hellenistic age, although praised as very significant, was not to appear in his survey.

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[33] Ibid, p.4.

[34] Ibid, p.10.

[35] Ibid, p.13.

[36] Ibid, p.12.

[37] Ibid, p.18.

Grant's sources on Greek history were the classical nineteenth century works by Grote, Curtius and Thirlwall as well as Oman and Dickinson.[38] The idea that Greek civilization was European civilization in its cradle was prominent in textbooks. Greek ideals of harmony, beauty, and liberty were the basis of European civilization.

The history of the Romans and the Roman empire also stood at the very centre of European development, the writer claimed. The Romans laid 'the unshaken foundation of the social and political life of Europe'.[39] The greatest achievements of Rome which enabled her 'to lay the foundations of the political structure in Europe', were military discipline and careful administration of the conquered nations. Grant claimed that the significance of the Roman empire in general European history was immense: '...all earlier history leads up to it; all later history is developed from it.'[40]

Rome even during the years of the empire was in name at least a republic basing its social structure on a sophisticated law system and military merit. Moreover, Roman conquests facilitated the spread of the other connecting factor of European history, that is Christianity.[41] Grant's sources on Roman history were various. Mommsen and Gibbon of course were amongst the most important. Similar ideas on the European heritage of law and order was to be found in these historians.[42]

Grant in this survey gave, as expected, a summary of the history of Greece and Rome. He concentrated mostly on the peaks of prosperity of these civilizations, and emphasized the abstract ideals which were bequeathed to European civilization at large. What he was interested in was not the historical development of these civilizations, but the continuities of their classical ideals. These might not reside in the lands which gave birth to them, but they were certainly to be found in the north-west European tradition.

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[38] At the end of the first chapter he suggests consulting these books together with smaller works which the exceptional pupil might use occasionally. Some very characteristic books of this kind are C.W.C. Oman's *History of Greece*, (London, 1899), his own book *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, (London, 1893), G.L. Dickinson's *A Greek View of Life*, (London, 1896), as well as maps and atlases, A.J. Grant, op. cit., p.10.

[39] Ibid, p.40.

[40] Ibid, p.82.

[41] Ibid, pp.82-83.

[42] See E. Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* vol.II, edited by J. Bury, (London, 1929), pp.57-58, also 60-61.

It is interesting to note the similar ways in which both Grant and Warner treated their 'Golden Ages' historically and morally, appealing to the pupils' need to relate to a heroic past. The classic civilizations offered a background of grandiosity and intellectual continuity common to all the nations which Grant considered civilized. The Saxon Golden Age could take even racial connotations as we saw in Warner especially after it was mixed with the other communities which created England. Both these writers were adequately faithful to the historical outcome of events, yet they made their interpretations of the past to appeal to the pupils' desire to belong to an elevated, superior culture.

C: A Religion to 'Civilize'

Christianity was the central theme of British and European history which not only gave a religious identity to the peoples who were converted to it, but also distinguished them as the only peoples who were 'civilized'. However, both these books differentiated between different types of Christianity. According to the writers Protestant Christianity was the religion which was most compatible with rational thinking, an incorruptible ethos and purity of thought. In this it was unlike the corrupt Catholic Church, and the despotic Eastern Orthodox Church.

The British case is very characteristic. Britons abandoned the wilderness when they were Christianised. They were converted by Rome but they in return had to convert the various 'hordes of savage pagans' which 'sank the island back to its outer darkness'.[43] As a matter of fact, Warner spoke harshly about the Saxons only on this occasion, when he mentioned the fact that when they came to the island they were not Christians. That early period already contained the seeds of conflict in British Christianity. Christians were divided in those converted by the Roman and those by the Celtic missionaries. Warner held the opinion that at that period the right choice was to be part of the Roman Church because that ensured a cultural connection with the rest of western Europe and at the same time it ensured some sort of national unity in a national church.[44] No wonder that those who converted to the Celtic system were obviously wrong:

> What the results of the Celtic system were may be seen in Ireland, where in the dark days before the English conquest, the Church fell entirely into the hands of the chiefs, lost its power, and merely gave an example of disunion to a people who already thought more of their own tribe than of their nation.[45]

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[43]G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D.Muir , op. cit., p.20.

[44] Ibid, pp.24-29.

[45] Ibid, p.25.

However, things changed as the English nation developed to think of itself in other respects then religious ones, and as it came to challenge the power of Rome. As a liberal nation, England needed a liberal religion or at least one distinct from that of the Continent. Wylclif's anti-papal movement was looked upon as another step in England's move away from continental dependency and although it was defeated, history was on his side. Subsequent religious freedom was not far off.[46]

The Reformation was examined in the context of general intellectual developments in Europe such as the Renaissance and the 'new learning' in Germany and in England. Warner described the Protestant movement in Germany extensively, before going back to England and trying to put in perspective the breach of the English Church from the Pope.[47] This confrontation with the religious establishment was seen as necessary and unavoidable. It was backed up by Germany's religious affairs which accelerated England's separation from Catholic Europe and raised its importance in European affairs. For such a breach a special ethos and courage were needed, and the right qualities of character to carry it through, the writer claimed:

> Germany and England had got what Italy had not - a sense that wrong is not the less wrong for being long upheld, and that right, even if new, may still be right. In Germany and in England the New Learning was practical. ... The scholarship which in Italy worked among the classics turned across the Alps to the field of the New Testament. Two types were characteristic of the New Learning in the north: the theologian, who, regardless of tradition and of what men had been taught in the past, yet applied his learning to it to find out what he believed that is the truth; secondly, the reformer who, fearless of power and dignitaries, followed out his conclusions to do what he felt to be right.[48]

Protestantism as well as being a religious movement was the defining identity of a mighty period of English history. Although the writer was not attacking Catholicism openly, he mostly made it clear that what lay behind the new world order, where England and Scotland were superior, was their conversion to Protestantism and the freedom from any continental supervision.

> ...To the European diplomatist of the early sixteenth century England was a second rate power, mostly following the lead of Spain; Scotland a hanger-on of France. Thanks to the Reformation in Scotland and to the statesmanship of Elizabeth, the two were united in one Protestant power of first rate importance

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[46] Ibid, pp.201-208.

[47] Ibid, pp.290-295.

[48] Ibid, p.292.

- a fact of incalculable consequence in Europe; and for the first time   Britain reaped the full value of being an island.[49]

In that way yet another new beginning of British history was marked. The true England, which was destined to triumph in world history, was the Protestant England of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By that time England and by extension Britain had acquired yet another basic moral element which enabled her to win - Protestantism. The free thinkers who could challenge power and dignitaries in defence of their beliefs were only the result of the confidence gained from the Protestant religion. This pride and confidence was presented as a unique outcome of the character and will which came to the favoured of God. One example was the spread of the study of the New Testament, which was neglected by the ineffectual scholars of south-eastern Europe. It has been argued that the turn to the study of scripture contributed to the consciousness of freedom of thought that the British peoples acquired with Protestantism.[50] This was especially valid with the freeing of the printing press in 1695, which completed the popularization of the Protestant Reformation.[51] Religious works formed easily the bulk of what every British printing press was producing in the mid-eighteenth century.[52] Marten did not go as far as Linda Colley, a late twentieth century historian, who claims that the common people's turn to the study of religious documents contributed to an exaggerated if not deceptive feeling of supremacy over other nations or a feeling of a special privilege or freedom. On the contrary he accepted at face value the alleged supremacy of Protestantism, which unlike the authoritarian Catholic Church encouraged free thinking and he associated religion with the ever-inherent principle of the English, the principle of liberty.

A similar approach to Christianity is evident in Grant's   book. Already at the disintegration and final split of the Roman Empire Grant had praised the choice of Constantinople as the new capital of the empire, which was to prolong Roman history for another thousand years.[53] Although he made clear that this was the eastern part of the Roman empire, and that the Byzantine empire having become Christian was among the civilized empires of the world, he did not refer to it again. The fact that the Pope was the important power from which western European countries tried to emancipate themselves almost eleven centuries after the split of the Roman empire, was the reason he ignored the

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[49] Ibid, p.334.

[50] L. Colley, *Britons Forging the Nation*, op. cit., pp.40-43.

[51] Ibid, p.42.

[52] Ibid, p.41.

[53] A.J. Grant, op. cit., pp.112-114.

eastern Roman Empire, despite its Roman and Christian characteristics. However, by turning at this point exclusively to western European Christianity, Grant gave the false impression that he was still dealing with the most important powers of Christianity at the time.

Grant, was willing to celebrate the foundation and the might of Catholic Christianity because it initiated the peoples who were to settle in western Europe in the Christian faith. The history of the barbarians who were Christianised was followed consistently only when these barbarians were destined to play a significant role in what was to become western Europe. Thus the attacks of the Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, the Vandals and the Huns on the Roman empire in east and west appeared in the book until the years of Justinian.[54] They were referred to again when they attacked Constantinople, and the remains of the Roman empire in Italy, but after that, his attention turned exclusively to the western nations, formed among other races and the barbarians previously mentioned. Furthermore some barbarians, if that is the term for the people who infiltrated Europe after the third century AD from the north or north-eastern part, were not mentioned at all. The Slavs, for example, were not mentioned during the period when the new populations appeared on European soil, even though eventually they accounted for one third of the European population, and had become Christians.

The Crusades, the climactic point of the middle ages, were to be remembered mainly because western Europe, the true Europe according to Grant, had become acquainted with the civilization of the Greek empire and Mohammedan (not Islamic) east. At this point Grant treated the Greek empire as something exotic and alien to what he considered European, closer to the Mohammedan east than to Latin Christianity.[55]

However, the Eastern Orthodox Church or the Slavs were not the only absentees from this history. Spain and Italy, as major Catholic powers, were equally neglected. Spain appears in order to achieve political unity, to throw out the infidels and to discover America. 'We have seen nothing of Spain since the days of Charlemagne', noted Grant

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[54] Ibid, pp.119-134.

[55] Ibid, pp.204-210. Among the results of the Crusades were that commerce had received a great stimulus, and generally the east had come into contact with the west; western Europe had become acquainted with the civilization of the Greek empire and the Mohammedan East; and from the acquaintance new ideas were born and new movements, social and religious - some of which we can trace, and more perhaps which conceal themselves from our scrutiny.

characteristically.[56] The fact that from the time of Charlemagne onwards Spain was primarily dominated by the Moors excluded it altogether from Grant's idea of European nations, to reappear once Christians were again in charge and it could emerge as a first rank power in the Europe of that time, on land and on sea. The other reason he dealt briefly with Spain was the discovery of America a fact which was to change the old world order and bring Protestant nations to the centre of European history.[57]

Italy's important contribution to this part of European history lay in the Renaissance, a cultural movement which linked the Middle Ages to the modern world.[58] In other words, southern Europe, including Italy and Spain, was mentioned only when it achieved something of interest to countries which were or were going to become England, France or Germany.

During the Renaissance the influence of the revival of the classical Greek ideal and the promotion of the new learning in arts and sciences, by Italian and Greek scholars, finally favoured Protestantism:

> ...The sight of this fair civilization, [the Greek] independent and preceding Christianity, struck a blow at some of the claims of Catholicism; and later the knowledge of Greek furnished the Protestant reformers with their most useful weapons...[59]

In this way, the writer offered both ancient Greek civilization and the Renaissance cultural movement to the hands of the Protestants, claiming that the Renaissance's rational perception of the world was more consistent with Protestantism than Catholicism. Grant also stressed the role of Protestantism in the political transformation of the northern European countries. The democratic element which entered into the church's government passed into the state, and movements such as Calvinism and Lutheranism were strongly associated with the notion of 'political liberty'.[60]

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[56] Ibid, p.261.

[57] Ibid, pp.259-266.

[58] Ibid, pp.266-267.

[59] Ibid, pp.268-269.

[60] Ibid, p.288.

C: National Institutions, Consensual Monarchy, and the Consolidation of National Character in Britain.

The development of modern nations was based on strong institutions. In Britain these institutions were considered to be consistent with the liberal character of the people. Parliament, deriving from the Saxon Witan and the Norman Curia Regis, became 'a representative governing assembly' and not a class governing assembly, as its predecessors had been.[61] This institution would safeguard the liberty of English peoples for the future in a unique way since, whereas similar institutions in other countries such as France and Spain all decayed, 'our Parliament grew stronger and stronger'.[62]

However, the consolidation of what was to become modern England came with the period of strong monarchy, 1485-1603. This was not absurd absolutism but consensual monarchy. 'The determination of the nation to support the crown' was what lay behind the monarchy, which was popular because people trusted the kings, as they should do at that time, the writer claimed.[63] This successful, stable monarchy brought about a new version of the old religion, which was clear of the corruption and inefficiency of the Catholic Church. As mentioned above the transformation to Protestantism was related to the acquisition of yet another layer of liberty. The fact that this was done through the king's initiative was attributed to the people's trust in monarchy because, unlike other European monarchies, this one expressed the popular will. Monarchy, even though it was absolute, was presented as consensual popular and necessary:

> The Tudors were absolute because England believed in them, trusted them, and was willing that they should be absolute.[64]

The other great development which contributed to the creation of modern Britain was the consolidation of national character. The second writer of the book Marten, saw the important reasons for the great Civil War in the 'character' of the individuals involved, along with the collective character of the nation which by that time had developed very specific and recognizable features. The individuals whose character was to be examined were of course the kings, the great advisers who acted on their side and the outstanding

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[61] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit., p.152. Norman kings were credited for these institutions. Simon de Monfort and Edward I were described as the creator of the House of Commons and the model Parliament, pp.158-9 and 160-171.

[62] Ibid, p.159.

[63] Ibid, p.280.

[64] Ibid.

political personalities of the opposite party. The collective character of the nation which was to produce the modern Englishman was to be found in the middle classes.

> Another cause of the struggle was the development, during the sixteenth century, of national character. That century, it has been said, saw the birth of the modern Englishman. He had realized his possibilities in enterprise, in seamanship, in literature; the Reformation and the Renaissance had taught him to think and to reason for himself; he had become more self-reliant, more self-confident, perhaps more self-willed. He was, in a word, ready for a greater share in the government of his country. And more especially had come the development of the middle classes. The battle of English liberty in the seventeenth century was fought, not so much by the nobles or by the people, as by the squire, the merchant, and the lawyer; these were the classes which had developed in Tudor times, and it was from these classes that the members of the House of Commons were drawn. Very often they were ignorant, especially about foreign affairs; sometimes they did not realize the difficulties of the Government and brought absurd charges against the ministers. But they were men, for the most part, uncorrupted and incorruptible; independent and yet moderate; patient though very persistent. ...when it came to a war of swords, it was the country gentlemen who made the best use of them.[65]

The importance of character in the outcome of history has already been mentioned. The Norman conquest happened at a moment when the Saxon character was weak.[66] This was only too consistent with the general ideas of early twentieth century thinkers on the importance of character and especially English national character. Stefan Collini argued that the ideal of character enjoyed a prominence in the political thought of the Victorian period that it had not known before and has not experienced since.[67] He referred to the economist Alfred Marshall, who argued that the highest point of progress had been so far reached in the development of English character, which exhibited 'more self-reliant habits, more forethought, more deliberateness and free choice' than any of its historical rivals.[68] Character in this context acquired not only moral implications but also economic and social ones. Marten attempted a social interpretation of the revolution based on the development of national character. The middle classes with their sense of duty, self-reliance and self-confidence were to build modern England. They would transform Britain through industry and commerce. Marten emphasized this, and as a post-Victorian paid more attention to the character dedicated to duty than the character formed by the right

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[65] Ibid, p.423

[66] Ibid.

[67] S. Collini, *Public Moralists*, (Oxford, 1991), p.94.

[68] A. Marshall, *The Principles of Economics,* 9th (variorum) edn., with annotations by C.W. Guillebaud, 2 vols. (London, 1961; 1st edn.1890), i.I, 723-5, 740-4; ii.17. cited in S.Collini, ibid, p.92.

type of leisure which only the aristocrats could afford.[69] It was the workplace where the individual and collective characteristics of England were expressed. The middle classes thus were the protagonists in the transformation of Britain.

E. War and Absolutism in Europe.

In Grant's book the transition from medieval times to the modern ages was based on strong monarchies and rival great powers. It was the great Protestant powers who really constructed Grant's European universe and the rest of Europe played a minor role. We know nothing about the northern parts of Europe until the united Netherlands fight the Spanish hegemony when they find a place in the book. Sweden and Denmark are briefly mentioned when they participated in the Thirty Years War in Germany, as were the central European forces of Austria and Bohemia. His main chapters covering the fifteen to the eighteenth centuries concentrated on 'France During the Era of Reformation', 'The Age of the Tudors', 'The Thirty Years War in Germany', 'The Growth of the French Monarchy', 'The Ascendancy of France under Louis XIV' and 'Great Britain under the Stuarts'. In the eighteenth century he turned east for the sake of Peter the Great and the westernization of Russia:

> We must not go further back in history of Russia than the accession of Peter the Great in 1682. Modern Russia may be regarded as his creation. He found Russia barbarous and uncivilized; the power of the monarchy less than that of the boyars or nobles; the country and its resources almost unknown to Western Europe. It was Peter the Great who introduced the rudiments of European civilization, asserted the power of the monarchy against all other elements of Russian society, founded the new capital of St. Petersburg, and displayed Russia to the world as a military power, which had to be most seriously reckoned with.[70]

Eastern European countries had exactly the same treatment. Normally they appeared at the time of a major destruction or occupation, with only momentary reference to previous strength; this is the treatment of Poland, for example, while other countries would be

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[69] Ibid, pp.106-118. Collini argued that for the late Victorians duty was one of the main moral qualities the citizen of a liberal country should have. He associated this with the rise of the middle classes who developed the right habits to improve their position, unlike the leisured aristocracy which inherited citizenship and the working classes who did not want it.

[70] A.J. Grant, op. cit., p.364.

referred to even less often. The predominant and continuing image of Grant's Europe was the barbarian east contrasted with the absolute yet civilized European nations.

F: Repulsion for Revolution, Aversion for Tyranny.

The writers of these surveys shared a feeling of aversion for rebellious movements. The liberal spirit which would detest violent breakdown of the state but would be willing to allow the state to mature and finally offer privilege to the underprivileged in a consensual manner was what both writers considered an appropriate historical version. Thus Warner could sympathize with the rioters during the Peasants' Revolt as a consequence of the Black Death, but he claimed that the power of the king and the lords should not be challenged and the rioters had to be suppressed.[71] History would achieve those things which violence must not be allowed to; 'by degrees the lords granted freedom since villeinage was no longer worth keeping'.[72]

We have seen that Marten in depicting the English Revolution and the Civil War put forward as a cause the development of the middle classes and their increasing rights in government. Yet he could not support the time of blood and terror which followed. Marten claimed that the Civil War was not a class war but a political or even a religious one - Royalists against Parliamentarians, Puritans against Anglicans.[73] No wonder he condemned the extremities of the Commonwealth and the execution of the King.[74] All that could justify the Commonwealth which attempted work too modern for its own time were its 'imperial instincts'.[75] Again we see the tendency to absorb the extremities of history by advising the pupils to anticipate the right time to come when the changes will emerge from history rather than revolution. Cromwell's constitutional experiments may have been 'ingenious and interesting' but they failed because they were too modern for

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[71] Ibid, pp.208-216.

[72] Ibid, p.216.

[73] Ibid, p.452. The argument was that members of the House of Commons belonged to the Royal Party while thirty peers fought against the King.

[74] Ibid, p.468. He considered that the execution of the King was not a 'cruel necessity' as Cromwell claimed when he saw the body of Charles. It was cruel but how necessary it was remained a matter of controversy.

[75] Ibid, p.482. Attitudes to imperialism are discussed separately. See pp. 198-203.

their time.[76] After the Restoration, Marten considered that there was a conscious lowering of the nation's ideals about nobility of character, and the life of modern England gave way from the Age of Heroics to the Age of Common Sense.[77] This appreciation of the twenty years before the settlement of 1688 was characteristic of an historian nurtured by a late nineteenth century liberalism. Some order was achieved through the restoration of the King and of Parliament but there were too many breaches of both these institutions, let alone the threats to the authority and domination of Protestantism. This new period which witnessed the end of the Revolution but not yet the beginning of a history near to the ideal of English liberal descent, might be what Marten saw as the fall from heroics to common sense. The Restoration period can be seen as the apology which the rebellious pre-1688 liberalism ought to give to the post-1688 liberalism, according to Colls, in his essay examining the settlement of 1688 as the historical incarnation of the late nineteenth century liberal ideal of English freedom.[78] Marten did see in the accession of 1689 the consolidation of a limited monarchy with strong Parliament where liberties 'for the individual Englishman' were secured.[79] Although he celebrated this accomplishment he was very critical of the hostility of the Parliament to William III.

> William had no outwardly attractive qualities which would have secured the affection of his English subjects; and they failed to do justice to the magnanimity which he showed in dealing with his enemies, his patience and calmness in times of crisis, or the unwearying industry which he displayed in public affairs...Englishmen, in truth, were somewhat ignorant of foreign politics; and the greatness of the work accomplished by William, not only for England, but for Europe, was never realized.[80]

Marten shared his appreciation of William's reign and moderate manner of accomplishing social rights with Macaulay, Seeley, and other Victorian historians of the second half of the nineteenth century.[81] Although Marten would not go as far as Macaulay denouncing 'the terrible name of Revolution', he did imply that English history was back

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[76] Ibid.

[77] Ibid, p.487. This statement was an introduction to the time of Charles II who in way was a satisfactory statesman, yet lacking those character virtues which were necessary for an English King.

[78] R. Colls, 'Englishness and the Political Culture' in R. Colls, P. Dodd, (eds.) *Englishness Politics and Culture*, (London, 1985), p.32.

[79] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit., p.541.

[80] Ibid, pp.541-542.

[81] See T.B. Macaulay, *History of England,* vol.5 and 6. op. cit., and J.R. Seeley, *The Growth of British Policy,* vol.II, op. cit., pp.309-348.

to normal after the enthronement of the new dynasty.[82] If revolution had just about a role to play in English history, the monarchy, especially constitutional and enlightened monarchy, as Marten saw William III, had a more steady and legitimate place in this history. The transition to the eighteenth century, with the union with Scotland and the beginning of active Parliamentary life as it would dramatically develop in the next centuries was made possible mainly because of prudent monarchy and revolution, though credited for its accomplishments, could be set aside from that point on.

The chapter on the French Revolution, written by Marten, described it in terms of its resonance in Europe. The spread of revolutionary ideas in Europe and the consequent wars with imperial France in which Britain participated were the focus of the book. According to Marten the French Revolution could have been avoided had the King been willing to make reforms. During the Napoleonic wars the ideals of the French Revolution were given some space. When France was preaching 'Liberty', the nations welcomed her; when Napoleon became but a despot, France had to fail. 'The compensation of Fate', in Wellington's words, came to Britain when she cultivated ideas of patriotism against Napoleon which led to his fall.[83] England once more preached consensual reform against rebellion and revolution.

During the nineteenth century Britain was to become fully industrialized and at the same time more democratic, securing the franchise for the greatest part of the adult male population, and dynamically imperial, spreading its command in more continents than ever known before, enjoying a first place in the world. Mrs Muir, who wrote this part of the book, saw Britain not only as a mighty power in the world but also as a country with social problems, where a great disparity separated the affluent from the deprived. However Britain would never succumb to anarchy. The political reforms of the 1830s were emphatically contrasted with the revolutions of Europe in the mid-nineteenth century.[84] After the failure of the Chartists' petition the author concluded:

> We can see how comparatively little was to be feared from 'revolution' in
> England, for while the rest of Europe saw fighting and bloodshed, our very
> mild efforts scarcely troubled political life.[85]

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[82] Macaulay comparing 1848 to the English Revolution, History, Works, ii.396, quoted J.M.Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, (Cambridge, 1981), p.50.

[83] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D.Muir, op. cit., p.701.

[84] Ibid, p.788.

[85] Ibid.

Marten prior to Mrs Muir made a similar comparison with continental revolutions to come to the same conclusion.[86] The attitude of the writers was that revolution was an evil which could and should be avoided. It had no special place in British history where the mode of development to an elevated state of historical existence was through gradual reforms without extremities. Often this was compared to the diametrically different state of affairs on the Continent. The writers' attitude are echoed in Burrow's comments on Macaulay's admiration of Englishmen's devotion to law and order: 'History provides an empirical demonstration of the political value of a respect for precedent not carried to excess.'[87] Continuity and not revolution was the ideal and essence of English history.

Grant had a similar approach to revolution. The French Revolution had a dominant place in his book and he made clear his aversion to the absurd absolutism of Louis XV and Louis XIV. However he was very sceptical of the ideas spread by the intellectual movement prior to the revolution - which he never referred to as the 'Enlightenment'.[88]

Grant's liberal convictions were in opposition to those of the intellectuals who challenged fundamental social institutions. Yet within this movement he had his preferences. Montesquieu and Diderot were deeper thinkers than Voltaire and Rousseau, he claimed.[89] Voltaire was still preferred to Rousseau since he was 'the great opponent of the claims and powers of Catholicism' and because 'in politics he was far from being a revolutionary thinker, and he would have liked reforms introduced by a reforming king.'[90] The problem arose mainly with Rousseau.

> His (Rousseau's) main doctrines were the inalienable sovereignty of the people; the superiority of feeling over thought; the superiority of the natural uncivilized man over man as formed by civilized and conventional societies. As men read his works they came to despise the society in which they lived, to believe in the possibility of an infinitely better one, and to determine to realize it.[91]

The movements of reaction and revolution which followed the Napoleonic wars were a subject that Grant dealt with extensively.[92] He opposed the revival of absolutist powers

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[86] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, *The Groundwork of British History*, (London, 1912), p.624.

[87] J.W. Burrow, *A Liberal Descent*, (Cambridge, 1981), p.52.

[88] A.J. Grant, op. cit., pp.374-375.

[89] Ibid, p.374.

[90] Ibid, pp.374-375.

[91] Ibid, p.375.

[92] Ibid, pp.412-422.

led by Metternich, and sympathised with many revolutionary movements which had as their source of inspiration France and the ideas of the French Revolution.[93] Thus for the first time since antiquity he found himself in Greece for the struggle of liberation against the Turks, in Hungary and Bohemia as they demanded their sovereignty from Austria, in Belgium rising against the Dutch and describing at length the unification of Italy and Germany.[94] Rebellions and revolutions which were aimed to construct rather than destroy societies were welcomed.

G: Imperialism: A Nation With a Mission to Civilize

Imperialism was a central theme in the survey of British history and totally absent from Grant's survey of European history, mostly for reasons of economy. However, the central role of imperialism in British history, not only demonstrates a British or maybe an English attitude towards other cultures, but also the attitude of western European civilization, contrasted to alien cultures.

The writers differentiated between domestic imperialism, within the United Kingdom, and imperialism in other continents. They further differentiated between those colonies which needed the contribution of the Anglo-Saxon race in order to become civilized and those settlements predominantly Anglo-Saxon which could afford at some point in their history to live independently from England. It is not surprising to find that in the first category belonged Catholic countries such as Ireland or with non-Christian populations such as India, Africa and Asia, while in the second category belonged countries such as Scotland, America, Canada and New Zealand.[95]

During the years of strong monarchy imperialism, especially for the north-western borders of England, seemed to be according to Warner a national necessity. Ireland during

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[93] Ibid, pp.414-415.

[94] Ibid, pp.416-430.

[95] J.M.D. Meiklejohn in his book *The British Empire*, written in 1891, differentiated between the colonies of exploitation and the colonies of settlement, cited in J.M. MacKenizie, *Propaganda and Empire The Manipulation of British Public Opinion 1880-1960*, (London, 1984), p.186. For Meiklejohn Canada, Australia and New Zealand were colonies of settlement and India, Mauritius and Ceylon were colonies of exploitation. Other Europeans had only colonies of exploitation, Meiklejohn claimed. Introduction, p.6. Warner and Marten did not make the distinction so clearly, implying rather than demonstrating it.

the period of the Tudors stood as a counter example to any element of what consisted England's greatness. The native population was in a state of 'wilderness'.[96] Even the 'Pale', where English jurisdiction was actually established, had been gradually reduced and the descendants of Anglo-Normans who had conquered the country in Henry II's day had become lamentably 'more Irish than the Irish themselves'.[97] The religious Catholic revival which flourished during the mid-sixteenth century in Ireland was to blame for the subsequent rebellions. The conquest of Ireland after Elizabeth's excommunication in 1570, when the Pope was regarded as its temporal ruler, was carried out with excessive but necessary brutality, according to Warner, and he quoted Spencer's words that:

> the Irish were 'a savage nation' and in league with the two mortal foes of the English - the Pope and the King of Spain; and their chiefs were often very unreliable and treacherous in their dealings with the English lord deputy.[98]

From the seventeenth until the late eighteenth century, a great sympathy for the Catholic cause in Ireland was expressed. Marten stressed the irrationality of English politicians in failing to understand that a fair representative government where Irish Catholics could participate would have improved the relations of the two countries, and that instead they ended up with atrocities from both sides.[99] Finally, during the late nineteenth century and early twentieth, Muir sympathised with the demand for Home Rule in Ireland which split British politics until the twentieth century, praising the political virtues of Parnell, and vaguely supporting his cause.[100]

The attitude of the writers to England's supremacy over Scotland and the final unification of the two kingdoms was completely different.[101] Scotland was a Protestant country and therefore as civilised as England.[102] Their leaders were brave and their cause of fighting for their country was noble. In the ethics of this book Scots were the equals of the English and were treated as another part of England which had simply come under the same sovereign in the seventeenth century. But more than that Scotland was militarily

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[96] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit., p.373.

[97] Ibid, p.374.

[98] Ibid, p.379.

[99] Ibid, pp.505-511 and 708-716.

[100] Ibid, pp.864-870 and 975-979.

[101] Ibid, pp.174-188, especially p.188.

[102] Ibid, pp.333-337.

strong up to that time and did provide a serious threat for England. Wales was not mentioned separately after its final defeat in 1284.[103]

In the countries of the United Kingdom, the writers respect whatever came closest to the English ideal and more specifically to the late nineteenth and early twentieth century liberal ideal. In that context the Celtic origins of the Scots were not important and neither were their wrong alliances. The writers appreciated Scotland more than Ireland not only because they were Protestant and therefore had a duty to fight for their own independence, but also because at the time they were writing, Scotland did not threaten the unity of the Kingdom. Ireland on the other hand had all along been an open wound not only because of its Catholicism, but also because of its willingness to see itself independently from the United Kingdom.

Colonialism abroad was also treated in various ways. When dealing with the American revolution Marten sympathised with the revolutionaries and understood the desires of Americans to cut themselves off the motherland. But this was only because in America there was another England, a civilization based on English principles. This is what he said of the 1776 Declaration of Independence:

> ...it was only because the colonists were Englishmen with an Englishman's idea of liberty and self-government that they rebelled - no other colonists would have done so. 'No one but Englishmen,' says an American historian, 'established American Independence and this they did on the basis of English history'.[104]

The extension and spread of the empire during the nineteenth century was widely celebrated by Dorothy Muir. Britain began to talk of her 'Imperial destiny', and her 'Empire on which the sun never sets'.[105] The empire, of 13,000 million square miles and 410 million people by the end of the century, was to benefit the world. However, in an almost apologetic paragraph, the writer stated that at least Britain's intention had been one of cultural emancipation, and doubted if that was finally properly received by the locals.

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[103] Ibid, pp.172-174. It was claimed that among the reasons that the Welsh conquest had been so successful was the fact that Edward recognized national feeling, so that Welsh law, customs and language were retained. This was the last time Wales was mentioned separately in the book.

[104] Ibid, p.631.

[105] Ibid, p.879.

Britain believed that her rule was beneficial. She believed that she brought peace, order, and material prosperity to the peoples in the Empire. She used her capital to develop backward lands, and she tried to give justice to all citizens - and all this was summed up in what was called 'the civilizing mission of the Anglo-Saxon race'.[106]

The new institutions of self-government applied to the remote colonies of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, and the author seemed to find this a convenient and civilized arrangement, appropriate for English settlers in remote places.[107] Britain, like another mother, was going to give the right of self-governing to those territories which she thought should be under her protection:

> The British Empire, therefore, shows what the world has not seen before, an Empire whose members are in some cases completely self-governing, and in others are progressing towards this stage. We may think that this characteristic is our unique contribution to 'the art of governing'.[108]

These ideas were not new. Seeley in his famous lectures on the empire provided an analysis of the nature of the expansion of the English state. Thus according to him too, in the countries where English people were inhabiting 'empty' parts of the world as in America, Australia or Canada, where they did not have to mix with or govern another alien population, then the English nation could still prosper as if it were in England.[109] In those circumstances the true English spirit could demonstrate itself without any obstacles. In the old English colonial system assemblies of people in Virginia in 1619 were not formally instituted, but grew up of themselves 'because it was the nature of Englishman to assemble'.[110] Late Victorians who witnessed the beginning of responsible governments in the remote colonies were not so keen on 'political' imperialism but believed in a 'cultural' one.[111] Marten, like the politician Charles Dilke, saw in America as well as in other English speaking, white-inhabited, and self-governed dependencies, a moral continuation of English values. In the words of R.J. Schuyler, Dilke saw in America:

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[106] Ibid, p.880.

[107] Ibid, p.882.

[108] Ibid, p.962.

[109] J.R. Seeley, *Expansion of England,* Lecture IV, 'The Empire', (London, 1895), pp.66-89.

[110] Ibid, Lecture II, 'The Old Colonial System', pp.207-227.

[111] This is a distinction made by R.L. Schuyler, who was commenting Charles Dilke's travel book *Greater Britain.* R.L. Schuyler, *The Fall of The Old Colonial System, A Study in British Free Trade,* (London, 1945), pp.250-251.

...an amplifier for England's voice to the world, offering to the English race 'the moral dictatorship of the globe, by ruling mankind through Saxon institutions and the English tongue'.[112]

It was actually this 'cultural' side of colonialism that textbook writers like Warner, Marten and later Mrs Muir wanted their pupils to concentrate on.[113] They would not argue about the best economic or political effects of colonialism, neither for the colonized country nor for the mother country. Economic historians like Cunningham were not taken in consideration by them when dealing with the expansion of the English race.[114]

However, there was great differentiation when they dealt with colonies like India where there was a long-standing colonial relationship and long-standing colonial problems as well. As in Ireland, before the English came to India 'anarchy was to reign'.[115] Although other European nations 'intervene' to take advantage of this anarchy, it is Britain who finally 'saved' the situation by establishing there 'perhaps the purest rule in the world'.[116] This was mainly because the relation was based on 'trade and not conquest', 'good dividends rather than war distinctions'.[117] The English established themselves in India first as traders and then as governors. It was thus the adamant character of the enterprising Englishman which was put forward, not the militant one even if the conquest did happen with a series of wars. Marten's Englishman in India was a trader and an administrator who as in other colonies was spreading the English moral code of governing. This was not always appreciated by the Indians themselves. They failed, for example, to appreciate the great structural improvements which aimed to rise their standards of living, such as railways, because they were 'superstitious', 'backwards' and

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[112] Ibid, p.251.

[113] V. Chancellor, *History for their Masters,* (Oxford, 1970), argued that cultural colonialism was more important than economic one in school textbooks pp.125-130.

[114] W. Cunningham, *The Growth of English Industry and Commerce in Modern Times,* (Cambridge, 1903). Cunningham did not oppose the views of any of the 'moral imperialists', but he argued for the positive effects of the growth of English industry on economic rather than ethical grounds. He concluded that economic expansion was a success; this was because of the 'English conception of welfare which is distinct from other countries in Europe, and includes a deep regard for historical tradition and the abandonment of the desire to assimilate other peoples to the English model, as well as a high respect for human life, even in the case of coloured people.' pp.850-886.

[115] G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit., p.638.

[116] Ibid, p.639.

[117] Ibid.

lacked the social tolerance which the railway journey required with the different castes travelling together, while they were hearing 'bad magic' through the telegraph wires.[118]

The way other historians saw India in late Victorian times was not very different. Seeley, in a lecture about the Indian Empire, claimed that between India and England there was not 'the community of blood' as there was with her other colonies and her connection with England seemed to be in the highest degree 'unnatural'.[119] Seeley of course was arguing against the continuation of the empire in India, while Marten was explaining why Englishmen were necessary there. Among Seeley's main arguments was that this country was the least capable 'of evolving of itself a stable government'.[120] The cultural nature of the Indians could never justify the civilizing mission of the English. Regardless of the different aims of the two historians, and their different convictions about imperialism they both see India as a country which cannot accomplish what is necessary in the historical existence of a nation, that is adopting the English way of life.

These two books were written at the beginning of the century and used at least until the mid-sixties. It is only natural to suppose that the uses of these themes would be different in the fifties than those in the early decades of the twentieth century. However, we can see how perfectly these ideas would fit into a society which saw itself as founding a new Jerusalem, as British post-war society did, and how they would excite the imagination of the pupils shaping an image of what was special about being British.

The concepts discussed in this section were closely intertwined in both these books. The belief in the authenticity and the purity of the historical origins of western Europe was shared by these two surveys. Britons come from the noble savages who had the germs of democratic institutions, while Europeans can appropriate the vast classical tradition of ancient Greece and Rome. The religion both Britons and Europeans shared was the religion which 'civilized' and in so doing perfected the noble yet pagan ancestors. Furthermore both these surveys implied that Protestant Christianity was superior to the other Christian sects and deserved to inherit even the achievements of the Catholic Renaissance and the Greek pagans. The other concept which Britons and Europeans had in common was the right if not duty to colonise alien and barbarian nations if they were not Christian or not accustomed to the right way of living which was of course the

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[118] Ibid, p.816.

[119] J.R. Seeley, *Expansion of England,* lecture on 'The Indian Empire', (London, 1883), pp.184-185.

[120] Ibid, p.196.

English or at least the European one. The differences between Britons and Europeans were denoted in these surveys by their attitudes towards absolutism and revolution. These elements seemed to be endemic in European countries and alien to British history.

The next section will discuss the new generation of textbooks which were written after the first World War and how different attitudes towards the same historical events were employed.

Section II

Two Modern Histories: A History for Pragmatists

The textbooks used in the classroom during the late fifties and up to the early sixties will be represented by D. Richards's *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe,* and A.J. Grant & H. Temperley's *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries.* The striking difference between these books and the books of the previous generation lay in the abandonment of moralist rhetoric for the pragmatic representation of historical causes and outcomes. It was not longer collective moral values or even collective character but specific interests which motivated nations to act. More stereotypes were built on older images of nations, but this time based on the principle of the survival of the fittest. Yet there were many differences between the two books, both in their selection of what historical time and place to examine, as well as the point of view they adopted. This was only natural since by the time the books were written Whig history writing was already under fire. The first two decades of the twentieth century were rather fortunate for the Whig historians. The critiques which were in the air during that time were not reaching school textbooks and at times essays were written in defence of Whig historians by scholars of the new generation. 'Their errors served public interests and strengthen the integrity of English historical writing', argued H.A.L. Fisher in the Raleigh lecture of 1928 in a defence of the great historians of the past century, T.B. Macaulay and G.O. Trevelyan.[121] It was not until Butterfield published his famous essay in 1931 that a thorough critique of Whig history was debated and an analysis of the role history should

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[121] H.A.L Fisher, *The Whig Historians*, Raleigh Lecture On History, (London, 1928), p.30.

have in a modern age was established.[122] 'Our textbook historians', Butterfield argued, 'have inherited the top hat and the pontifical manner' in their history writing.[123] The new tendencies in history were already realized as the new books of history concentrated on smaller historical periods where more evidential analysis and research was possible. They avoided the abridgement of history, a typical Whig method according to Butterfield. He argued that Whig history was fallacious because it took a shortcut through the complexity of historical reality by curtailing great historical periods and even worse preselecting from the past only what served, according to their view, the present.[124] They tended to overdramatize historical events and divert attention from the historical process, seeing an unfolding logical progress in history with which they co-operated, and to make value and moral judgements continuously.[125] The history we need to write, Butterfield continued, should be one where the past is approached 'with instinct and sympathy alive and our humanity awake' not to discover facts but significances.[126] The general historiography of the time was deeply marked by the experience of the First World War.[127] Along with establishment writers such as H.A.L Fisher and G.O. Trevelyan, radical writers dared to claim that the past had been glorified and to present a different aspect to the public. In the words of a modern historian this 'disillusioned world' of the aftermath of the First World War had become far readier to accept radical interpretations.[128]

However, one still has to ask to what degree the new history textbooks for secondary schools, written during the thirties, finally abandoned the Whig style of historical analysis, and whether even though they were distinctly different from the books of the previous generation they did retain some of their Whiggish elements.[129] The analysis

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[122] H. Butterfield, *The Whig Interpretation of History*, (London, 1931).

[123] Ibid, p.4.

[124] Ibid, pp.22-32.

[125] Ibid, pp. 39-107.

[126] Ibid, p.93.

[127] P. Kennedy, 'The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West', *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.8, Jan.1973, no.1, p.92.

[128] Ibid.

[129] Butterfield's essay was attacked only as recently as the eighties, on the grounds that some of the Whiggish elements such as present centredness, selection or abridgement are inherent in the historical craft, and contrary his view research cannot cure everything. A.Wilson, T.G. Ashplant, 'Whig History and Present-Centred History', *The Historical Journal* Vol.30, No. 1, 1988, pp.1-16, and A. Wilson, T.G. Ashplant, 'Present Centred History and the Problem of Historical Knowledge' *Historical Journal* Vol.31, No. 2,

which follows demonstrates the new methods and the new point of view of history this new generation of textbooks adopted, as well as the elements which remained unchanged as taken for granted in teaching history. The enquiry aims to detect those elements which the authors considered to have shaped modern European history. Among other themes, the analysis concentrates on the new rising forces which were not taken into account before, the new role of older European nations, as well as new ways of looking at some historical events.

A: Which National Histories Form Modern European History?

In Richards's book, European history was the history of the great powers of Europe, namely France and Russia, Germany and England.[130] Other histories had paid little attention to Russia, the power which most unpredictably proved to be of major importance in the twentieth century but his book was to restore the balance. He did not deal with countries such as Spain, Switzerland, Scandinavia or the Netherlands since they did not interact with the above mentioned powers in that particular period.[131]

The greatest part of the book was devoted to France and Germany. Out of the 355 pages 123 were dedicated exclusively to France and 58 to Germany.[132] The French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, the Congress system of the great powers, the Second Republic and the Second Empire, and the Metternich period in Germany and the Austrian Empire were the subjects of the first half of the book. By the mid-nineteenth century all the main and minor nations of Europe involved in the disputes of these major powers had appeared in the book.[133]

The map of Europe was quite different in Grant and Temperley. Europe appeared as a geographical area which spread from the Atlantic Ocean to Russia, and from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean Sea.[134] All nations, weak and small, appeared to have a role for their

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1988, pp.253-274. Here Whiggism is taken to mean present-centred power-oriented history.

[130] D. Richards, *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe,* (London, 1956), preface vi.

[131] Ibid.

[132] Ibid, table of contents.

[133] Ibid.

[134] A.J. Grant & H. Temperley, *Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries,* (London, 1956), see table of contents.

own sake, more than just being satellites in the affairs of the great powers. The main concern of the book was still the great wars, collisions, alliances and peace treaties, as well as influential intellectual and political movements. However, new central, southern and north-eastern European countries appeared if they played a role of general and not specifically western European importance. To illustrate that it is interesting to compare the treatment of a major theme with which both books dealt quite extensively, to see closely what was the main focus of historical enquiry. The Eastern Question from the first decades of 1800s till the late 1870s offers itself as such an example, since it was present in most European histories written in the thirties and certainly in the two textbooks examined here.

In Richards's book the events from the early attempts at Balkan independence, in the second decade of the nineteenth century, until the last arrangements of the borders with the Congress of Berlin in 1878, were presented as a game between England, Russia, France, Prussia and Turkey. This does not mean that the events leading to the partial liberation of Greece, to the invasion of Syria or the Crimean War were not mentioned. They are mentioned briefly though analytically but their primary significance is considered to be in the ways the great powers take politics in their hands and share power amongst themselves.[135] So there was no commentary on the significance of these historical events for the development of the smaller nations themselves and no real concern with their ability to survive, protected or unprotected by the big powers. Smaller nations are the object of the foreign policy of bigger ones, and the historical conclusions are largely about the latter. The Crimean war for example was exclusively narrated from the point of view of the great powers looking on at the disintegration of the Ottoman empire.[136]

Grant and Temperley's book did not always take the same attitude. The chapters concerning the events in the Balkans up to the late nineteenth century were given more or less from the same point of view as in Richards's book although with more military details.[137] However, after the great powers had made their settlement the writers focused on the way these arrangements worked for the smaller eastern European states as well as the larger European states.[138] Furthermore the changes which occurred in the Balkan nations during the late nineteenth century were scrutinized in an original way, avoiding

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[135] D. Richards, op. cit., pp.193-194.

[136] Ibid, pp.194-210.

[137] A.J. Grant & H. Temperley, op. cit., pp. 202-220.

[138] Ibid, pp.220-223.

the general trend which looked at Balkan populations as generally problematic and focusing instead on the factors which led to Christian revolts in the Balkans, intending to show their reasons for and eventually their right to demand independence for themselves.[139] So there was an analysis of the development of each country in the area, targeting the differences of their populations, which had often been the reason for their varied attitudes towards the forces of occupation.[140] The writers continued with a detailed map of the religious and ethnic groups living in the Balkan peninsula, and at the same time described their relationship with both Russia and the disintegrating Turkey.

Both these books narrated history from the top down. Yet in Grant and Temperley more attention was paid to the historical significances of the smaller nations. Other books of the time seem to suggest that this attention was only due to the most powerful nations and that this was a law of history. In his book on European history H.L.A. Fisher, for example, not only did not analyse the circumstances of smaller nations, but also gave a Britocentric view of the movements of greater states.[141]

B: Pragmatism to Replace Moral Values

The new style of history writing had a different attitude to values such as liberty or the distaste for revolution. What mattered in the new appreciation of history were the real motives behind the events as well as the realistic long-term benefits after them. Richards provided a new appreciation of the French Revolution. His favourite philosopher from the enlightened thinkers was Rousseau, exactly because his thought motivated people to

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[139] In another popular book published in the mid-fifties, for example, which enjoyed wide popularity amongst candidates of the same competence as Grant and Templerley's book, called *From Vienna to Versailles*, by L.C.B. Seaman, we get a typical narration of the same events. This was a book of diplomatic history, specializing in nineteenth century European politics. The chapter covering the same years with the title 'The Crimean War - Causes and Consequences', included few references to the conditions of the Balkan nations before the Crimean war, and these only to explain why the great powers were motivated to intervene. The point of view of the Balkan nations was completely ignored. L.C. Seaman, *From Vienna to Versailles*, (London, 1955), p.23-31.

[140] A.J. Grant & H. Temperley, see chapter on 'Russia and the Eastern Question 1856-86', pp.293-307.

[141] H.A.L. Fisher, *A History Of Europe*, Vol.3, see 'The Crimean War', pp.941-947.

rebel.[142] Although he too disapproved of the bloodshed the Revolution involved, he appreciated the long-term benefits coming out of it:

> How are we to explain this almost incredible French Revolution - this astounding mixture of highest idealism and deepest villainy, resolute courage and contemptible cowardice, breathless reform and streakiest tyranny?.. Yet it must never be forgotten that when the frenzy of violence died, the permanent benefits of reform remained - not democracy, because France had shown herself incapable of it, but equality before the law, administrative reform, fairer taxation, liberated industry and commerce, the foundation of schools, colleges, museums, libraries, and the metric system, the abolition of feudalism and the distribution of feudal land among the peasantry, the transference of the major share in the State from nobles and clergy to the bourgeoisie.[143]

Furthermore he was not going to insist on the ever liberal spirit of English people and politicians. The breaking up of the Congress System offered itself as an excellent moment to describe England intervening for the restoration of liberalism, yet Richards did not succumb to it:

> ...though English historians love to picture Canning, in breaking up the Congress System, as a sort of George the Giant Killer tackling the wicked Russian and Austrian ogres, we must remember that what he was really doing was simply getting back to the ordinary post-war British policy of isolation. We can easily exaggerate England's liberalism if we lose sight of the fact that Castlereagh, for example, was the leading spirit in the Tory Government which approved the Peterloo massacre and ruthlessly opposed all working-class political movements at home. (Canning's 'resistance to foreign domination' did not go so deep, either, as to make him propose to abolish the British Empire, which was founded on it.) England thus destroyed the System a little out of love of 'liberty,' but much more from the typical English desire to avoid Continental obligations and because the Alliance threatened our interests in important and pocket-touching matters, such as trade with the Spanish colonies.[144]

We see then that Richards did not hesitate to be a pragmatist even when he referred to historical facts which dissolved the English liberal myth, or showed the long-term beneficial effects of the French Revolution.[145] Describing the same period, for example, A.J. Grant wrote:

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[142] D. Richards, op. cit., p.8.

[143] Ibid, pp.30-32.

[144] Ibid, p.76.

[145] R. Samuel, 'Grant Narratives', in *History Workshop,* Issue 29, p.123, argued that an anti-heroic national past had flourished in the interwar years which led to the production of history from below. See also 'Continuous national history', in R. Samuel, *Patriotism,*

It was largely through the interference of England, under the direction of Canning, that the cause of liberty triumphed both in the Spanish colonies and in Greece.[146]

In Grant and Temperley's book, the section on the nineteenth century written by Grant promoted in a sophisticated and detailed way views on revolution and the liberty of the English nation similar with the ones he promoted in his survey, analysed earlier in this chapter. However, pragmatism and reason were employed more extensively even by Grant in this book. It was in a sober way that he expressed his doubts about Rousseau, his praise for Napoleon and his eulogies about Canning.[147] It was with Temperley's intervention that the European universe was immensely enlarged to include attitudes to liberty and revolution in nations which were usually referred only as names in the lists of treaties, wars or alliances.[148]

C: Reinforcing the Stereotypes

The origins of the 'modern face' of Europe which was recognizable in textbooks written during the first half of the twentieth century can be found in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Some of the characteristics of the great powers which were built on the older images of these nations were responsible for the formation of the modern world.

Richards' book describing the second half of the nineteenth century dealt with the unification of Italy and Germany, the struggle for power over the lands of the disintegrating Ottoman empire, the struggle between Russia and Poland and the antagonism between Germany and the French Republic. Britain was not included in this history because Britain was considered a world power rather than a European one. The images of Russia, Germany and France were supposed to be examined in an original way, yet new historical developments contributed to the reinforcement of older images.

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op. cit., pp.14-17. However, Richards's book is another version of an anti-heroic national past, while still in the arena of the great powers. Richards was immensely influenced by the horrors of the first World War and this is his way of being anti-heroic.

[146] A.J. Grant, *Outlines of European History* , (London, 1947), p.415.

[147] A.J. Grant & H. Temperley, op. cit., see pp. 10-13, pp.86-89 and pp.133-139.

[148] Ibid, see chapters on 'Nation making in the New Europe' as well as 'World settlement and Nation making in the Near East', pp.438-458.

The overall narration of Russia's presence in European history verified the image of an underdeveloped country, in terms of political institutions and social stratification. By the period of Peter the Great the other European countries had to deal with it, mainly because of its expansionist claims to parts of western Europe and the Balkan countries. The liberal reforms initiated by autocratic Czars were cancelled out throughout the second half of nineteenth century, resulting in the constant frustration of the underprivileged.[149] Richards dealt with the trials of the Russian peoples in an exceptionally extended manner, insisting on the narrow-mindedness of the autocratic leaders which led to various rebellions and finally to the creation of the first Communist state. Poland was only mentioned for the two revolts, in 1830 and 1863, while the several foreign wars were also briefly reported to emphasize the inadequacy of the Czars and their inability to create a liberal European state.[150]

The other two countries with which this book was mainly engaged, France and Germany, were presented as ruthless and corrupted. Apart from the wars between the two empires, the ideas of socialism and their effect in both countries were mentioned, as well as the economic and political scandals, Boulanger and Dreyfus, Bismarck's policy towards the Catholic Church, the Kulturkampf and state socialism. Richards claimed that Germans were the new European force which the pupils should take very seriously:

> Increasingly during the next forty years men thought of Germany, not as a land
> of great musicians and ineffectual philosophers, but as a land of industrialists,
> scientists, and soldiers. A distinctive German spirit became observable -
> confident, thorough, efficient, patriotic and ruthless.[151]

Richards interpreted Bismarck's domestic policy and innovative social welfare measures as the actions of a shrewd statesman who chose the lesser evil:

> too intelligent to rely on purely negative means, he also tried something more
> positive to kill the desire of the working classes for the forbidden fruit. His
> scheme was to introduce small doses of Socialism by the State, in the hope of
> warding off larger concessions - rather as a doctor in the process of vaccination
> injects a mild germ into the system to forestall something more violent.[152]

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[149] D. Richards, op. cit., see particularly chapter XI 'Russia And Poland, 1789-1914', pp.212-238.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Ibid, p.240.

[152] Ibid, p.254.

Richards praised Germany's industrialization, which he credited to Bismark's policies, making it one of the 'workshops of the world'.[153] The abandonment of free trade imposed by Bismarck was a blow for German liberalism and a source of revenue for the government and worked for the protection of the interests of German industries. Richards therefore concluded that Germany under Bismarck, achieved prosperity and industrialization not because of its liberalism, but in spite of it.[154]

[Reproduced by permission of the Proprietors of 'Punch.'

THE BARBER OF BERLIN.

BISMARCK (as Figaro, sings " Largo al Factotum ") :—
" BIZZIMARCK HERE.
BIZZIMARCK THERE.
BIZZIMARCK. BIZZIMARCK EVERYWHERE !!"

The famous ' Factotum's Song ' from Rossini's ' Barber of Seville ' has the chorus " Figaro here, Figaro there, Figaro everywhere. " Bismarck's constant finger in every diplomatic pie is amusingly symbolized here.

Cartoon from D. Richards' book *An Illustrated History of Modern Europe,* **p.257.**

The image of France at this period although certainly that of a great power was not that of the leading nation that it was so often described as, during the nineteenth century. Richards admired it less than Germany, as he described the Paris Commune of 1871, the adventures of the royalist MacMahon and the Republican Constitution, the Boulanger affair, the Panama Scandal, and the Dreyfus affair, to conclude with the positive reforms

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[153] Ibid, p.255.

[154] Ibid.

of the Third Republic.[155] Social, political or economic reforms were not enough to convince him of the supremacy of France, at least as compared with Germany and England.[156]

Grant and Temperley did not concentrate on value judgements of European nations but on their foreign affairs.[157] They were much more eager to analyse the balance of power coming out of the interaction of the European countries than to evaluate the corrupted and the pure, the just and the unjust. In Richards's book, great powers had clearly been the 'producers of history'. The pupils were not advised to consider weaker countries because they were insignificant. Furthermore the writer, by insisting on presenting the main European countries in a stereotyped manner where the Germans were ruthless, the French corrupted, the Polish weak and the Russians aiming to devour the rest of Europe, cultivated a negative culture around the identity of Europe.

Grant and Temperley covered the wars between the European states amongst themselves and with other nations of the world during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries extensively.[158] Yet the theme of the book was not the different nations in action but their adaptation to new political regimes, the spread of ideologies which found more fertile ground in some places than in others and the specific circumstances which made some political tendencies more probable.[159] The writers recognised elements of several contradicting ideologies in many European countries, with some developing as dictatorships and others as democracies. However, many factors contributed to the growing of the different regimes in one way or another and this was not predetermined by fate or the quintessential elements of national character. In this book all Europe and many countries of the world participated in the formation of historical destiny. In that sense, although the great powers still remained the generators of history, stereotypes were more elaborated and conclusions were not simplistic.

Other European historical surveys of the time, which were not written particularly for secondary schools, were moving more or less on the same track. In H.A.L Fisher's European history for example, the Balkans and eastern Europe were under-represented,

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[155] Ibid, p.240.

[156] Ibid, p.250.

[157] Ibid, see chapters on the same countries and same periods, pp.281-293, pp.293-308, pp.322-330.

[158] A.J. Grant & H. Temperley, op. cit., see especially Part IV and Part V.

[159] Ibid, chapter XXXIII is very characteristic, pp.459-503.

while at the same time Germany and France at the end of the nineteenth century despite their efforts for political and social modernisation, remained behind Britain which had achieved liberty.[160] In other books with more specialised subjects, such as Trevelyan's *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, Fisher's *Napoleon* or Watson's *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*, these themes were discussed of course analytically but still using Britain's superior political state as a point of reference.[161]

Conclusively one can claim that the history textbooks published towards the mid-twentieth century and before the Second World War were written by authors determined to break with some quintessential Whiggish traditions. They did not make moral assumptions about the great events of history and on the whole the history of the previous centuries were not written, in any obvious way, in order to elucidate the present. Value judgements were indeed frequent in these textbooks, but the writers presented these as their opinions and analysis rather than the inevitable moral judgement of history. This was obvious in Richards as well as in Grant and Temperley.

Top down history, concentrating on the great powers and great personalities of strong countries who were seen as the generators of history, was still on the agenda. Both the books analysed here mainly targeted the development and influence of bigger nations and the work and policies of great personalities. Grant and Temperley did not challenge this central view but they did examine smaller states and nationalities as minor forces which were nevertheless capable of changing the historical outcome of a period, and did this to a much greater extent than in other books.

The Whiggish patriotic spirit which was prevalent in the first generation of twentieth century textbooks gave way to more pragmatic approaches to histories for schools. Yet no radical changes followed this shift and top down nationalistic history continued to prevail. The first generation of textbooks fitted a society which lived for a few years in the afterglow of a world victory, envisaging itself as a chosen country. The great ideals, the role of character and the civilizing destiny of the British nation, matched the feeling of pupils and teachers immediately after the Second World War. Books written in the light of the First World War remained in use well into the mid-sixties, when it was the cold war which determined intellectual and social culture. A more cynical approach

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[160] H.L.A. Fisher, op. cit., pp.1146-1147.

[161] See G.O.M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi and the Making of Italy*, (London, 1911, 1948), H.L.A. Fisher, *Napoleon*, (London, 1913, 1924), R.W. Seton-Watson, *The Rise of Nationality in the Balkans*, (London, 1917).

concentrating on the survival of the fittest, was then considered more appropriate. History was no longer about promulgating morals and ideals but about turning pupils attention to the pragmatic reasons for historical action such as self interest and conquest.

Although this study cannot define precisely how these books were used, they clearly created some intellectual patterns among history teachers. The British education system, unlike some Continental ones, could of course accommodate teachers who used these books, or others like them, but at the same time offered their pupils alternative interpretations of events. The major ideals emerging from this generation of textbooks are analysed in chapter IX, after the analysis of the textbooks written in the mid-sixties and early seventies.

CHAPTER VIII: TEXTBOOKS 1964-1975

This chapter deals with the themes appearing in the new generation of textbooks which were published in the mid-sixties. Previous historical concepts and prejudices were contested in these new books, which dealt mainly with the late nineteenth and twentieth century in Britain, Europe and the world. During the decade 1965-1975, Modern History became increasingly the most popular examination subject.[1] This study therefore looks at the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries in this generation of textbooks, and their attitudes to the modern and contemporary world, a subject not available in the previous textbooks.

As mentioned in chapter VI, it is interesting to look for European history not exclusively in books of European history but also in books which were to tell the story of the 'Modern World' or, as the trend was, 'The Story of the Twentieth Century'.[2] Furthermore, it is important not to look exclusively at European history, but also to comment on the way the histories of the non-European world were presented too. The search in these books was, as in the previous chapter, for those concepts which emerged as dominant in the broad thematic scale of European and world history. Therefore as notions of modernity were introduced both with the outlook of these new textbooks and with their new subject matter, it is interesting to detect which attitudes really changed and which remained the same. A selection of several themes which appeared to be very illuminating for the attitudes of this generation of textbook authors to history for schools was necessary to draw a picture of these attitudes.

The chapter is divided in two sections. The first examines books published in the early sixties which claimed in their title to deal with Europe, with Britain and in the case of one of them with the rest of the world. It concentrates particularly on the way they dealt with religion, new ideologies and the crises which dramatically changed the history of the twentieth century. The second deals with two books which claimed to deal mainly with the world history of the twentieth century. This section concentrates on the theme of the west as a depository of liberty, as well as the new role of colonialism in the twentieth century. Finally in this part a popular book of 'world history' is included which discussed many of the above themes in an original way and heralded a new era in history books for schools.

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[1] See interviews, p.277.

[2] See chapter VI, p.164.

Section I

Old and New attitudes to the New history

By the mid-sixties the academic historical scene was radically transformed when compared with the history writing of the first half of the twentieth century. The advance of sociology and social anthropology much enhanced the tendency to cease exalting one's country and concentrate instead on what was wrong with it. Although these disciplines by acquiring status came to threaten history in the school curriculum, one could not doubt their tremendous benefit for a new look at history.[3] In the academic world from the last years of the fifties the 'Marxist-Liberal-Radical' school of historiography was in full sway in Britain.[4] By the late sixties and seventies, this school already included leftist historians in the ancient universities and readers in the wider educated public.[5] More specialist subjects were very deliberately scrutinised and radical points of view were becoming established.[6] The widening of popular literacy too produced a new public who enjoyed participating in historical arguments or following the dismantling of the views they had been taught at school.[7] In this context then, it is worth turning to school books to see how radically different they dared to become in this new age.

As mentioned in chapter VI, the books selected to exemplify this period were a sophisticated book, A. Wood, *Europe, 1815-1945,* and a crammer, D. Arnold, *Britain, Europe and the World.*[8] The originality of the one book and the conventionality of the

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[3] See chapter IV, pp.107-114.

[4] To mention but two examples of the new historical books: C. Hill, *Intellectual Origins of English Revolution,* (Oxford, 1965), E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution,* (London, 1962).

[5] P. Kennedy, 'The Decline of Nationalistic History in the West, 1900-1970', *Journal of Contemporary History,* Vol.8 January 1973, pp.92-100.

[6] The pamphlets issued by the Historical Association were very characteristic in introducing new radical ideas on specific historical subjects which had been taught in a traditional way. These pamphlets aimed to foster original opinions on history as a result of new research.

[7] The popularity of A.J.P. Taylor, an academic historian who made many television appearances in the seventies is an example of the interest of the public in scholarly matters and an indication of a wide literacy.

[8] A. Wood, *Europe, 1815-1945,* (London, 1964) and D. Arnold, *Britain, Europe and the World,* (London, 1966).

other are more evident in content than outlook. Wood stated in his preface that his history was going to follow the dictum of the French historian Fenelon, who said that 'the good historian, is the historian who does not belong in any country and in any time'.[9] Without abandoning the traditional historical arrangement of chapters by chronological periods, great war settlements, revolutions and regional divisions, a new thematic fragmentation of the chapters appeared in the contents. The 'Congress of Vienna 1814-15', for example, was followed by chapters on 'Classes and Peoples' and 'Governments and Churches', in first part of the book, while chapters on the diplomatic considerations of this period were followed by those on 'Liberal and Authoritarian Notions of Government' and 'The Romantic Movement and its Influence on Nationalism'.[10] So after the political arrangements of the Congress of Vienna were set out, Wood attempted to give a holistic picture of the social stratification of the peoples of Europe.

Arnold's thematic arrangement was different. He created fourteen sections, which covered subjects from world history but mainly concentrated on British and European history. In the introduction he defined Europe of the 1870s as the centre of the world, pointing out that the previous divisions into three broad linguistic, cultural and religious groups, the Germanic Protestant north, the Roman Catholic south, and the Slav Orthodox east, were not adequate after the advance of the nineteenth century, when nationalism had become the main force determining European relationships.[11] His Europe included eastern Europe, central Europe and western Europe, with political structures including inefficient centralized and autocratically ruled empires, such as Russia and the Ottoman Empire, and the small independent Balkan nations, empires with a parliamentary constitution, such as the German and Austro-Hungarian empires and monarchies with parliamentary constitutions based on a limited franchise, such as Great Britain and France, Italy, the Iberian peninsula, the Low Countries, Scandinavia and Switzerland.

A: New Attitudes to Old Concepts and Old Attitudes to New Concepts

Both these writers included in their universe areas of Europe which other histories used to neglect, but they did that in order to tell a different story. In Wood's book, the interpretations of the social reality of the different countries or greater regions of Europe were related to geographical and administrative considerations, rather than only the

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[9] A. Wood, op. cit., preface v.

[10] Ibid, see table of contents.

[11] D. Arnold, op. cit., Introduction.

distinct social strata which were formed by the beginning of the nineteenth century.[12] Geographical, economic, social, administrative and national factors mingled in this history book to show the plurality and diversity of social phenomena in Europe.[13]

Religion was an old familiar concept used to indicate the identity of the peoples of Europe. In Wood's book, religion was examined according to the major dogmas of nineteenth century Europe.[14] Catholic countries were mainly mentioned when the power of the church had been seriously threatened. Protestant countries were examined as a separate group, as were the Orthodox Christians of eastern Europe. Wood concentrated on the relationship between the church and the state, which revived during that period after the 'laxity and secularism of the eighteenth century.'[15] He wrote about the Anglican church's national and local monopoly in Great Britain. This was more problematic than in Scandinavia, since in Britain there were large numbers of Nonconformists, while in Scandinavia state churches catered from the majority Lutherian population.[16] A similar example was the treatment of the significance of the church in Russia, which by the beginning of nineteenth century had to accommodate not only its own population which had been largely Orthodox, but also to protect the Orthodox Christian populations of the Balkan nations who were rebelling against the Turk.[17] He also discussed religious tolerance, with the example of the persecution of the Jews, a religion which is hardly mentioned in other European histories despite the presence of 10 million Jews dispersed through Europe at that time.[18]

Wood does not deal with the classification and evaluation of religions, as the case was in the big surveys of the first decades of the century. Christian religion was not used to denote stages of civilizing achievement, but in order to examine the relations between the state and the people in a home or international context. Furthermore there was no ranking of the Christian sects with Protestantism in a favourable position. Religion was examined through its historical function and not in the Whiggish way as of a measure of national character. Thus other religions such as Judaism and Islam were equally able to take a role in this book.

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[12] A. Wood, op. cit., see chapter on 'Classes and People', pp.17-28.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Ibid, see chapter on 'Governments and Churches', pp.28-43.

[15] Ibid, p.40.

[16] Ibid, p.39.

[17] Ibid, p.40

[18] Ibid, pp.41-42.

Another example which shows the writer's intention to see history in an original way was the way he treated an artistic movement such as Romanticism. Unlike other European histories which reserved a few pages at the end of the book for the arts, Wood presented Romanticism as the quintessential artistic movement which gave European nations a common ethos. He claimed that the Romantics influenced the most characteristic political European movement of that century, that is nationalism. Because the unification of nations became the most important achievement of nineteenth century Europe, Wood provided his readers with an analysis of the effect of an artistic movement on the philosophers, political thinkers and eventually politicians and peoples of Europe.[19] This book examined European history by looking at the structure of the various societies, not using exclusively the criterion of the dominance of the fittest, the most civilized, the most democratic, or most affluent, but paying attention to the diverse conditions that make societies so different from one another, whether geographical, social, political or racial.

This pattern was not to be followed by other books which had a modern outlook and claimed to be original. Arnold, provided an old interpretation of the twentieth century Europe and what he calls 'the world'. Because the north-west part of Europe was the first to be industrialised it produced concepts such as liberalism, socialism as a counter ideology, and aggressive nationalism.[20] Twentieth century history was determined by the gradual industrialization, first of Europe and then of the world, which stimulated the forces of liberalism and socialism as well as the older notion of nationalism, transforming old rural societies into urban ones.[21] The writer at this point defined amongst other things the point of view from which he studied the rest of the world, which was to deal with those aspects of their history which were products of European industrialisation. Thus the relations of non-European countries with stronger European countries were central to the writer's interest and not the aspects of their histories outside that.[22] The historical domination of north west Europe in this book underlay the variety of subjects of European and world histories which he selected to be treated in independent chapters. Older

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[19] Ibid, pp.49-53.

[20] D. Arnold, op. cit., pp.5-6.

[21] Ibid, p.6.

[22] Ibid, the two chapters on China and Japan are very characteristic. Chinese history of the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries was narrated from the angle of China's efforts to confront the west, and the history of Japan of the same period was narrated as its decision to imitate the west, pp.326-336.

attitudes and themes thus appeared again in the context of the twentieth century. Imperialism was one of the most interesting.

The British Empire from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century was extensively examined.[23] Arnold argued that the Crown symbolised the unity of the British Empire, even for the self-governing colonies, since they voluntarily celebrated major royal anniversaries.[24] He regretted the fact that the prime ministers of the self-governed colonies rejected Joseph Chamberlain's proposal, when Colonial Secretary in the 1870s, to establish a federal Empire. In any case:

> ...Britain's greatest contribution to the world has been the formation of a voluntary association of nations bound together by common traditions and interests...

He argued that amongst the economic and political reasons which caused the decline of imperialism was the 'Idea of Service', that is the sense of duty felt by many Britons towards the underprivileged peoples of the world. The fact that many Britons went to these remote places and preached Christianity, provided medical services, education, justice and 'efficient administration' contributed to the general emancipation of these people who could now stand for themselves:

> ..the peoples of India and Africa were brought into contact with British ways of life and thought, and consequently adopted British ideas about Liberty and Nationalism and adapted them to their own circumstances in the twentieth century.[25]

This is the modern version of the traditional idea of the British Empire. Other reasons to colonise such as the extension of capitalism and the strength of Britain's navy during the nineteenth century are given as well, but the British nature and qualities are emphasized as indispensable for beneficial colonialism in the modern textbooks as they had been in the older ones. Even the distinctions between different types of colonies survived in this book. Thus Canada, Australia and New Zealand, 'achieved responsible government' mainly because their populations were almost entirely of British descent - Canadians being more problematic since a large part of the population had originally come from France - while Ireland and South Africa fought for independence at the

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[23] Ibid, see chapter 'Empire into Commonwealth', pp.242-270.

[24] Ibid, p.242.

[25] Ibid, p.244.

beginning of the twentieth century, because of their 'traditional animosity with Britain' and not because of their commitment to liberty.[26]

Twentieth century British imperialism involved ever more complicated governing arrangements. Self-governed colonies, mandated territories, protected states and chartered companies all made up parts of what had been a solid empire. Arnold claimed that in most cases colonies' attempts to become independent were approved by the British.[27] Occasionally he was willing to admit that 'the British were slow to take seriously the demands for political liberty which they unintentionally stimulated' and although he considered the sense of superiority which the British retained towards other peoples of the world, he feels that 'this arrogant racism was accompanied by a sense of obligation towards the native peoples.'[28] In this way the sense of service, the outcome of the distinctive national character, was the most prominent concept to be remembered.

B: Crises and the Survival of Liberty

Political crises and the demolition of democracy had always offered themselves for historical rhetoric. The totalitarian regimes during the interwar period are no exception. Wood examined fascism as part of a wider European political phenomenon, instead of focusing on the Italian and later German regimes of the interwar period.

> ...the extravagances of Fascism went far beyond the spirit of nineteenth-century monarchy or Socialism. If anything, it was a type of Bonapartism carried out with all the technical resources of the twentieth century and inspired by ugly fanaticism; the concentration on the personality of the leader, the mobilization of every kind of theatrical device to convey a sense of power, the creation of private armies with their own uniforms and insignia, the mammoth youth movements, and the stimulation of an aggressive nationalism - all were like a perversion of nineteenth century romanticism, a practical realization of those wilder emotions fostered by a lunatic fringe in the years before the outbreak of the war.[29]

Wood dealt with the rise of the Nazis and Hitler in Germany and the fascists under Mussolini in Italy more extensively than other dictators, placing them however in the same political spectrum as the authoritarian rule of Primo de Rivera of Spain, General Carmona of Portugal, Puldiski of Poland and the later dictators of Balkan and Baltic

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[26] Ibid, pp.246-249.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid, p.271.

[29] A. Wood, op. cit., p.395.

states. In every stage of this complicated historical period where most European countries were not only in sociopolitical and economic turmoil, but in an ideological one as well, Wood managed to bring out the underlying forces of European history, after examining in a holistic manner the different regions of Europe. In this history the great powers were only a few of the dramatis personae, and not always the most important ones. The readers were invited to consider the internal affairs of countries which were not to be the winners, but had a great role to play in European affairs. Wood's narration was cross-national, aiming to make pupils sensitive not only to what happened in the countries which were stigmatized as totalitarian, but to the totalitarian aspects of most European regimes.

Arnold gave a different view of totalitarianism in Europe. He was concerned to indicate that it was almost inevitable for some European countries to have dictatorships during the thirties, as opposed to others where such a thing would be most improbable.

> After the First World War parliamentary democracy was fashionable in Europe. The War had been won by an alliance of democracies, and the autocratically ruled Empires of East and Central Europe had been defeated. Consequently parliamentary constitutions were widely adopted by both old and new nations, and most of Europe came to be ruled by parliamentary governments. But by 1939 democracy survived only in the North-West. This was partly because many other areas of Europe still had a peasant economy, together with a low standard of living and widespread illiteracy, and thus lacked the conditions which enabled democracy to develop naturally. Another reason was that many constitutions were quite unsuited to the conditions in which they had to operate....Furthermore, the right to vote every few years gives a man little control over his government, and consequently people in countries which lacked a democratic tradition rapidly became impatient and disillusioned with parliamentary rule, especially when its achievements were small.[30]

He thus suggested it was almost inevitable that the non-north-western populations of Europe would be led by dictatorships. Although a rational explanation was provided, Arnold implied there was an historical inevitability about these events. Unlike Wood, who saw authoritarian elements in all European countries as a result of some historical phenomena of the thirties, some of which ended in the consolidation of totalitarian regimes, for Arnold this story was told from the point of view of those who succeeded in maintaining democratic institutions because historically they deserved to. He imposed a deterministic view of historical events, which promoted his own preconceptions rather than the history of the countries he was dealing with. When discussing the regimes of the Baltic states in the interwar period, this is obvious:

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[30] Ibid, p.174.

...Esthonia and Latvia maintained democracy longer, but their fate reflects what seemed to many people the inevitable course of history of the thirties: their internal difficulties were increased by the problems created by the great depression; the example of authoritarian movements and governments abroad encouraged the development of their own Communist and Fascist Parties; and faced with the threat of force the only answer seemed to be force. Esthonia became a dictatorship in 1934 and Latvia in 1935 in order to avoid going to either authoritarian extreme. Paradoxically the only alternative to dictatorship seemed to be dictatorship.[31]

This historical appreciation is not far removed from that of Richards or Grant, who largely allowed the preconceptions they had about the character and nature of several countries to determine their historical judgement of periods of crisis. Despite the rational explanation there was an alternative to dictatorship unless you shared the writer's strong conviction that the old western European democracies were the only true heirs of parliamentary democracies. The fittest in other words not only survived but their history determined their survival, if we are to believe Arnold.

Section II

The Legacy of the Twentieth Century History for Schools

The next generation of textbooks involved the examination of the twentieth century and the examination of world history. This section looks at two photographic textbooks, C.F Strong's *The Story of the Twentieth Century* and L.E. Snellgrove's *The Modern World Since 1870*. It is interesting to examine the way they dealt with two familiar themes which appeared to be of major importance: the way the 'Democratic West' emerged as the guardian of world liberty and the new role of colonialism in the late twentieth century.[32] Writing the history of the post-1945 world offered a way of looking again at contemporary issues and hopefully abandoning the traditional convictions which previous textbooks were so influenced by. However, this new look on contemporary issues could not be cut off completely from the standard views of the previous generations.

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[31] D. Arnold, op. cit., p.178

[32] The phrase 'Democratic west' is used in both Strong's and Snellgrove's books.

A: The Democratic West and the Resonance of Liberty

Both these books concentrated on the polarisation of the post-war world into two spheres of influence. The cold war more than any other theme was central to their historical interpretation. In Strong's book 'The United States and the Democratic West' was to be contrasted with 'Soviet Russia and the Communist East'. The American regime was analysed as a democratic parliamentary one, and so America became the agent of democracy in Europe. The United States were for the wrecked post-war Europe the agents of wealth and security. In this context, the Marshall Plan and the establishment of the North Atlantic Treaty confirmed America's role as the friend of Europeans, while at the same time this role was constantly contrasted with the moves of the enemy, though it was never explicitly described as such, Communist Russia.[33]

> Through Marshall Aid and NATO the United States became the leading force in defence of what we may call the Democratic West against the spread of Communism to Western Europe and some other parts of the world.[34]

Communism was undoubtedly for this book the enemy of democracy and whatever the west stood for. According to Strong some democracies remained democracies despite the danger that their Communist parties entailed for them: 'In Italy the new Republic, in spite of a strong Communist party, remains true to Parliamentary government.'[35]

The spread of Communism in Europe and in China was a misfortune for the peoples of these countries and a danger for the rest of the world, according to Strong. He concluded this chapter with a call for awareness of the dangers of Communism:

> As Communist China develops her enormous resources she may become even more powerful than the USSR, and so a greater danger to the democratic nations of the West. Therefore the peace of the world may well depend on what happens in China during the next few years.[36]

In this book, the portrait of the post-war world seemed in the first instance amplified, but if examined more closely many of the old elements were still there. North-western societies were democratic, while eastern ones were not. The centre of gravity had moved

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[33] Ibid, chapter 8, 'The United States and the Democratic West', pp.103-116.

[34] Ibid, p.110.

[35] Ibid, p.111.

[36] Ibid, p.129.

from Europe, and particularly Britain, but only to the United States which was seen as an achievement of European and British civilization. The United States were seen yet again as an amplifier of what Europe had stood for throughout history.[37] The conclusion to the story of the post-war world came with the establishment of the United Nations. The United Nations was to secure peace for the world but this proved a false hope: 'since the Communist East showed that its policies were utterly opposed to those of the USA, the leading state in the Democratic West'.[38]

The democratic west was presented as peaceful, the place where all nations ideally should strive to be. The United States, the leading nation of the democratic west, stood as another Athens, to democratise the world in the same way that Grant saw it doing during the twenties. The cold war provided the writer with a clear-cut scheme of villains and heroes according to the affiliations of each country and he was correspondingly willing or unwilling to look at the misappropriation of liberties. The democratic west was to vouchsafe the idea of democracy in the same way that England had done in the past. In different historical environments, all the other nations needed to do was look at the west for the survival of the European principle par excellence - liberty.

B: Colonisation, Decolonization and the Accomplishment of the Civilizing Mission

The image of imperialism in the histories of the post-war world is particularly interesting. New historical values of community, solidarity and achievement, as well as respect for the self-determination of other nations, were contrasted with the civilizing mission of the British nation which now had to find a new orientation. In Strong's book, Britain occupied a special position. In a chapter entitled 'Britain and the New Commonwealth' the main emphasis was on domestic life in Britain and an appraisal of the welfare state.[39] Britain's image was that of a 'special' privileged state. It saved both liberty, parliamentary democracy and monarchy, while it created a state working for the people. Moreover, it increased the responsibility of the citizens who were active in their small communities and on whom the proper functioning of democracy and the welfare state rested. More privilege was given to Britons because for them: 'There is a community wider than the neighbourhood and the nation, to which all Britons belong, and that is the British Commonwealth'.[40]

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[37] See chapter VII, p.202

[38] C.F. Strong, op. cit., p.176.

[39] Ibid, pp.133-138.

[40] Ibid, p.138.

Britain was said to be 'training its colonial peoples to gradually take a share in their own government' and 'offered them the choice of a looser bondage with her through the Commonwealth'.[41] However, Snellgrove attempted an original account of colonisation for the first time. He wrote from the point of view of the colonized population as well as the colonizers. The colonizers were not only there to civilize, he dared to claim:

> The men who landed and took the risks, who died of disease or sunstroke, varied as much as their governments. There were good men who went as missionaries because they felt they had a duty to teach Christianity to primitive pagans...There were administrators who went to serve their country, believing they were bringing order into the lives of unfortunate natives... There were men who went for love of adventure, and there were those who desired influence and power. Probably there were unknown thousands who went for several of these reasons. Even the best men did not pretend that it was all for the benefit of the natives.[42]

The writer was willing to show the negative and aggressive aspect of European colonisation, as well as its beneficial side, depicting very vividly the atrocities of Europeans as slave traders or oppressive administrators.[43] However, when he was explaining the reasons and the means of the African revolt, he turned again to the west, as the source of the true liberal spirit, as if the ideal of liberty or the desire for independence could never have been indigenous to Africa. Snellgrove believed that it was Woodrow Wilson's principle of self determination which gave hope to educated Africans.[44] Their ability to appreciate this came from Europe and more specifically England:

> The key to freedom lay in the hands of the few men and women who had been to Western Universities. Sitting in cafes and lecture rooms in London and elsewhere these people had discussed free choice and democratic government. They contrasted such European principles with the attitude of the colonial governments they knew. Where were the freedoms listed in the Atlantic Charter? Certainly not in their homeland. Were such ideals meant only for white men? Such questions led some to fight against the white man's rule when they returned home.[45]

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[41] Ibid, p.141.

[42] L.E. Snellgrove, op. cit., p.31.

[43] Ibid, pp.25-33, and pp.262-274.

[44] Ibid, p.262.

[45] Ibid, p.264.

Trying to interpret the relative backwardness of Latin America, the writer contrasted the forces of Protestantism and Catholicism.[46]

> The bustling Protestant English settler loved business and industry. His ships voyaged all over the world. His miners tore rich resources from the earth. He brushed the Red Indians aside, peopled a continent, spanned it with railways and rapidly increased both his populations and his wealth....The Catholic settler on the other hand was less interested in getting rich. He intermarried with the natives. He tilled and loved the soil. His population did not swell to fill the vast spaces of his continent.[47]

It is not clear from this who was right. The following lines make clear whether or not 'brushing aside the Red Indians' was justified:

> The English settlers governed themselves from the start. To them free election and free speech were the very breath of life. The Spanish colonists came from a country ruled directly by a king and dominated by a landowning aristocracy. They reproduced the same kind of political situation in South America.[48]

So the aggressive profit-minded Protestants achieved free government while the land-loving Catholic intermarrying with the natives established oppressive government. It was left to the brilliant pupil as well as the conscientious teacher to raise questions about who this Protestant freedom benefited. Snellgrove did point out that the United States did not necessarily apply the Monroe Doctrine intervening instead in the Caribbean and Latin America to support 'brutal anti-communist' dictators.

Still this chapter was not about Protestants and Catholics but about Communist versus western or democratic predominance. Latin America and the Indian subcontinent were cited as impoverished multiracial regions which would be vulnerable to Communism. The struggle against this still went on, but although Communism remained the enemy, the US's image was gradually becoming less angelic.[49]

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[46] Ibid, pp.310-318.

[47] Ibid, p.310.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid, 310-318.

C: A Change in Content

Watson, in his book *Success in Twentieth Century World Affairs,* displayed special concern with matters of sociopolitical interest, as well as the authenticity and function of institutions which were supposed to be taken for granted. His treatment of democracy, its use and abuse in many parts of the world, is especially interesting. Chapters on the 'Civil Wars - and the problem of minorities' portrayed post-colonial Africa, India, Middle East and Northern Ireland as they struggled to survive amid a multitude of problems, without lamenting the partition of the colonial masters and their good government. Chapters on 'Race Relations' tackled the difficulties faced by countries with mixed race populations, in and outside Europe.[50] African and Asian immigration to Britain, for example, is examined in detail.[51] Chapters on the society of the seventies made a serious attempt to discuss modern society in a book for schoolchildren.[52]

Watson introduced post-war society as a proper textbook subject. The American society he described was that of the McCarthyte witch hunt and the great social disparity between rich and poor, the grave discrimination against black Americans, the reluctance of the American political establishment to pursue welfare schemes and its aggressive foreign policy.[53] He challenged the myth of consensus in Britain and claimed that the two major political parties of Britain, although they had been operating on common ground accepting great responsibilities for economic management and public welfare but avoiding the extremes of doctrinaire policies, were often deeply divided in areas as varied as education, race relations, taxation and labour problems.[54] He described the shifts in alliances in post-war Europe, as France kept aloof from the USA and closer to the USSR and China than other European countries, while at the same time Germany and France were reconciled in the European Community.[55]

Watson reversed the traditional celebration of the 'Democratic West'. Watson's west was democratic, but not necessarily for everyone, it was independent, but not always respecting the independence of others, it was pacifist but that would not exclude aggressive foreign policy, especially with the excuse of the 'restoration of democratic

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[50] J. Watson, *Success in Twentieth Century World Affairs,* (London, 1974), pp.323-339.

[51] Ibid, pp.333-339.

[52] Ibid, pp.356-364.

[53] Ibid, pp.193-201 . Snellgrove has also mentioned McCarthy's policies.

[54] Ibid, pp.201-203.

[55] Ibid, pp.193-227.

institutions'. Yet the steady reference to the strongest European countries as the generators of history was present even in this book.

The above books represent the first generation of modern British history textbooks of the second half of the twentieth century. How 'Whiggish' would they be considered according to Butterfield's rating? The majority of these writers were aware of the new historiographical trends of their time. This is obvious in Wood who structured his book like one of the Annales school rather than a traditional British textbook. It is also the case with Snellgrove, Arnold and Watson, who aspired to the Marxist school basing their analyses mostly on economic and social factors rather than character or chance and power as the previous generation did. But was that enough to protect them from making value judgements, putting forward present-centred interpretations, or concentrating on the history of the winners as if they were history itself?

As we have seen none of the books were totally free from these characteristics. They were definitely a long distance away from Warner and Marten's time when history was to teach pupils a moral lesson. Yet they still revealed a concern with the importance of character, a partial belief in the inevitability of historical circumstances which predetermine the fate of nations and the arrogance of the winners. The repeat editions of these books which at this time the British textbook market could afford kept their content updated and well-informed with the latest historical and historiographical developments. Books from the late sixties were different from those of the early seventies. We see that Strong and Snellgrove were very optimistic about the democratic west. Watson, writing in the years of a major challenge to the western capitalist economies, was more sceptical of it. Historiographically too the optimism of that period rather exceeded reality. In the academic world there was a sense that history was reaching its ultimate democratisation. P.M. Kennedy argued in 1973 that '...The growing professionalism and democratisation of the historical world are perhaps merely reflections of far deeper trends in twentieth century society...' .[56] It is also a sign of the rapidity with which the historiographical changes of the sixties became standard views that he wondered how the nationalistic histories of the beginning of the century could still do so well in the academic world.[57] The majority of school textbooks produced at that time could stand as examples if not of nationalistic histories, at least histories which persistently made the selections which would justify the western European nations as saviours of other nations since they were the most developed in the world.

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[56] P.M. Kennedy, op. cit., p.99.

[57] Ibid, p.87.

It took more than another decade for a critique of the alleged anti-Whig history written in the recent past to appear. Those who tried to avoid Whiggism were proved to be Whig themselves in another direction. Wilson and Ashplant in two consecutive articles argued that the historian is bound to make selections and selections necessarily carry a value judgement similar to the one Butterfield was denying. Since 'all historiography rests upon acts of choice' and there could never be a neutral historical work because any enquiry into any given aspect of the past derives from some evaluation of the present, historians were condemned to present-centredness.[58]

In other words, these two historians reminded us to be aware of different selections which tell different stories, of great value but still selected stories. The decline of nationalistic history during the seventies for example and the wider democratization of the historical profession was not enough to end any sort of 'Whiggism' whether in moral judgements, value judgements, present-centredness or conspicuous selections. School history textbooks demonstrated this, even in the period when it was most advantageous to challenge established historical views. Even if not directly nationalist, textbooks still appraised the common principles which were alleged to unite or distinguish different groups of people, and judged between them. In the case of this generation of textbooks prejudice was a chameleon which could hide in a Marxist environment as well as it could hide in a traditional one.

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[58]A. Wilson, T.G. Ashplant, 'Whig History and Present-Centred History' op.cit., and A.Wilson, T.G. Ashplant, 'Present Centred History and the Problem of Historical Knowledge', op. cit.

CHAPTER IX: LIBERTY AND THE DOMINATION OF THE WINNER

This chapter aims to discuss in a comprehensive way the dominant images which dictated meaning within these textbooks. It aims to compare and contrast the historical images which these textbooks established for Britain, Europe and the world, and in so doing put into perspective the relevance of the concepts of European history with which they were dealing. To do that it employs a comparative method where these dominant concepts are contrasted with images which come from general European historiography. Although the literature on European history is immense the comments written on the point of view these books employ are very few and sporadic. An example of similar general concepts which can be found in European historiography on the history of Europe was given in a new book on Europe by Norman Davies.[1] Davies has produced a dozen of these concepts, which he named 'variants', and claimed that they can be found in the most influential books of European history written both in western and eastern Europe. One of the aims of this chapter is thus, following the analysis of Davies's concepts, to show how much British textbooks were aligned and how much they have been differentiated from the rest of European historiography. Another aim is to define the unifying ideas which were according to the writers indispensable to the British character and distinct from other European cultures. The ideas which brought British history and British destiny into perpetual contradiction with that of the other European countries, the ideas which defined the identity of the nation according to this contradiction, are at the centre of this enquiry.

Contesting the Variants

One of the first Davies's variants is Christian civilization. Davies has classified Christian civilization and its alleged supremacy over other religions, as portrayed in most western books. Thus Protestant supremacy amongst the Christian sects was stressed as an intrinsic element of western culture, which identified itself with power and democracy. A product of this supremacy which had its origins in the sixteenth century was the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant variant (WASP), giving the western Protestant Christian a new political dimension in twentieth century writing.

Davies also noted that other European history books projected the prominence of French civilization ever since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with the lasting influence of the secular philosophy of the Enlightenment and the ideals of the Revolution

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[1] N. Davies, *Europe: A History*,(Oxford, 1996), pp.22-25.

of 1789. The imperial variant of western civilization which was based on the unbounded self-confidence of the leading imperial powers, namely Germany, England and France, and their alleged God-given right to rule over others due to their supposedly superior cultural, economic and constitutional development, was another dominant image. Other books, mostly those written in east European countries, under the control of Soviet ideology, stressed the premise conceived initially by Marx and Engels, that the precocity of the west would result in early decadence and revolution.

Other books, continued Davies, dealt with the German variant which after the First World War saw Germany as destined to control central Europe (Mittleuropa). During the Nazi period these books added more of Aryan racism, pagan mythology and anti-Bolshevism. Finally, the Euro variant and the formation of the Little Europe was according to Davies the second by-product of the cold war, including Franco-German reconciliation, the rejection of overseas empires, the prosperity of the EEC and the desire to limit the influence of the Anglo-Saxons.

The variant of Christian civilization accrued meaning throughout the sample of textbooks analysed in this thesis, of all generations and subjects. It can be further categorised in three more layers. Christians were better than barbarians and later better than Islam, Catholics were the universal Christians and Protestants were the most morally sound Christians, the Christians that history chose to favour. Already from the first generation of textbooks examined here, we see that Christians were constantly identified with the most essential characteristics of European civilization and more specifically western European civilization.

In Warner, Marten and Muir's book we see these stages clearly. The Anglo-Saxons abandoned the wilderness after they were baptised. They later became autonomous and nationally conscious when they broke free from the tyranny of the corrupted Pope. The adoption of Protestantism emancipated them politically and liberated them from any foreign dependency. The Irish who did not do the same were condemned to live in subjugation as an inferior nation. At the same time the Scots even though they had been engaged in numerous collisions with the English were England's moral equals, and their national aspirations were to be respected. Thus Scotland was not conquered by England but united with her.[2]

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[2] See chapter VII, p.199.

Grant adopts the same classification in his European history. Christians were different from all the barbaric races infiltrating Europe, and their common religious language was the second unifying factor between the peoples of Europe, after the Roman law. It was the first Protestant communities, however, who established democratic institutions. Great works of art and science, which in previous centuries had come from a variety of nations and factors, such as ancient Greek thought or the Renaissance, were bequeathed to the Protestant west, since after the sixteenth century it was western Protestants who developed towards political progress and material affluence. The decline of the ancient and medieval civilizations which were by that time predominantly Catholic or Orthodox only proved why the north-western states of Europe were to be the masters of the world, economically, militarily and technologically. It is characteristic that both these big surveys ignored Orthodox Christianity almost entirely, and when it was mentioned, for example in Grant's description of Peter the Great's Russia it was to be identified with oriental despotism and corruption.[3] Orthodoxy though, has a better chance in the hands of Temperley and Wood, who analysed the role of the Orthodox churches in Russia and the Balkan countries in the preservation and formation of their national consciousness and in repelling Islam from the boundaries of Europe, even after the long subjugation of these populations under the Ottoman Empire.[4]

The image of the Protestant as the winner of history was not confined to the old generation of textbooks. Snellgrove's textbook in the late sixties described the 'bustling Protestant English settler' as justified by history no matter how violent he needed to become, since he managed to master alien cultures and succeeded in making them work for his own benefit. The suspicion of foreign culture, the reluctance of the Protestants to be influenced by other local values, unlike Catholics, was one of the factors which contributed to their strength and purity as agents of true civilization. This was true for Warner and Marten, who wrote their book in 1911, as much as for Snellgrove in 1968.[5] Jews were almost entirely absent from all these European and world histories, with the exception of Anthony Wood's book, while Islam was the religious enemy of Christianity and therefore entirely non-European.[6]

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[3] Ibid, p.193.

[4] See A. Wood, op. cit., pp.40-41 and A.J. Grant, H. Temperley, op. cit., chapters on Balkans.

[5] See chapter VII on G.T. Warner, C.H.K. Marten, D. Muir, op. cit. See also chapter VIII on L.E. Snellgrove' textbook, p.227.

[6] See A. Wood, op. cit., pp.41-42.

The French variant has been undermined if not severely criticised in most British textbooks. Britain has always seen France as its historical and historiographical competitor, and this is obvious throughout this sample of textbooks. They almost entirely ignored the alleged supremacy of French civilization, which gained prominence in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as expressed in the secular philosophy of the Enlightenment and the ideals of the Revolution of 1789, and the alleged universality of French language and culture in eastern Europe. In most cases French culture was compared and contrasted with English to prove who was the real mother of liberty, and who had the most influential revolution in the contemporary world.

Warner, Marten and Muir dealt with the resonance of the French Revolution in England and the rest of Europe. The image was that of a disease which was stopped in time by liberal England. French democratic ideas did not even qualify to be compared with those of England, because of the rupture of law and order and their inability to bring change through reform not revolution.[7] The same is true in Grant, who could only see the negative aspects of the French philosophers of the late eighteenth century who wanted to destroy society, rather than reform it. The movement of French philosophers could be credited only for its humanitarian ideals and those thinkers who were sober enough to demand gradual change. The French Revolution itself caused unnecessary strain and turmoil which could have been avoided, according to Grant.[8]

Richards gave a different account of the legacy of the Enlightenment and the spirit of the French Revolution. He celebrated the desire to fight for liberty and equality, but when it came to a final appraisal of the historical phenomenon of the revolution, even he was confused about its virtues. What counted in the end were the benefits of the reforms which were to remain with France. France had shown itself not capable of democracy, but still the reforms would propel it towards a better future. At the end of the nineteenth century, despite the economic prosperity and the numerous schemes of modernization which were pioneering for their times, Richards still found France politically corrupted, and therefore responsible for its defeat by Germany.[9] On the other hand the universality of French language and culture amongst the European elites was not discussed by the majority of these books. This was partly because they did not deal extensively with the cultural aspirations of eastern European countries anyway, and partly because when they did, they linked its culture to indigenous factors.

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[7] See chapter VII, attitudes to revolution pp.194-198.

[8] Ibid.

[9] D. Richards, op. cit., p.241.

The later generation of textbooks, with some significant exceptions, treated France in general as a country with an intrinsic tendency towards extremist political options. Anthony Wood spoke without any hesitation of the significance of the legacy of the French Revolution in the course of European history.[10] Arnold and Snellgrove emphasized that France only marginally avoided totalitarianism during the interwar period, while the post-war period was marked by its will to dominate the newly formed European Economic Community and block the way for its eternal competitor, Britain.[11] Watson was yet another exception who placed France amongst the successful democracies of Europe at the time when democratic institutions were most vulnerable in all European states.[12] After all the revolution which had the most lasting effect on world history was the industrial revolution, which was to be the historiographic counter revolution in the British tradition.[13] From Warner and Marten, to Arnold, Strong and Snellgrove, there is the belief that what brought real change to the life of Europe and later the world were not the rebellions for political emancipation which anyway were perceived in different ways in different areas of the world, but technological change and the industrial mode of economic organisation. This revolution was presented as a more universal revolution.

The imperial variant, was a major underlying variant for all the books of this sample. Most British textbooks claimed that Britain was the purest and mightiest imperial nation, even more than other leading imperialists such as France and Germany. In Warner, Marten and Muir book, this was exemplified time and again in all stages of British history. Britain was to colonise and educate, first the other nations of the island and then the world at large. Imperialism was the most integrated British virtue, which was pursued in the various alien territories for philanthropic reasons more than anything else. British

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[10] A. Wood, op. cit., pp.1-7.

[11] L.E. Snellgrove, op. cit., 318-322 and D. Arnold, op. cit., pp.216-221.

[12] J. Watson, op. cit., pp.49-51.

[13] J.L. and B. Hammonds, *The Town Labourer, 1760-1832: The New Civilization*, (London, 1917). The Hammonds argued that the industrial revolution separated England from her past as completely as the political revolution has separated France from her past. Quoted in D. Cannadine, 'The Present and the Past of the English Industrial Revolution, 1880-1980', in *Past and Present*, No. 103, May 1984, pp131-172. Cannadine in this article demonstrates four phases of the uses of the industrial revolution in twentieth century economic history. These uses make clear the inevitability of present-centredness in history.

settlers were traders and educators, not conquerors as the other Europeans were. This was the reason for their success, in the economic as well as the cultural sector. The writers firmly stated that Britain, through imperialism, taught the world the art of government, and this was its greatest contribution to the world.

The European histories by Grant, Grant and Temperley, Richards and Wood, did not include imperialism as an essential theme of European history. They mentioned it when there was a major conflict or war, but they did not develop a special view on European imperialism. However, the theme of imperialism became essential in the later world history textbooks. Arnold, Strong, Snellgrove and Watson all devoted special chapters to the new image of imperialism as it was developed during the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[14] Arnold lamented the loss of the empire and despite the problems which the dependent territories would have faced if they had remained attached to the mother country, he could still see some benefits which were lost with the advance of the twentieth century. He believed, with the writers of the beginning of the century, that Britain's contribution to the world was good government and imperialism was her chance to demonstrate that.

Strong looked at the new Commonwealth not only as a loss but as an opportunity to speak on Britain's generosity in giving away free governments for the peoples of the world. He emphasized the consensual way in which Britain like a mother let her children go after she was sure they could survive independently. But the blood relations still lived on, therefore the citizens of Britain did not belong only to their neighbourhood and their nation, but to a wider community across continents.[15]

Snellgrove of all these writers was the most determined to tell the pupils the unpleasant truths of imperialism, which had not been overtly commented on in textbooks before. He spoke of the exploitation of local populations and wealth by the Europeans, who imposed their will in these places by the use of force, and at the same time showed maximum hypocrisy by presenting the whole mission as compatible with the values of Christianity and philanthropy. However, at the same time even Snellgrove, as we have seen, stood in admiration in front of the Protestant settler who could kill and win and make the world work for his own prosperity. He also described the desire for independence as one offered

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[14] C.F. Strong, op. cit., pp.130-154, D. Arnold, op. cit., 91-97 and pp.242-276, L.E. Snellgrove, op. cit., pp.25-45, pp.148-160 and pp. 262-274, J. Watson, op. cit., pp.6-8, pp.102-112 and pp.248-265.

[15] See chapter VIII, p.226.

to the natives by the west, implying in that the colonized peoples would not have known what freedom was without western education, and not concentrating on the subjugation of these peoples by the west.[16]

Watson took a more sober view of twentieth century imperialism, presenting the struggle of the people for independence in a more realistic framework. It was a struggle for self- government and national independence, for most colonies who had never thought of the Europeans as benefactors but as conquerors. The mother countries did not give away privileges or grant independence because they were liberal democracies, but on the contrary set up big obstacles often leading to bloodshed and war. The imperial variant was present in a variety of textbooks throughout the century but only in the books written after the late sixties was the less pleasant face of imperialism uninhibitedly shown to the pupils.

The Marxist variant was almost entirely absent. In the books of the first generation, Marxism was only mentioned in the context of the Russian Revolution and then only as a historical fact, without any theoretical claim to interpret history after a certain model. Most books referred to the whole incident of the revolution as part of the rise of totalitarianism during the interwar years, along with fascism and Nazism. The new generation of books, which were written during the peak of the cold war, made clear that 'Communism', which was 'a method of government and a form of society', had nothing to do with the government of the Communist countries.[17] Karl Marx's vision of an international revolution had not yet come to pass. On the contrary, what had really happened was that in countries where there had been a kind of Communist revolution, the leaders of these revolutions had managed to impose their will on the people and govern in an arbitrary way, incompatible with the doctrines of Marxism. The huge Communist state parties, with their complicated bureaucracies, imposed their will as did any totalitarian party in other parts of the world. These modern books did give details of the governments of the Communist countries, stressing their degree of dependence on or independence from Soviet Union. The Marxist analysis contained in this second generation of textbooks was a western version than the Soviet appraisal that Davies referred to.

The German variant, where Germany was seen as the new fierce great military nation of central Europe, expected to defeat France and Russia and share greatness with the Anglo-Saxon powers, was not dominant in any of the books, but Germany was often

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[16] Ibid.

[17] See C.F. Strong, op. cit., p.118.

presented as the country most related to Britain, especially in the books of the old generation. Germany was the nation of wars and the nation of technology, and was to be taken more seriously than all others, wrote Richards in the 1938. The great affinity of Britain with Germany that the writers emphasized was due to the fact that Germany was the other powerful Protestant nation of Europe. It was not a nation which had respected 'liberty' in the Anglo-Saxon way but nevertheless, the British could see Germany as a strong opponent who had a civilizing mission in eastern Europe in the same way that Britain had one to the rest of the world.[18] The ethos of Mittleuropa was not shared by British textbook writers, for the simple reason that they tended to ignore cultural tendencies alien or irrelevant to Britain's interests. Furthermore, the elements which Davies suggested as typical of German European histories as Germany bid for supremacy in Europe - Aryan racism, Greater German nationalism, pagan mythology and anti-Bolshevism - had not been followed by the British textbook writers, because most of those examined wrote after the two world wars. Since Britain had fought against Germany and the autocracy that Germany represented, the authors usually described the heroic historical role of Britain who had not only managed to remain democratic in the adverse times of the dominance of totalitarianism, but led the democratic powers of Europe to a victory against tyranny. Thus although there was a great respect for Germany in the nineteenth century as the ascending Protestant power in Europe, and for the post-war nation which managed to perform an economic miracle, Germany was for British textbook writers incompatible with the ultimate moral values of individual and social liberty.

The WASP variant, the supremacy that is of the social and cultural group of the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant, was dominant in all the textbooks examined in this sample. The examples go even further back than the First World War. In Warner, Marten and Muir Anglo-Saxondom in America was described as having a second chance to show to the world the virtues of a civilization bound to liberty and Protestant virtues. In the European history books this theme was not extensively dealt with. But in the new generation of textbooks which dealt with world history this variant was present again.

The 'Democratic West' is the common expression to be found in most of these books. Some accepted uncritically the notion that the west, led by the USA, had become the arena of democracy and equal opportunity for its citizens as well as an area free of wars due to NATO. Strong and Snellgrove insisted on this image, even though the latter was

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[18] See D. Richards, op. cit., pp.240-256 and A.J. Grant , H. Temperley, op. cit., pp.322-329.

willing to show the flaws of such a vast society.[19] Watson was more critical of the image of the west as the democratic Arcadia of the modern world.[20] For most of these writers the fact that they had to include wars between the members of NATO, or severe deprivation of human rights within the countries of the 'Democratic West' was a challenge and their attitude was differentiated. Strong preferred to avoid strong confrontational issues or refer to those with an allegedly happy ending, the restoration of a 'democracy'. Snellgrove, who overtly referred to the misfortunes of western societies, concluded in a Machiavellian manner that no matter what the sacrifice to achieve this, the western societies were economically, technologically and militarily superior, and therefore they were historically justified. Watson's attitude is far more critical, but he too contrasted the democratic west, with the enemy, the Communist east - mainly east with the exception of Cuba - which was definitely the loser of the cold war and the loser of modern history. He was also keen to examine the USA and Britain as one unit, even though in the end he dealt with Britain's relations with Europe rather than the USA, placing western Europe as a whole at the side of the USA.

The Euro variant was found in many of the new books, while between the lines one can detect the attitude of its writer to the idea of a united European Community. Arnold could not see the vision of a politically united Europe and confined his description to the technical economic and military formations of early European clubs.[21] Nevertheless he was worried by Britain's exclusion from them. Strong and Watson favoured the creation of that union which they saw as yet another step towards permanent peace between European countries.[22] Snellgrove insisted on the patronizing behaviour of the French, as he wrote his book immediately after General De Gaulle's veto of Britain's application for membership of the EEC.[23] All writers saw the creation of the European Union as an alternative to the predominance of the USA in the democratic west, but all were uncertain about where they should place Britain. What is certain is that these sub-categorisations of the western democratic societies were to favour the 'capitalist democracy' as the only system to guarantee civil liberty.

Davies compiled these variants after examining the world historiography of European history. The output of British textbook writers for secondary schools on the same subject,

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[19] C.F. Strong, op. cit., pp.103-117, L.E. Snellgrove, op. cit., pp.298-310.

[20] See chapter VIII, pp.229-230.

[21] D. Arnold, op. cit., pp.367-370.

[22] C.F. Strong, op. cit., p.116.

[23] L.E. Snellgrove, op. cit., pp.320-322.

during the thirty years following the Second World War, complied with many but not all of these variants. Most books complied with those variants which promoted ideas of the superiority of the Christian Protestant religion in Europe, they underplayed the importance of pre- and post-Revolutionary France and they exalted the educating and liberating mission of imperialism. They also despised Marxism, admired and feared the mighty and autocratic Germany and most of all they asserted the Anglo-Saxon economic and cultural hegemony over what was known as the civilized world, or in the words of most books, the western democratic world.

The Privilege of Liberty

Every reading of the books called for the construction of another set of meanings, underlying the significance of the historical events they dealt with. After looking at all the books in this sample, there is one single concept which underlies the meaning of all these books, for the whole period examined here. This is the variant or concept of liberty. It did not have a rigid form but was moulded by various historical environments and various methods of historical writing. In the earlier books examined here, it was the force which constructed the folk-moots, which would eventually be transformed into Parliaments. The writers believed that English people were 'liberal' people. That made them project the idea of consensus onto absolutist monarchs, such as the Stuarts, so that the idea of liberty was preserved even during those times. When they discussed imperialism, they presented its basic motive as to 'teach the art of government' and to establish free trade, not as conquest. This theme was taken up even by the writers of the sixties.

In the books about European history, Grant edited European history in such a fashion as to construct a map of liberal ideals to suit this image. Protestant Christianity was a liberal religion and thus the most appropriate inheritor of the classical Greek ideals and the artistic production of the Renaissance. The barbaric nations, when they were baptized in these holy waters acquired the grace of 'Europeanism'. He disapproved of the French Revolution, because although it was a revolution fought for the cause of 'liberty', it was not fought in a liberal way, that is in a reforming way. Later, the aptitude of several countries for liberal or westernized but not necessarily democratic regimes, was his criterion for including several European nations in his historical map.

Richards showed the fragility of the idea of liberty which could be misappropriated when acts of tyranny were performed in its name. In a cynical way he portrayed the misuse of liberty by most great European powers, Britain included. Thus the French

Revolution was a mixture of liberal ideas, raw tyranny and bloodshed. What was to remain in history were the reforms that came with it. Canning did not fight for liberty at the Congress of Vienna, but for the very specific imperial interests of his own country at the time. Peter the Great was not an enlightened reformer but an autocrat who tried to impose liberal institutions on a country which was oppressed by his will. France and Germany in the late nineteenth century were far from liberal countries, the first because of corruption, the second because of the habit of autocracy, despite their efforts and achievements in becoming modernised nations, with advanced technology and social welfare.

The modern generation of textbooks treated liberty differently. It was no longer 'liberal England' the writers had in mind, but the so-called 'democratic west'. The degree of attachment of each country to individual, social and national liberty was what lay at the core of their historical argument. The divisions of the cold war provided them with a clear cut scheme. Thus for most of them the politically western countries were liberal, and Communist countries were not. This is true in Strong as much as it was true in Snellgrove. The latter dared to include in his history the violation of liberty, individual, social or national, in western countries, but he looked at that as a temporary disease. Watson was more careful. He demonstrated to his readers that every so often it was in the name of liberty that violations of it were made in eastern and western countries. They all agreed though that in the west democracy did survive, and it was thus the west which had historically justified the notion of liberty.

These established textbooks gave a pluralistic picture of European history. Yet they share the fundamental characteristic of praising national virtues and downplaying domestic vices. Only a very few textbooks dared to see Britain in its realistic historical dimensions and managed to avoid self-congratulation in telling Britain and Europe's story. The big history surveys of the beginning of the century placed Britain at the centre of the world, deciding the fate of remote parts of the world but only for their benefit. Britain saved them from barbarity, educated them and even more magnanimously planted the seed of liberty, so that it when was ripe they would become independent. Europe remained for centuries the great competitor who lacked all these national British virtues and stood as a counter example to them. This tradition was still alive in the late forties and early fifties, and the pupils were supposed to respond to it. After all, it matched many of familiar themes, with Britain at that time victorious and the saviour of Europe and the world from an intrinsically European vice, that is domination by states who lacked 'liberty'.

Later more cynical historical writing substituted patriotic boosting through history with the law of survival and concentrated on the 'fittest' European countries, especially Russia. However, the pretence of objectivity, the belief that they were writing history without prejudice is refuted by the selection of the negative aspects of most European incidents, even when they involved striving for social reforms and the consolidation of liberties.

By the mid-sixties the clientele of the secondary schools was not solidly compounded of pupils of British origin. The immigrants, from colonies with distinct national cultures, came to participate in the English curriculum, or at least the ghost of the curriculum. The media brought wars from remote countries into the home through television, leading to the demand for a new dimension in history teaching. The new books took an international perspective to be appropriate for a society which was multicultural and strongly nationalistic at the same time. They aimed to compensate for the loss of the empire and show that Britain had extra-European educational concerns, spread all over the world. World histories and the twentieth century, with the great technological achievements, became central to the interests of educationalists, and were easily caught up by teachers and pupils in their exam preferences. The new Britain had an international identity and a special interest in pioneering technological achievements. But beneath this facade, Anglocentrism, the focus on the achievements of Britain and its reactions to the conflicts outside its domain remained in a strange way the same. British educationalists dared to approach world problems, even at this early stage of secondary education. But they approached them, 'as Narcissus approached the pool', interested only in seeing their own image reflected in the water.[24]

The above books provided a regular part of the historical material taught at schools. British schools however fostered books which catered for irregular aspects and views of the historical material, like those by Wood, Grant and Temperley, or Watson. Moreover the school libraries of the more well-off schools could cater for a plurality of views and options. This sample does provide a reasonable path into the complex layers of meaning in Britain's view of Europe's identity, taking into consideration that there was not one complete picture which the writers of post-war Britain chose to give to their school audience.

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[24] N. Davies, op. cit., p.16.

All of the above books were determined by the dominance of western culture, which the writers had been taught and which they wanted to communicate to the pupils. And then again even among this western framework only selected factors of what constitutes European history were there, based on what British scholars considered quintessential European. The various uses of the interpretations of British textbook writers of European history suggested could start another thesis. Other interpretations could be made of these books, but this thesis shows that one of their most prominent aspects is the inculcation of British, Protestant and western culture, as opposed to European, Catholic, Orthodox or non-Christian and eastern Others.

CHAPTER X: CONCLUSION

This thesis has demonstrated that education is a way of fostering basic intrinsic British characteristics concerning social structure, state operation and cultural beliefs. It shows that social stratification was kept alive by a state which hesitated to intervene to form a dynamic educational policy able to initiate radical changes by altering the curriculum aimed at the largest groups of pupils. The selected few were nurtured in beliefs of elitisism and differentiation at a social and cultural level. At the same time it has demonstrated that the British state was not threatened by views antagonistic to its mainstream convictions since these could be accommodated in the breadth of the curriculum without damaging the system of selection.

The initial question was about the derivation and destination of the curriculum on European history in Britain during the thirty post-war years, as well as the cultural beliefs put forward to shape a national consciousness and an awareness of the other. The derivation and destination of the curriculum was a complicated procedure which entailed the intervention of the state, the influence of civil society and the individual initiative of the professional teacher. The curriculum was finally designed by the headteachers of the schools but their decisions were essentially limited by the type of school they were running. This implied a whole system of education where the state had already interfered in the headmaster's decision-making, by creating different kinds of secondary schools, a majority with low expectations and a minority destined to become the governing thinking elite. All British post-war education was geared to this two-tier system, reflecting a society which could still be described, as in the previous century, as made up of two nations.[1]

Although the twentieth century saw the ascendancy of the middle classes and post-war society their dominance over the upper and working classes in Britain, the separate nature of British society remained stable despite the constant alterations. During the post-war years a transformation of the values and identity of social classes was taking place as living standards rose and wider access to national cultural assets was believed to be attainable. Education was at the centre of this process, being available for a greater portion of the population than ever before, but still firmly differentiating between different types of pupils with innate and unchangeable abilities.

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[1] Disraeli's phrase in *Sybil*, still can be quoted to describe twentieth century British society. This time not making the distinction between *the rich* and *the poor*, but between *the competent* and *the incompetent*.

As we have seen, even after the long struggle for the establishment of comprehensive education which was supposed to bring a long-desired educational egalitarianism, streaming and examinations ensured that only an elite would enjoy the higher standards of teaching which would enable them to meet the standards of the national examinations. Those who qualified were mainly from the middle classes, or as Bourdieu would say they were those who had the impetus to respond to and were more ready to accept the allegedly neutral school culture.[2] However even those coming from the lower classes were accepted into the higher layers of secondary education whether in grammar schools or the higher streams of comprehensives, on the basis of recognising this culture as the appropriate one. This only helped to retain two educational languages in Britain, one for the mediocre majority and another for the brilliant minority.

In this manner one could claim that the trust of the British state in the professionalism of the man or woman in the classroom did not come from its open-mindedness but from its confidence that it already controlled both the clientele of the schools and the teachers' relationship with the establishment. In most continental countries the state felt threatened if teachers were at liberty to shape their own curricula. Instead the state functioned both as an impediment to professional initiative and as an equaliser of social differences by ensuring a stable if unimaginative and uniform curriculum for the majority of secondary schools. In Britain however, the excellence of the few was often used to obscure the loss of opportunities for the many. The non-interference policy of the state as we have seen deprived the average teacher of the opportunity to be guided when in need. Of course this need was most acute in the economically deprived schools which despite their transformation into comprehensives could only offer a schooling equivalent to the older secondary modern schools. As it became increasingly desirable to teach as many pupils as possible to pass examinations, teachers at the 'non-favoured' schools had to conform to the approach of the examination boards, without necessarily having the resources, financial or professional, to do so.

One of the important effects of the hesitant and occasional interference of the state was the greater influence of the professional civil society, that is academics, educationalists or other scholars. Their presence ensured a wider representation of scholarly views on the curriculum and other educational matters, especially when compared with the narrow committees of civil servants which were in charge of this task in other continental

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[2] See chapter II, pp.43-46.

countries. Yet their views however brilliant only reached the elite who were financially or academically privileged.

History in schools went through a lot of changes, but managed to survive as the major generator of socialisation into nationhood. From a zenith at the end of the war as 'the vehicle' for peace, to the nadir of the early seventies when history had to defend itself against newer more 'useful' subjects for secondary schools, it was always defended by many as the treasury of national memory. Because of the two different streams of schooling, the traditional place of history remained unchanged in the academic streams, but the experimental trends of historical practice took root in schools for the less able pupils. These experiments rose and fell in popularity during the last twenty years of the period examined, until eventually traditional history was once again ascendant.

Even comprehensive schools, together with grammar, grant-maintained or other independent schools, turned to public schools for their spiritual inspiration. Since every academic adaptation for the masses was tailored to their traditions and beliefs, public schools remained for this period the schools where national values were vouchsafed. This is the reason why most academic studies of secondary schools turn to them to find the thread of continuity.[3] As for the moral curriculum discussed by Maculloch, it survived and spread parallel to its individualistic counterpart also promoted in schools. Both in public and in state schools with high academic standards, the morality of the leader and communal concerns were dominant values in the forties and fifties, giving way to more individualist values dedicated to materialist success during the sixties and seventies.

This thesis concentrated on examining a part of the academic curriculum which beyond its obvious purpose, that is, to teach history, also formed the consciousness of the adolescents in the privileged academic elite, about their own identity as well as the identity of Europe and the world. We saw that both the examination syllabuses as well as the history textbooks promoted those ideals which flattered the image of Britain and more specifically England. Traditional ideas of the quintessential elements of Britishness prevailed in the official record of the examination and teaching curriculum.

The subjects of European history which were present in the examination syllabuses were mostly concerned with north-western European history, largely marginalising the history of northern, eastern and southern Europe. World history and twentieth century history which rose in popularity also mainly examined subjects concerning the presence

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[3] G. McCulloch op. cit., and B. Salter & T. Tapper, op. cit., I. Lewis, op. cit.

of north-western Europe in the world. The examination questions on European history were crammed with moments of defeat for Europe and triumph for Britain. In this way the facts which were presented as the main ones in the history of Europe cultivated a negative image in relation to Britain.

The ideal of a 'liberal' Britain contrasted with the 'autocratic and rebellious' Europe was the main theme in the majority of the textbooks examined. This theme was present not only in those books written at the beginning of the century, but also in books written during the late sixties, which were supposed to be able to present the uglier moments of the nation's history. In most of them there is a justification of the means used to become a winner even though if they went against the sacred national virtues. Elements such as the superiority of Protestant Christianity, the civilizing mission of the British nation and the tolerant nature of the English character all support the notion of 'liberty' as the genuine English characteristic which was incorporated in British history and justified in front of Europe and the world.

British educationalists who were restricted in the type of school history books they could write, not by ministerial programs but by the laws of demand, cultivated a historical genre created by selected themes from favoured sectors. What was left on the Procrustean bed of the curriculum were the images of Europe which were central to Anglo-Saxon morality. What was removed from European history was mainly the image of Europe as an area with amalgamated ideas, distinct cultures, which was alive because and in spite of its great contrasts. European countries, even small European countries, apart from wars and revolutions also had social reforms, welfare states, feminist movements, educational changes and artistic trends, but these facts were almost never found in British textbooks.

Yet it is important to mention the success of textbooks which gave an alternative view of history, where Britain was just one of equally important different nations. Some of these books enjoyed a great popularity, supported by a free market without governmental constrains or censorship - such as Grant and Temperley or Anthony Wood. Under different educational arrangements such books might have been dispensed with in favour of more nationalistic views, if that was the collective desire of the country, as interpreted by the government. As we have seen although the state did not restrict or censor examinations and textbooks these were not antagonistic to it, but rather auxiliary. Both uniformity and consensus existed in the curriculum as the language of power was the lingua franca of textbook writers, academic examiners and competent pupils from academic streams of secondary education.

The immediate post-war generation, which itself was experiencing the aftermath of yet another victory of liberal England against tyranny, could still see English and by arbitrary generalization British history as a progress towards victory over tyranny and contrast this with the history of Europe. The cold war generation was more ready to appreciate the power of the strongest, represented at this time by the United States, the closest relative of Anglo-Saxon culture. The early seventies generation on the other hand, was far more sceptical about the power of the well-armed great powers, but still appreciative of Protestant liberal values over the different oppressed nations which potentially might ally with the Communist enemy.

British textbooks had not been peculiar in stressing some form of patriotism or giving a western Anglo-Saxon view of history in secondary schools. At this level, most other countries speak about Jerusalems and Golden Ages and the unique contribution of their country to the world community throughout history. Many argued for the beneficial effect of biases in creating a sense of community and belonging.[4] In fact the relatively liberal way that this took place in Britain contributed to a wider curriculum focusing on more places of the world than another European country would do. Even if this was a Brito-centric or rather as many would argue Anglo-centric look at the world it was nevertheless an exercise which involved the skills of the explorer, or maybe the colonialist. And of course these spiritual travels were not available for the majority of the pupil population but for the selected few, capable either of buying or earning academic excellence.

Today we are more familiar with the idea that history is neither correct nor objective, as nineteenth century scholars used to believe. We have come to accept that it can even be Whiggish, present-centred, and biased and still be of value. History for schools is but one example of this. Historians, all historians, write their own version of history limited by their existential preoccupations, and this is nevertheless illuminating both about the story they tell us and the way they select to do so. They are only, to use a phrase of Dean Inge:

> ...they to whom is vouchsafed, the power, denied to Almighty God, the power of altering the past.[5]

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[4] See the views of Trevelyan and V. Ogilvie in chapter IV, pp.92-93.

[5] E.H. Dance, *History the Betrayer*, (London, 1960), cover page.

APPENDICES

Interviews

These interviews were taken between 1991 and 1992. Initially they were used to provide a path through a complicated education system. The initial intention was to ask teachers and students on their experience of history teaching. However the interviewees gave their own ideas not only on history teaching, but also on the way they experienced secondary education in Britain.

The following sample of interviews is a sample of the tape recorded ones, with the exception of Professor Russell's and Professor Foot's interviews. However, in many informal conversations with former students and teachers of history, more information was extracted. Differentiation of standards between schools, trends in history teaching, attitudes towards European history as well as the textbooks used were the principal pre-occupations of this research.

A

Mrs Joan Lewin

Institute of Historical Research,

18 December, 1991

Athena Syriatou: Were you a history teacher?

Joan Lewin: Well I started teaching in school history, but then I moved in Teacher Training Colleges, not to train teachers but actually to teach the students History because there was a point where they turn the ordinary teaching Certificate into a Degree. They wanted to get people to teach for the degree, which was what interested me. I was asked to do the teaching because I had teaching experience, which was useful for that kind of job and also I had a research degree. So I taught for the B.A. and later for the M.A. and so on, but inevitably since it was a college involved in training teachers, I found myself involved in that as well. Then they closed the college down and then I was asked to teach in Roehampton which I did, and then I was asked to teach in the Institute which I did so ...there is a lot of teaching then...I think I taught from seven up to seventy... I have covered a large range.

AS: Having such a large experience you must know how syllabuses were planned and how the subjects to be taught were selected...

JL: I know two things really: one is how a number of schools planned their syllabuses, and I knew - as far as there was anything official about the syllabus - what was official. What I did not know was what was going on in other people's classrooms. What I did find when I started being involved in training teachers and going around in school practice, I was really surprised to find that many schools did not have any syllabus and each member of staff could teach what they wanted. I was surprised to find how many schools did not have a recognized syllabus which they work during the year.

AS: Was there a recognized syllabus?

JL: Oh no, what I mean is any syllabus to follow. What is going on the last three years of course is something quite different from what has been going on the years before. Trying to put you into the picture I should say that English education has never been properly planned, like German, or French...somebody looked into the system and deciding how it should work, then everybody stuck to it, and that was the system. At least this was orderly and neat and tidy and probably efficient...as far as we were concerned the system grew up...decision was made we will do so and so, then another decision was made we never really had an overall system of education, where someone like say the Department of Education and Science knows what is going on in the schools. It is something which has grown naturally rather than being planned and consequently is very untidy and not easy at all knowing what the whole picture was. If I could try to make what sense of it there is, the secondary school system begun initially in the middle ages, for those who went to monasteries... From fifteen hundred onwards you could get an increasing number of schools which were founded for people who wanted to be educated and will do what ever they want to do with it. They may be the son of a tradesman or the son of a doctor or whatever, but the idea is there should be schools for people to go to, because education is useful. Rather than going to a particular school like a monastic school or a Cathedral school or a Grammar school to get educated for a particular purpose. But it was still of course a minority.

AS: That was true even for the nineteenth century.

JL: Well it continued to be a minority. In a sense there was no need for a system of education. What one needed at that time was reading writing and counting maybe...Very limited view of education. Basically education was preparing you for what you were going to do later as a job, enabling you to contribute into society and keep yourself. But increasingly we have used the word in that very narrow sense, which is nonsense, everybody more or less was educated but educated on the job, the schooling was still there for a minority. As far as this country was concerned, and I think that was the same in Europe, the idea that everybody should be schooled is certainly really beginning in the late eighteenth century. Then of course you get inevitably   the two systems or the two methods of schooling developing. On the one hand there is the old method which is the grammar school where a minority of boys mostly go and that type of school which was founded in the Middle Ages that remains as a school that a minority have had and continue to have. This system again depends on the way these schools were funded.

Sometimes the school didn't do very well it closed down or became unimportant. Others of them either because they were lucky with the endowments they had,[sometimes the endowment was loud and as the country became more industrialized and more people and more things developed, land, with the de-farming going on often became very valuable, as town developed. Some schools did very well because of the land given by their benefactor, they became extremely wealthy and prosperous, the aristocracy if they sent their sons at all at school they sent them to these schools, or even wealthy middle class did. You got that traditional old kind of schooling, which now has all kinds of level of differences between smaller schools and Public schools. On the other hand the idea of education for a lot of people, developed at a time when laisser faire was very much on the thinking of those who run the country. The attitude of the Parliament if you like was, if you want the schools just get them, it is not our job to give you schools. So you get again private initiative for schools.

AS: Coming to the twentieth century I wondered why it never got centralized?

JL: Well this is the reason I go back that far. It has grown up in such a hustled way. When they decided that there must be schools for a lot of children to go to, then it was left to private effort to do it. The churches said: 'we will provide schools', the Catholic church says that, the non Conformist church says that, and then people don't like the idea about schools provided by religious bodies...and it just grows up in a completely hustled way. When this is happening in that country in that way, in France you have got Napoleon, who imposed a strong centralized government, and because he wants an adequate provision of educated trained soldiers, you get a school system established which becomes the base of the contemporary school system. It is centralized, carefully planned, carefully structured and after Napoleon falls the system remains. Their system up to 1800s had been more or less like our system, it has grown up in its own way. When the change comes in this country we have the laisser faire stage where we were saying everybody must do their own thing. If they want anything like canals or railways they must provide them. Where in France you have Napoleon....When Prussia was pretty battered by France in the Napoleonic war, and various people there, like Stein and Wilhelm von Humboldt and so on, decided that they must form a government and so they imposed a centralized system and they said if the French who are our enemies have a good educational system we better have one too. If they think it's a good idea to provide schooling to the soldiers, we will have schools to provide soldiers too. So the Prussian

system develops very much like the French on a centralized basis. And of course as Prussia becomes increasingly German power, then, that way stays.

AS: From your experience in training teachers to go to schools, did you have in mind subjects of history, a certain syllabus which you thought it should be taught?

JL: I know I keep harping on the past, but you cannot really understand without the past, you cannot escape from the past. We gradually do build up in the nineteenth century a national system of elementary education which is basic for everybody, not very efficiently but fairly efficiently eventually we imposed it and made it compulsory and paid out of public funds...even then it was not paid from central state it was the responsibility of Local Authorities. You got a system but it is not centralized. The government oversees it but does not run it. When eventually it is developed into something which can be seen as a system rather than an ad hoc development the responsibilities were put in the new lists of local authorities, like town councils, county councils, not on the government. The government never, in the nineteenth century, says that education is our responsibility, we will tell them what to do. By the end of the nineteenth century you have got something of a system. It's the old independent sector which developed from the Middle Ages and remained but the new system which developed this elementary system is regarded a responsibility of the local authorities, not the government. The government does intervene, it would have Royal Commissions from time to time, then it would pass a law, which usually simply meant that certain things had to be done, but the local authority did them, the government saw that it was done by somebody else. In 1902 with the Education Act the first time the secondary system was set up, again it was the local authorities that take the responsibility. The government push a compulsory curriculum, where the minimum amount of time spent in each subject is specified. Because they have imposed a minimum curriculum on the secondary schools, they go on to impose a minimum curriculum on the elementary ones as well. But even then they only last for a relatively short time. When that imposition is first made, the Board of Education issued a couple of handbooks, for elementary and secondary schools on regulations, which were compulsory. You look as if you have now got a system which is partly funded by the government and supervised by the Local Authorities. You begin to have a system where the Local Authorities out of the rates in theory pay for their schools but in fact each year the money is topped up by a government grant. The system does develop with this Local Authority responsibility, central authority supervision, Local Authority funding, central authority topping up the funding. Through funding central authority has got a way of controlling what goes on but

it is still not a system that is imposed in a centralized way, as it would have been imposed in France or Germany. The ironical thing is that even this imposition of the curriculum only lasted a few years. A few years after the introduction of these regulations a new handbook comes out and this is called suggestions for teachers. From that moment onwards there is absolutely no compulsory curriculum. The system of government inspectors haS existed ever since 1839, so that the inspectors can check up what goes on when they visit schools, so if they see that the schools are not teaching sensible things they do something about it. There was a common consensus that certain things must be taught... but how you teach them or what exactly you teach in them is very much left to the schools. Now if someone asks who controls the curriculum the answer would be that in theory it is the Local Authority. But the Local Authorities did not. If the Inspectors gave the school a very bad report, then they might intervene and say you cannot do this and you have to do that. The Local Authorities had advisers going around and provided the schools were working all right, the inspectors were quite happy. There was always some kind of leaving test and if these were all right then there was no problem. The book of suggestions was always a book of suggestions, there was no regulations out there.

In the period just before the first world war, the system of examinations in secondary schools became formalised. The universities took over and provided examinations for schools. It goes back in the 1850s when Oxford and Cambridge required a good secondary education for their undergraduates and set up the examination boards. Because it seemed quite a good system a lot of schools took them up, a kind of an objective to work for and a measure of attainment whether the children were going to Oxford and Cambridge or not. So in second half of the nineteenth century there was an examination system run by Oxford and Cambridge. The old Grammar schools, which all we got really of secondary education in the nineteenth century, entered their candidates for these examinations. Occasionally in late nineteenth century a few elementary schools became more ambitious and entered their candidates too. That was the exam system we had.

Now, because these exams existed and were taken by a large number of the important grammar schools and Public schools, it seemed a good idea the new state provide an exam system. And so not surprisingly they decided to set up the Oxford and Cambridge locals... because these exams could be taken by pupils who could go to other universities, which were growing up, like London University with UCL, King's... Once London was established its degree could be taken externally so a lot of other Colleges grew up and became Universities in their own right. But once you took the state examinations there was no reason why you could not go in those other universities colleges, i.e. Southampton etc. When it is decided first by the teachers and then by the state, that there has to be a

national system of examinations, it seemed the most natural thing in the world for the universities to provide it. On top of the option of Oxford and Cambridge, you have got the Northern universities which were growing up out of these colleges. Gradually the other universities were offering exams, Bristol and Welsh universities too. The system is in fact based on universities.

AS: So that is in the beginning of twentieth century?

JL: That starts really between 1910 and 1918. Eventually it becomes systematised, or a kind of general agreement that you have a two tier exams. The first one is the school certificate which you can take at around fifteen and then you have got the higher certificate which you take at eighteen. That is the system we start with. When we set up those secondary schools in 1902, it was decided that they should be selective and for a minority - for those who can benefit from that kind of advanced education. So you do not say that every child at the age of something will go to a secondary school, you say that every child at the age of something will take an examination to take a test. If they do well enough they will go to secondary school...They have to pay fees because they made the elementary schools free but they did not make the secondary schools free. And of course for the clever children who cannot afford to go to secondary schools you have the scholarships. That means that another exam is coming.

AS: Was that the eleven plus?

JL: Well you say eleven plus but when it begun it was not clear at what age pupils should go to elementary schools. The usual age of the boys going to one of the independent grammar schools had become about twelve or thirteen. You think we should have an examination at around this age. But at the same time you know that a lot of these children are going to leave at around fourteen or fifteen. And then you say well if there not going to be there long we better start a bit earlier. And you play around the possibility ten, eleven, twelve....We have an incredible way of going on!... In the middle of 1920s...Have you heard of Cyril Burt?

AS: Cyril Burt?

JL: He was a psychologist, interested in child development, particularly in intellectual development. He came up in 1925-6 with the theory that at the age of eleven most

children move from a kind of stage one of 'child' to a kind of second stage of 'adolescent'. At that point their capacities begun to develop in a different way. And that was the point that they ought to move from the school they went to first, to the school they go to second. In other words to go from the first school primary, to the second school secondary. He knew that not all children developed in the same way but you have to have some kind of agreement. So they took the examination at the age of eleven and it became the eleven plus examination. This was the way which you moved out of the elementary system to the secondary one. It was not really until the 1944 Education Act that all children did in fact move from primary to secondary. In 1926 the theory was accepted that there should be a two stage schooling and that every child should be accepted in the second layer...not necessarily a grammar school but there should be other schools, practical, senior schools, whatever you like...They ought to be secondary, secondary technical, secondary practical, etc. Children were categorised into three groups. There were those who had the academic ability, those who had more scientific practical ability and there were those who had general practical ability. So you wanted a grammar school, and you wanted a technical school, and you wanted a school for the rest. The idea was accepted very firmly in 1926 that there would be these three types of school, you would take this exam and on the basis of how you did you would go to grammar, or to technical or to 'what's left'. Local Authorities never went around to provide technical schools anyway, because there was recession of course after the war...

AS: ...and they never became popular, did they?

JL: Well, we started them back in the 1880s...but the Local Authorities never put much money into them. It tended to be the grammar schools and the rest. Even after this particular report in 1926 claiming that there should be three different types of schools...You see after the first world war there was a desperate short of money, you should have lost technical schools and not only that, there was not much money to built secondary schools. And this was the case for a lot of children up to 1944. In the thirties, either you took the exam and went to grammar school, or you stayed in the school you had been in since you were five. But the school had got two sections, there was one for infants and juniors, and there was modern school or senior school, in the same building. Instead of going in one door you went in the other. That for a lot of children was bad.

AS: Why did it matter being in the same building, if the teachers were qualified and ready to teach a more academic curriculum in the senior school?

JL: Well theoretically nothing at all. You could have perfectly well qualified teachers going in the senior door teaching the senior pupils. But of course psychologically it did make a difference as if you were not going somewhere better, as if it was second best. Even when the Local Authorities decided to built separate secondary modern schools, it still was regarded second best. We never managed to convince ourselves, I suppose, that the education provided and the careers achieved by children who go to the grammar, or the tech, or the general school are equally good. They were each getting the education they need, which is a sensible thing, and they achieve within that framework and they get the best job they possibly can. It is important to do what you are suited to do, rather than trying to get into the grammar school. In 1938 we have the same three tier system on the assumption that we were catering for the three social classes, if you read that report, a chap called Spens said: 'there must be parity of esteem', 'there must be parity of esteem'...but there never has been. You know if you go to Germany, if a child goes to technical school then that's fine, in France the same...

AS: In France Lycee is like the grammar school...

JL: The Lycee is certainly very exclusive...but put this way, if you go to lycee than you are singled out rather specially, if you don't then you are perfectly OK. With us is different. We do not value any education which is not academic. We have a reluctance to accept that any technical or general course is as any good as the academic. Coming back to what you are really interested, the centralized control, the government, throughout the century exercises control over what happens through the grants it gives. Also through the inspection that it imposes. Of course this is partial control, provided things do not go wrong, nobody interferes. A major inspection is once every ten years. The control in the curriculum very oddly comes from the examination boards. They draw up the exam syllabuses and are responsible for the marking of the papers and so on, and the schools have to work to the standards of the syllabuses. The Exam Boards were and still are run by universities, which are usually out of touch from what was going on in the schools.

In 1944 for the first time we had an Education Act, which really tried to establish not so much an centralised educational system but 'a system' and a really comprehensive one... some kind of order out of a rather chaotic thing which had grown up. It was interesting that, after enormous debate on what form should the new educational system take, we eventually settled for what we have got. We still got the Local Authorities providing, we still got the three types of school, we still got to have some kinds of test from primary to

secondary, we still got to have the examination system, which you would now going to re-name from certificate and High Certificate, to O level and A level.

AS: That started in 1951 didn't it?

JL: Well you have to give us time! We could not start right away. There was always a considerable time lapse between decisions and changes. The difference between the old system and the new, was that the new system was entirely geared to university entrance. University matriculations had special subjects which you had to pass in order to get in. The difference between the O level and the A level is that you can take the 16 year olds exam in any subject you like and you get credit for every subject you pass, and the old certificate goes. The same with A levels. It was possible for more people to achieve more. Now what happened in the fifties, is that increasingly the senior schools begin to measure their success against the number who get O levels. Although when those senior schools were set up in 1944 they were called modern schools and they were supposed to be so good because there was no examination. The schools should set their own curriculum shaped for their children's needs and the children would get some sort of leaving certificate. There would have exams adapted to the need of the children. They would not have any formalised exam like the certificate...But it did not work you see... Increasingly the senior schools take the exam. It was decided then to introduce another exam. By 1950s there was a feeling that the new system did not work as well as it should, because the selection at eleven was not awfully reliable, children sometimes change so much at that age. Also the business of examination and what the modern school should be doing was not well thought of. A kind of mixture and guilty conscious and enthusiasm led at about 1964 a whole lot of educational reforms...You know that immediately after the war the NHS got a tremendous share of attention, so it was not until the early sixties that they begin to turn to education again. In the sixties you get new universities, school leaving age raising, all sort of changes. As it concerns the curriculum, there were a number of things going. First there is the setting up of the Schools Council, which is concerned to do two things the development of the curriculum and the development of the examinations.

AS: Yes but in the end it really did one thing only...

JL: Well they did pioneer a lot of curriculum projects.

AS: Yes but were they to be implemented nationwide? To me it sounds quite strange that they set up sophisticated institutes like this, which prepare projects, but they do not have at the same time any provision about the use of those elaborate and expensive projects...

JL: Again it is the same thing....I was involved in one of those projects, it was designed to find a curriculum for the humanities for the fourteen and the fifteen years old of the secondary modern schools. Lots of money put in, it had a very successful run for a few years, then it dropped out. A whole lot of these projects were encouraged and financed by the Schools Council, and the idea was that they should hit upon something that was good whatever that was. And if it was good then the Local Authorities would be persuaded to take it up. Well, it was hit and miss! Some Local Authorities took some projects, about fifty.

AS: If they did take them up, how did they make sure that every school was employing these projects?

JL: Well they could have compelled it but they did not. ILEA gave an enormous amount of money to it. ILEA's inspectors were controlling it. But that was only one Authority, they did not have to follow these projects, some did, some did not. Then you see you get this curriculum project which was very popular, this history curriculum project. It was a purely history project.... The Schools Council was funding these projects, the government was giving money to complete them but when they were completed they did not give any money to buy them. So a lot of these projects were left on the shelf, or the teachers were not interested, or they could not use it because they did not understand it. No compulsion anywhere. Out of this flourishing activity, the only thing that came out was this new examination CSE.

AS: Certificate of School Examination?

JL: That's right...It was supposed to be a school examination tailored to the needs of the secondary modern child. It was supposed to have a lot of course work in it, a lot of practical staff, less demanding and in no way an examination preparing you for university entrance. It was suited to the educational attainments of the general education. Schools had to provide the CSEs. They were provided by bodies which were set up by the Local Authorities on a regional basis, not by the universities. The teachers came together and discussed these exam papers. So there was the argument that they were inferior. Then

they tried to balance the CSE marks with the O level marks, the top marks of a CSE counted as low O level and that is the point you get exams which are not university based. But until then all secondary school exams were university based.... The AEB was the only board which was not university based.

AS: So were there academics in the committees of the examination boards which were setting the exams?

JL: There are more teachers in the examinations committees than they used to be but a lot of the examiners are still university people. The people who do the administration of the exams are appointed by the board. The key people who preside on the board though tend to be senior university people. Each examination authority has many exam boards, which have different subject committees, with different subject officers employed by the examining board. Most of the marking is done by teachers, some further education teachers, very few university people also mark A levels. Until few years age, until about 1980 the setting of the syllabus was entirely the responsibility of the exam board. The exam boards are answerable to the university.

AS: In what sense answerable?

JL: In its integrity. The financial and its academic integrity. The university have the moral responsibility of what the board was doing, because they give their name to it. The kind of paper you set has to meet cost requirements as well. So the financial aspect of the university did control the exams as well. Since 1980 we have a body where all syllabuses have to be submitted, which is a completely different thing. When the Schools Council was set up it was supposed to offer a balance to the influence of the universities in the exams by replacing it with the teachers influence. Then you had to submit to them the syllabuses and you had to get their approval. Then they were replaced by Schools Examination Council. But they again accepted or rejected what other people suggested, they did not suggest anything themselves. Some of the people in the council had obsessive ideas of reforming the system without being in touch with the schools. Those of us who were in the business of teaching and drawing the paper were rather better than those people who were sitting on the committees. Some of them had been teachers but they were for many years out of the classroom. But in 1980s you already had a system of control by looking in what came in the examinations, the level of attainment...that is how the idea of having a National curriculum came. It is the first time that we tried to impose a

detailed curriculum on the whole of the national system. Remember it does not apply to the independent sector even now, you see... They do not have to subscribe to it...Most of them will because they will lose out if they do not. It is the indirect compulsion which in any case you had all along. If the 1904 secondary recommendation made general recommendations of the content of the curriculum this one is very specific. Put it this way in the nineteenth century they wanted to impose basic literacy. In the 1904 they tried to impose a kind of effective general syllabus on the new schools and because they were doing that they had to impose it in primary schools which were preparing pupils for grammar schools. What they are doing now is try to impose a complete curriculum for both stages of education. There is a possibility of setting up an examination system on a national basis I wouldn't be surprised. It is a peculiar system you see.

AS: Thank you very much for giving me so much of your time.

B

Mrs Ann Morris and Mr Graham Morris,

2nd February, 1992

High Barnet

Athena Syriatou: Have you been teaching in a grammar school?

Graham Morris: Yes, both of us taught, both grammar school and comprehensive...

Ann Morris: ...and secondary modern...and bilateral.

AS: So you are familiar with the whole span of education in England...

AM: ...from a long time ago, and now I am in a private school so yes we do.

AS: Have you been teaching since the late fifties or the early sixties?

AM: Late fifties.

AS: What were the differences between grammar schools and comprehensive? What did it mean to teach history in a grammar school and what in a comprehensive or before that in a secondary modern school?

AM: A great deal of difference... Do you want to go first?

GM: No, you know a lot so its easy for you to talk about it.

AM: Well, the grammar schools first...I think you teach history at every level from the first year to O-level to A-level classes obviously the emphasis is much more on academic approach, an approach much more desired to set an individual topic within a broader framework of history and perhaps more emphasis too on the accumulation of facts and also the use of facts to formulate ideas or to support ideas. And that would develop up to

probably some depth in study, when you got to fifth form at O-level, obviously more so in sixth form at A-level. In secondary modern school, where I also taught history in the lowest form particularly, it was much more emphasis on taking one glamorous person or one dramatic incident and describing it with much more I think of the story approach without necessarily seeing it into any context and certainly without using it to illustrate any particularly sort of abstract political concept or development of constitutional ideas... or anything of that kind so that you would do... say for example the story of King Alfred and burning the cakes and fighting the Danes and making it a dramatic story. Where as if you were doing that in a grammar, you would develop it as Alfred the Law giver and Alfred uniting a number of separate kingdoms under one head and therefore seeing it in a context as a developing unity the united country.. So that would seem to me a basic difference of the two approaches. When I taught in the comprehensive school, it was a very large one, so we had if I remember rightly fourteen forms within the year group. They were banded rather than very very closely set but it meant that if you do history say in the three top forms of the year then your approach would be more as I've described for the grammar school, where as if you had forms where children were of lower ability, then I think again you would be appealing to the sort of the sense of drama and to values other than political and constitutional developments that you might look for in the higher classes and that difference would be increased as the years progressed towards the fifth form. I taught in two different classes in the fifth form and we would deliberately choose different examination boards for the children to enter because certain examples were reckoned to be rather easier...

AS: Like the AEB?

AM: Yes, the AEB, that's right. We tended to enter, I am talking about Mayfield school which is a big comprehensive where I taught, perhaps two classes in the fifth year may enter for the London Examination Board, the next two may enter for the Oxford Local Exam Board, and the next may enter for the AEB and then the next ones the RSA and then by the time you got down to the bottom if they were doing this at all they were doing it purely for interest not for examination and their examination skills were concentrated on things like catering secretarial exams, dress making, etc. There was a very definite reflection there in the different approaches and the different levels of ability.

AS: Turning to GM... So you also have the same opinion that grammar schools were different.

GM: Oh much more... rigid and factual, you were building up knowledge. The sort of thing I can remember in a sense was that you had a textbook and 75% to 80% would be political development that sort of content and you might have an odd chapter which would do with art, literature and that was typical grammar school wasn't it?

AM: Yes very.

AS: Especially during the fifties and early sixties. Later on did that change at all?

AM: Oh well when the fervour for integrated studies and things like this came in, yes very much so yes certainly.

AS: Can you remember more or less the percentages of British History and European and World history that was taught, roughly I mean how many hours, how much emphasized?

GM: It must have been weighted in favour of British history.

AM: Well it was when we were at school ourselves, it heavily weighted in favour of British History. In fact perhaps the only time that you really looked at Europe without including England was perhaps that Oxford O-level and A-level, where the syllabus demanded that you did some European history and some English or British history, and so we had two separate entities.

GM: Except that the European also included British.

AM: Yes, but they were two separate papers, or two parts on the same paper but they were divided. There were questions for part A and part B and very definitely it was British history and European.

AS: Or British and Foreign Oxford called it foreign.

AM: Yes. And that again ...I am talking from my own experience...When I did O-level, I did some British and some I think it was called foreign history but in effect that was European and it was 19th century that I was doing. So, I was doing things like the Struggle for Unification in Italy, but that would be in a different part of the paper than say

the Irish question in Britain. When I did A-level the papers were again completely separate although there were doing a different period of history and certainly I think I did sixteenth and seventeenth century, I think you did too, didn't you Graham? at A level.

GM: When I was doing it for myself? Yes.

AM: For me this was in 1953, when I did A level. And in my sixth form it was the Tudor period in England that was taught in British history the sixteenth and seventeenth century in European history and at A level you had to choose a Special Subject, which in effect the teacher chose it. In my sixth form the Special Subject was Elizabethan social so you were moving away from the political but still sticking very much within the period. But I do know schools where even though they might have done seventeenth century European and sixteenth century British history their special subject might have been Roman Britain, for example, and so there was less sort of emphasis there on keeping everything very integrated you could pick another patch to concentrate on. But my impression is that ...

GM: Certainly my teachers were always in favour of doing the two things together because we did Louis the XIV and Tudors and Stuarts.

AM: You did Louis XIV as a Special...right...yes..so it's a European Special but nevertheless tied up with the time span. But ...when quite soon after we started teaching that is say the late fifties and towards into the early sixties it became quite fashionable to do not only European but world history. We were talking about it before you came, that suddenly the schools were flooded with little books about 'ancient China'...and various sort of histories of tribes in Africa...wasn't it Graham?

GM: ...and local history...

AM: ...and local history that was the other hit thing.

AS: And this was history that you were not taught yourselves?

AM and GM: That's right absolutely...

AM:...and to deal with something like ancient China where we couldn't even say the names necessarily correctly.. you know... and certainly I found that very difficult in the classroom...

GM: ...and of dubious benefit...

AM: ..and of dubious benefit...because the children had no cultural background to this at all and no earlier teaching from primary school, the teachers had no knowledge how to set this into world history context...

AS: So who decided that the school syllabus should contain a subject of Chinese history?

GM: No. Nobody dictated the syllabus you see... at all. You were perfectly free to choose your own syllabus in each school.

AS: As a teacher?

GM: Oh yes! Assuming you were the Head of the Department...And you didn't have a headteacher to interfere. And it wasn't the practice in British schools for the headteacher to interfere at all. It was up to you. You were the boss in your department and you decided what to do what to teach. You might have to defend it to somebody. If you were not very lucky you might have an inspector come around. But they did not come very often. I was never inspected at all...

AS: Never?

GM: Well except when I first started. I never saw an inspector after that and I taught for a thirty odd years. You could probably have taught for forty years without necessarily... and you may have been unlucky and see them every five years or so.

AM: I don't think I have been at school when a general inspection has been held... Although again I had the inspector come to see me at the probationary year. It was the inspector who decided whether or not to be a recognized teacher... is that how they call it?

GM: But that was a weakness really...looking back at it. Inspectors can obviously provide you with a lot of information.

AM: When did advisers come on the scene Graham?

GM: Seventies eighties I suppose.

AM: Was it? Because they had an influence of what was taught in the syllabus... Because they were not based in any one school.

GM: But it was advisers and frankly people at Training Colleges ... we often said this not only in history but in every subject and teaching in general... you get people who get bees in their bonnets ...get ideas and build their careers out of those ideas and they become fashionable and just about thank God a lot of them they become out of fashion. I can't stand Kenneth Clark in many ways but there is a grain of truth in what he says that things have drifted and a lot of rubbish taught in British schools and a lot of very questionable practices in my opinion, introduced into schools which were sloppy and really bad and they affected everything and in history you had this weird idea that you musn't leave any part of the world...and what did you do? You spend five minutes on it and nobody knew anything at the end of it. Whereas at least even Mrs Thatcher...you know, who was not.....(laughs)...but whose idea of providing people with at least a pretty firm foundation in British history, has got something to commend it. Provided that you put it into context. It was the context, the wider context that was missing when we were teaching. I cannot honestly say that I remember any sort of European lump that I was doing at all.

AS: Do you mean before the A-levels and the O-levels where of course it was not compulsory but strongly suggested to do some European history?

GM: We did European History but I was not aware of doing European History from a personal European point of view. It was simply doing the history of another country. The fact that it was over the channel on the continent ...it could have been anywhere. It was not felt that we part of one particular unit.

AM: And also the areas of European history that you studied, were only those where Britain was actually specifically involved, I think. So for instance when you did about the hundred years war, but only the parts where Britain was involved. You knew very little about the crusades except what Richard I had to do with it. With something like, lets say like the history of France, was when England and France were fighting each other or

when they were united by marriage or something of this kind; but you tended to switch the spotlight to French history there, there and there, where Britain was involved but never actually knowing what was happening in the gaps in between.

GM: But you also have to remember that the average allocation of time to history was two periods a week. We are talking about eighty minutes in a grammar school that is... you wanted to cover a lot but it wasn't possible to do it.

AS: Was it even less in a comprehensive?

AM: and GM. No it might have been more, because they did not have such a wide choice of subjects.

AM: Another fashion was integrated studies. This is in the secondary school when history geography and religious studies were not taught any longer as separate things but they were either called humanities or integrated studies.

GM: ...and both of those you could cheerfully dispense as far as I am concerned!

AM: ... and a whole new explosion of books hit the market where these subjects were dealt with apparently integrated, with much more emphasis on how let's say the land formation effected settlements in that area how primitive people explained the inexplicable by saying this is God! etc. etc. and all kind of things starting with the primitive man and moving gradually through the process of civilization.

GM: If you been doing your job properly you would be using these aspects anyway, if you were teaching history but the people who wrote the books took those aspects to extremes ...you felt the whole thing was forced in the end.

AS: Was that late sixties beginning of seventies?

GM: Certainly in the seventies.

AM: Late sixties, seventies. But the sad thing was that history as a single subject disappeared from the time table so that children were timetabled to do integrated studies, especially in the lower part of the school. Now the only thing that was in favour of this,

was that it was a more logical development from the way these things were taught in primary school, where you did have one teacher trying to teach the development of civilization and they did not and still don't divide their subjects with different teachers.

AS: I was planning to ask you if there was any sort of control but you already told me that those inspectors were not...

GM: No I wasn't aware of anybody. Except when I was deputy master in the comprehensive school and I wasn't responsible for the teaching of the subject and the headmaster was concerned because the boys did not like the subject, did not find it acceptable. So he said you should teach local history and I was accused for being too parochial for words,   On the one hand there was these people who said you have got to teach world history, and there you was and those who said you have got teach local history of Enfield or Barnet...or something. It was laughable because you had the two extremes and did not have the time to do anything at all anyway. It was utterly stupid the whole business.

AM: Yes but local history became another bandwagon because what was supposed be in its favour was that you could then take the children out of the classroom in what ever was actually in their locality and it would be within their experience, hands on, it would be seen to be pertinent in their own lives. With that there came an emphasis in tracing family history as well.

GM: It was great but if they could only remember that there was the rest of the world as well!

AM: Yes I know, but OK that was the argument that was put for it behind it. And so you would be taking the children as around here we do have at St. Albans quite a lot of Roman remains, for instance, so you could take your children in the local museum and follow the development say in Hertfordshire from Roman Britain and then what happened in that same little area when Roman values died away and you've got Saxons invaders and then gradually how St. Albans through its connection with the church then came to prominence again. It was much more emphasis in local issues, we here were very well placed for the Roman connections and with Barnet, (the battle of Barnet... there is a monument to it at the other side of the town) so a lot of emphasis then would be placed

upon doing the baronial wars that involved this locality...But as Graham says this is at the expense of perhaps knowing what happened in Europe or anywhere else.

GM: First of all this country, let alone Europe.

AM: Yes but it was relevant because at that time this locality took centre stage.

GM: I am not denying this, all I am saying is that these people like everybody else they get bees in their bonnets they become converted to a cause and it dominates.

AS: But who are these people?

AM: Yes who are these people?

GM: I would go back to the training colleges, and people who developed themes and approaches and so forth, some of which were jolly good, I would not deny it for a moment but they did tend to believe that their particular acts were the only acts which were around.

AS: Were they suggesting syllabuses to you, were they suggesting what you should do?

GM: The market was flooded of books of one kind or another and in the end it was like going to a sweet factory you did not know what to take off the shelves actually because of the stuff it was available.

AS: Since as you told me you were the boss and if you were the head of the department and you were making the syllabus you could ignore this, couldn't you?

GM: That's right, yes, you could do whatever you liked but...

AS: I come from a very centralized educational system with a specific syllabus coming from the Ministry of Education and a special publishing house for school textbooks...

GM: Well in a way we are to that direction with the national curriculum not to the publishing perhaps but the same basic sort of structure... and I don't think that this is

necessarily a bad thing. Especially after what happened the last twenty years it is probably rather desirable to have something like that.

AS: It is going to remedy the anarchy which was created.

AM: Thinking of integrated studies again a change in emphasis and another fashion which came with that movement was the desire to make history more practical in the classroom by going out but also by making things ...a Saxon village, fighting battles, making flags...

GM: It would be so much better to do that in some technical class and use history time for something else...but it wasn't to be.

AM: But then to some extent it was to be because I haven't mentioned team teaching, which again was very fashionable at this level, I suppose this is the seventies again... which you might have the Art teacher the English teacher and the History teacher, working together the children moving around. Over your three terms you do a term with each. The theme of the year may be, say, medieval times and do with each teacher something of the period. The team actually taught their own specialist skills but the children were at the receiving end of all the expertise.

AS: They must have been very motivated to do that.

AM: Yes they were.

GM: It was also imposing constraints...but again you could find certain topics and certain periods which lend themselves well to do that approach but there were others where you were back to this integrated business and you felt that you were forcing the thing to work. It didn't come naturally at all. And it died a death because of that.

AM:....Or we were doing everything at a superficial level and nothing really in any depth...because you started doing something really exciting and then you moved on.

AS: After all history is complete on its own right.

AM: That's right and it is an umbrella of them all. You can say literature is part of history and geography develops or history develops as a result of geographical formations and visa a versa...

GM: I think that the problem of grammar school teaching and people like me taught much of political history in a very narrow extent. The people who criticized grammar schools had a fair point. The weaker pupils in grammar schools came with little out of this approach.

AM: That's right they would have gained more at the top of the secondary modern schools where they would feel the brightest. They would benefit from the different teaching approaches, more emphasis on the dramatic and the discussions and illustrations. If you think back to the textbooks you used in the two different types of school and the sort of textbooks you used at the secondary modern schools or the lowest bands of the comprehensives they were more pictures then words and the higher up the band you get the more the words increased and the pictures get smaller or fewer.

GM: You would have one or two cartoons and maps.

AM: Yes, maps increased and pictures decreased and so on.

AS: Were they encouraged to make debates and interpretations of historical facts in grammar school, the same facts seen in different ways?

GM: No...

AM: Well you are saying no, but I have done this in the classroom...

GM: I wasn't aware of this at all. It simply seemed to me that in the grammar school we do the accumulation of factual knowledge.

AM: Can I give an example of something that I have done?

AS: Yes, of course.

GM: She is a much better teacher than I am!

AM: No I am not at all. I have done it frequently because it worked so well...This was done in the third form level, in fact in the comprehensive school but with quite able children. It was literally having a debate on whether or not Charles I should be executed and finding that the boys could get so involved that were literally going out of their seats and say ...'but you know'...and really absolutely into it. This was a very rewarding thing to see, that they had become so involved. Obviously teaching the issues at stake first I suppose ...trying to make sure the various few points are represented and then using it in form of a debate...

GM: With which group, what sort of ability?

AM: Third years, the better of them.

AS: How old were third years?

AM. and GM.: Fourteen.

GM: But more often than not the kids would be asked to write an essay about it, 'Should the king have been executed?'...

AM: Yes, I am not saying not they might have written about it afterwards even for me, but what Athena was asking was: here are the facts, use them in an argument, that was what you were saying isn't it... and that is what I think the sort of thing you meant. Obviously they couldn't change history but they were using facts and attitudes to suggest how it could have been changed.

GM: You know the best thing I saw for that looking at version of history was the Turk and the Greek in Cyprus and the United States brought out with a pamphlet about giving the Greek view and the Turkish view of the same events and it was fascinating. It must have been after 1973. It was the United Nations looking at history being taught in different countries.

AM: There must be things like that On Ireland and Russia.

AS: To come back to European History teaching, do you remember subjects which were absolutely necessary to be taught like I suppose the French Revolution or ....

AM: Necessary in our view?

AS: Yes, you see coming from an authoritative system myself I think of imposition, but as you said fashions were...

AM: Are you thinking of a particular level?

AS: Especially for fourth forms and around O-level and A-level.

AM: OK because obviously at O-level there was an imposition in a sense and it was made by the syllabus of the examination boards. I mean however much you liked to teach something else if the boards and therefore the children's exams is going to be on this topic this topic and this topic, then that's what you must do. And usually the boards exams would specify a certain period for the paper say 1485 -1603, you may think that the most fascinating thing in that period was the rise of Calvin but this would be seen as part of the development of Protestantism as a whole, you must adapt your interests to what is going to be on their paper.

AS: So, you did also take the curricula from the Examination Boards and you studied them to make your own curriculum.

AM.and GM.: Of course you must, there was no alternative.

GM: The freedom there was what you wanted to do. But once you chose this period then that's it you have to teach what is there, for the sake of the kids.

AM: And you knew that, really, more or less, the same major topics would be those that would be examined year after year.

GM: I reckon that if you look at the vast bulk of British schools doing that sort of period you would find them doing 90% 19th century English and European O-level and 19th century English and European A-level again. It was just repeat all the time.

AS: I saw that in statistics.

GM: Thank God I didn't do that.

AM: What's that?

GM: I never repeated the same subject at the fifth and sixth form.

AM: Did you not? I thought you did. Did you do Tudors and Stuarts then?

GM: To start with we did not do any O-level - all the fourth form and the fifth form used to do world history papers, then I did A level English and European.

AS: I see in the syllabuses European history since 300 BC and I am not sure if this period was very popular. Usually what you come out with is 19th and twentieth centuries.

AM.and GM.: Yes.

AS: Does this mean that the French Revolution for example was taught at any kind of length?

AM: Yes it was taught in the fourth form. The reason why nineteenth and twentieth centuries are more popular is because it is chronologically developed through the years. You start with the Romans, or whatever, in your first year gradually you move up chronologically and by the time you are to the fifth form you are at the nineteenth century. It seems absurd then to go back. You wouldn't flash back. And also there is another good reason: the complexity of nineteenth and twentieth century history with so much more factual material to support it in a sense because it is so much more immediate to the lives of the children that you are teaching it to, the complexity of it makes it impossible for younger children to really come to terms with. So you start with something comparatively simple, where there is less material to deal with and where the issues therefore are black and white and gradually as you develop you are building in more material and consequently more controversial and sort of analytical skills are coming in to use that material. But the French Revolution certainly came in the fourth year when we were at school and afterwards too.

GM: I taught in the grammar school at the back end of the fifth form...Some schools at around here, there was the belief that after the O-level exams children coming back for the sixth form should come back to school and actually do some work during the summer holiday. Now you don't hear that any more that's gone.

AM: They go for work experience now.

GM: If they find anybody daft enough to take them on. But we used to do the French Revolution in that time prior to doing 1815 to whatever it was, as AL. French Revolution was so difficult that it was almost a waste of time doing it before then. Rightly or wrongly, other people said that it can be taught.

AS: I just wonder if there was a juxtaposition between European Absolutism and British Parliamentary Democracy and how the institutions were built, was there a ...

GM: There was an awareness when we were teaching that there were quite clearly different systems and there was a strong tendency to look at other countries in relation to what happened in Britain and how Britain was controlled. The fact that Britain was probably as corrupted as it was possibly be made ... At the end of the day it had the semblance of being more just and so you tended to say this was democracy, when very few people could actually vote. This wasn't taken into account. Nevertheless it did look better than what was going on in other countries. There were tendencies to say that it wasn't as good as Britain without being terribly critical of Britain. I don't think we paid enough attention to the fact that British system, although it looked good as it was on paper, in practice was not all that much better than what was going on over the road. But whether you had absolutism and extremities there was an awareness of that certainly. And also a belief of course that everybody else should do what the British did. There was no question about that...which is something British do suffer from to some extent

AS: 'We are not like them' in a way.

AM: 'It couldn't never happen here' A sort of splendid isolationism in history, in a way isn't it?

GM: Oh it is ...it is a very strong thing.

AM: And certainly when I taught things, mercantilism and imperialism, because the books were like that, it was always tended to be towards the glorious British Empire and 'Look what we have given them' rather how we have exploited them in order to ..

AS: Educate them...

AM: Exactly...They were heathens and we brought them Christianity they were savages and we brought them civilization...and therefore they owe us... labour don't they?

GM: There is no tendency to debunk that. In certain parts of the world that was true the British did achieve some things. It is very difficult to keep a balanced view about it.

AM: But I think, certainly when I was at school myself, the tendency was to see it as Britain's gift to the world...being the empire

GM: Oh yes, I think that this still prevails.

AM: But I think you can see it reflected in textbooks.

AS: I would like to come to textbooks now. Could you give titles of textbooks which you consider standard?

At this point Mrs Morris went at the loft to bring down some textbooks kept there.

AS: What about the people who were writing textbooks they were not university people were they?

GM: No they were mostly teachers. But when you were doing A-level work, some of them were university people. But most of them were teachers some were in training colleges lecturing and so on...What made the big difference was pushing up the school leaving age... from 14 to 15 then to 16...that created a lot more things to teach obviously and it meant you need a lot more teachers and training colleges expanded and the whole thing mushroomed and took off in a big way. It seemed to me that it got completely out of hand. If you look at the textbooks that those people were turning out there was a coherence in amongst those who were looking at examinations they provided a good working basis and they usually came from teachers in schools and they knew what they

were talking about. Once you moved on to other areas where they were not examination oriented that's where I felt the teachers in the training colleges came through the lecturers and then you get all sorts of flights of fancy which was terribly interesting and so forth but left you or left the pupils without any basic knowledge of anything at all. They had little bits and pieces all over the place, they did not know anything. The lady who works in the education office where I work now has a pretty good knowledge about the main events in British history and she went into a secondary modern school. Her husband went to a secondary modern school and he knows nothing. Absolutely nothing, because his school either did not do anything at all or did some weird things that were not of use what so ever. Where in her school there obviously was a definite line right the way through and she went with it that way.

AS: There was no coherence.

GM: Yes... But the books I remember teaching at O-level for fourteen to sixteen years old in particular in the European side were written by a man called Richards....if you talk to anybody who taught O-level history English or European had those. One of the few people who made a lot of money out of history textbooks. They were good detailed, knowledgeable and readable, in so far they were books aimed at examinations. I think he collaborated with somebody else on other topics...but Denis Richards is certainly a name to remember. And there was another one by Peacock which we used to do. For A-level European history there is a book which a University teacher tells me is still used in schools now, by Anthony Wood. I think Wood was a teacher in Eton College. I always thought that Wood was a slight book and when I was talking to my students into grammar school up here we saw Wood as an afterthought and a lot of schools use it as their main textbook. I used also specialist books for different countries. Well quite a decent number of boys went to Oxford and Cambridge so they were able boys and the rest of the class was more than competent. You were not afraid to give them a good book. Albert Carrie with the Diplomatic History of Europe was something that they could handle. The Derry book was something they could use as well as an introduction.

Mrs Morris arrived with a big sample of textbooks and we started a discussion on these books. The authors which were frequent especially for A-level were Namier, Seaman, Cobban, Leslie and other books on special subjects. We discussed the competence and presentation of these books on several subjects. Ann Morris showed me the books which were popular in the sixties in which apart from the classical world they would elaborate

on the Middle East, India, China. Unstead on the Middle Ages, Price and Mather on the Tudors... books of the fifties. The seventies books would present Mesopotamia as The History of the two Rivers...In the seventies a series of books aiming at doing history through European eyes was launched where England played only a small part. The House of History was a series of the forties and fifties, where the basement was ancient history and going up in time. Still some books would show the pink places in the world of the British Empire. They also told me that many books intended for O-level were used in the sixth form. D.Richards and A.Quick were very popular. In Cowie's book 'From the Peace of Paris to World War I' the subject discussed in this book was surprisingly enough British History only! Thematic approach books, i.e. the theme of war seen in different context, became popular in the seventies. It was called 'patches'. In the integrated studies you had books on History, Geography and Religion in series which were world wide in scope.

The discussion ended with the general comment that textbooks should not be as important as teaching but may be one should apply halfway the continental approach, that is the state giving a strong suggestion on what there is to be taught and halfway the British approach where the liberty of the teacher of how to teach it is much higher, to get both a guided and free level of teaching.

C

Sir Conrad Russell

4th February 1992, King's College London

Athena Syriatou: When were you at Eton?

Conrad Russell: Between 1949 and 1954.

AS: How important was the lesson of history in this school?

CR: It was very important. After the war the headmasters were very frightened by the Labour government. They had very strong ideological lines which had to be followed. I still remember the headmaster calling 'You Russell and Andersen (Perry) why don't you approve imperialism?' History was a subject which was taught from 15 onwards. Till then it was 50% classics and 50% of all other subjects.

AS: Was there a curriculum planning for the whole school or were things left to the expertise of the teacher?

CR: No one was supposed to design a curriculum. They were just doing things as they used to do: 'because that is how they did it before' They used to say: 'We have always done it like that'. They were continuing civilization not creating it. It was a strongly religious school and very conservative.

AS: What kind of history was predominantly taught in Eton?

CR: It was mainly English history. We knew less about Scotland, Wales or Ireland, than about Bulgaria. Most teachers used to cover a great range of subjects in English history from Roman Britain till 1914. There was a great emphasis on the evolution of British Liberties.

AS: Did they teach European History?

CR: They taught early medieval European history, because that did not arouse many ideological disputes. But they also taught the Great French Revolution, or other European subjects. They were conscious that European history is a different history.

There was a tendency to teach the history of different European nation states, not European history. Europe did not have an entity of its own unless it was for Roman Catholic Church.

AS: How was history taught did you use specific textbooks?

CR: History teaching worked mainly through weekly essay writing, booklists and library searching; not necessarily classroom teaching. On the whole it was very conservative but they used to encourage argument through reading and searching. Textbooks, although they were there, they were not the only books used.

AS: Do you remember any?

CR: Warner Marten Muir was one of them, as well as the older book of Sir Charles Oman. The first was a comprehensive book which was used as a basis before doing research.

AS: Was history teaching determined by examinations?

CR: It was determined by school examinations not national examinations. Being accepted in Oxford and Cambridge open scholarships was very important.

AS: Did you have a feeling that this was a special school with a special ethos?

CR: It was a school for oddities and individualists. There was tolerance but tolerance can be a bitter weapon. In Eton they have been discriminating people through tolerance. I was in trouble for not being religious. I have been beaten on occasions for that. Not being religious in Eton was like a disability. But I was different anyway. I was not an American when in America, I was very studious when in Darlington, I was not a conservative in Eton. Looking back I think it was a school I could work well. There was a good library and we were constantly encouraged to work. The only school which could compete with Eton in open scholarships at that time was Manchester Grammar School. (It started collapsing when the new headmaster set out to make 'Christian English Gentlemen' in an 40% Jewish pupil population!)

D

Professor Peter Hennessy

Institute of Historical Research

12, February 1992

Athena Syriatou: I promise I will not tell anybody but when did you attend grammar school?

Peter Hennessy: Oh I don't mind if you tell people 1959 to 1964.

AS: What did it mean to be a grammar school boy in those days was it something special?

PH: It was very special even in a rural area like mine where a higher proportion of the population went to the grammar school than they did in the cities, but it was still something it still mattered. It is difficult to disentangle how special I felt at the time or how special one has felt subsequently because it has become like a cult for the grammar school boys. But it certainly was special. I was unusual that I had gone to a public school in London before my parents went to Gloucestershire, and if my father hadn't had economic trouble I would have continued going to a public school, a boarding school...and I thank my lucky star to this day that he went bankrupt, or technically went bankrupt, he didn't have the money to sent me to Downside, because going to Marling School in Stroud instead fitted me like a glove.

AS: What was the importance of the subject of history among other subjects taught in school? Was it the subject which was going to form ideology?

PH: Ideology is not a word that occurred to us you know, because the English have an aversion to ideology but history was a very very important subject in the scheme of things. Politics wasn't taught in my school at either OL or in AL so history was the one which was the intellectual outlet for those who were interested in current affairs and it was extremely well taught in my grammar school as it was in many because ...for two reasons really one was the British University has produced a glut of good history

graduates already by this stage and also the servicemen coming back from the war and doing the crash teachers training college system...after the war twelve months training were brilliant at this. They were people with a normal age who had seen more of the world than they wanted to ...and they were extremely interesting mature people and they had a great feel for this, so the quality of the teaching generally in the grammar schools was very very high, but on this subject sometimes you got superlative people.

AS: Have they been encouraging you to be analytical?

PH: Oh yes, they encouraged you to be questioning it was not a deferential form of teaching you were encouraged to think for yourself and the essay form, being dominated by essay writing encouraged the expression and the literary culture was extremely strong. British historians to this day write better per square inch virtually than anybody else certainly than North America. It's partly because we haven't got the Germanic tradition of social sciences to get in the way of good language, like the Americans who by and large have been infected by it. But writing those essays from an early age in schools like mine means that it's like breeding. It's very very important...and history above all was the subject which enabled you to do this.

AS: As far as you can remember was the history curriculum oriented mainly on British history?

PH: It was British and European.

AS: Was Europe shown as a distinct entity from Britain?

PH: Oh yes very much so. I remember at this stage we've only just got round to make our first application to join European Community but it was always split up Britain and Europe.

AS: What kind of Britain or what kind of Europe did it come out. Was it an industrial Britain or an imperial one...?

PH: No we cut our intellectual teeth on anything. It was the Henry VIII and the Reformation the governmental revolution that went with it. It was Geoffrey Elton's books that were the great intellectual pace-maker for all of us. We weren't taught drum and

trumpet imperial history far from it. It really was sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain that we cut our intellectual teeth on, it did not give us any peculiar views of Europe it just gave us in the way that the British tendency even now but certainly then of high specialization at a young age. It was almost turning us into sort of intellectual athletes very precocious and when you prepared yourself for the Oxford and Cambridge exam you get even more precocious, you did an even wider reading and it was a very good forcing house. Yet it did not seem forced at the time because of the quality of the teaching. Looking back now I can see that is very distinctive but of course you did not have anything to compare it with at the time. I would not say that it was crudely reinforcing national stereotypes or insularity or anything like that it was more intellectually pace-making in events that were sufficiently distant. I did not get groomed with the Whig interpretation of history or anything like that. We read Namier and Richards, Pears and so on but there is no way that I can conceive of us being fashioned into distinctive British minds except in the intellectual sense the way we approach subjects. So it was a distinctive intellectual approach rather than a distinctive British interpretation of events, which is something different.

AS: What about nineteenth and twentieth centuries?

PH: I don't think we did twentieth century. In so far as I got the impression of the nineteenth century, it was the prototype welfare state, the Edwardian one, it was the coming and going of great wars, it was those liberal administrations of Mr Gladstone, it was very very unideological when I think about it, it was very evidence driven.

AS: Was the evolution of the Parliament distinctly pointed as unique and special to you?

PH: Oh yes exactly. We had all that. What I suppose was missing was a kind of institutional approach, you took these institutions as given. In no way did you think they were superior there was no cultural imperialism implanted, but we were given quite a good feeling of how we got to where we are as a nation.

AS:...which was the ultimate stage of civilization?

PH: We did not see it in those terms. We were clever boys but we weren't grand. There was no feeling amongst us that were going to be the future elite of the country. We knew that we were clever and we were not like Public School boys but we never consciously

absorbed the specialness of Britain. It was just something you learned about. It did actually produce in us a great sense in later life of who we were and where we were coming from, we had a great sense of place and background and our place in society. But it was not taught to us in any way that it was crude. ...Well somebody from overseas listening to this would say this is the classic example of British humbug, they pretend they are not ideological and they are entirely pragmatic and empirical but they are the worst of the lot because they think only they can be unideological, empirical and pragmatic. So it could be that. But it was by and large a very enjoyable experience as well.

AS: Do you refer to history teaching?

PH: Yes. But the quality of those teachers was really quite something. It really was.

AS: What about the absolutist Europe, Europe which has so much drama as compared to placid Britain?

PH: Oh, there was a sense of that. We grew up knowing that we were in a very stable settled society. We were not intellectually incurious, we embed in the way that clever boys do. We had our political differences...I remember the 1964 general election. We had a mock election and so on but it was by and large like a discussion within the same extended family, except we would not put it like that because we had nothing to compare it with. We were precocious but we weren't grand. The intellectual formation is interesting because the cleverest of us did find that there were books that were particularly interesting not just in history but in other subjects. We used to do a thing called the general paper, along with the A levels and the S (scholarship) levels. My English teacher said get 'The Listener' that's a magazine that is very well put together and you will find interesting things in there. In some ways reading *The Listener* regularly was as much of an intellectual pace-maker in terms of the things I ended up doing professionally more than anything else. But it was a distinctly English phenomenon when I look back at it those grammar schools, particularly on the outside. As you can see I was not made to think about this before. My generation just assumes it. There is a certain code that we have in common those of us that were grammar school boys in my generation. I remember reading Michael Young's 'The Rise of the Meritocracy' and thinking why do people worry about this, it should be natural that clever boys like me should do things. So I did not see it as critique at all, or a horrible warning. In that sense we were rather full of

ourselves. We thought we were the coming wave. I think you are right in taking all these things seriously because this is a very very distinct cultural phenomenon in certain age groups in the UK - between the 1944 Education Act being run in and extending grammar school education really quite dramatically and in folding up not totally but very large in the mid sixties, early seventies. We will be seen as a distinct chunk of British culture in intellectual history, no question.

AS: Did you have the feeling that you were in the right country, in the right culture in a way?

PH: Absolutely we were very smug in that sense. If we had known and I don't think we did, Cecil Rhodes' line that the greatest gift a person can have is to be born an Englishman, we would have thought 'how appalling'! We were pro African independence and we talked about it, there was no question of us being atavistic about it... But we clearly had an amazing sense of who we were and where we were from, and the stability of it all. A thing which is still with me is that I could never live abroad. It would take a tyranny for doing that. But of course being a grammar school boy you think this is quite out of the question.

AS: You were mostly taught sixteenth century history then?

PH: From memory yes I think so. Although for AL we did early twentieth century history and nineteenth century.

AS: Do you remember doing any imperial history at all?

PH: No I don't remember any of that. I did it at College it was a wonderful eye opener in the sense that it was a beautifully rich subject to do, not in the sense I suddenly felt guilty for my country's past. I did that as an undergraduate at Cambridge and that was a wonderful experience. Looking back at some of those essays I did, (I found some of my history essays a few years ago) I was pretty pleased with them because we were encouraged to use language as a weapon not just to repeat chunks that they were in the books but to take it a bit further. You had to do that and that I suspect is the key of intellectual formation. It is not being accepting one of the received wisdom of reading the basic stuff and then trying to mix it up in a good blend.

AS: Construct an argument...

PH: That's right. I can remember now my English master (English was my weakest of my three subjects) he said to me: 'You are very interesting...There are some boys who do all the reading and they are very conscientious and cannot make it work in essays. They have all the richest ingredients that they can possibly have and the meal goes wrong. You can do wonders with a few sausages and a tin of baked beans.'...And I was terribly pleased by that. I took it as a great compliment. That for me was what the intellectual formation was. The plausible fluent Brit as he can be seen abroad in later life was very much a grammar school phenomenon.

AS: Do you think history was the subject which was par excellence intended to form that ideology of the Brit...?

PH: The non ideology...

AS: Which was an ideology after all...

PH: Exactly...English ...you could write a different kind of critical essay, Geography you could be quite clever about geomorphology rocks and landscapes and so on and you could see how the countries work as economic units but it was the history that did it actually...plus the general papers of current affairs....plus the quality of teaching...So much so that the book I just finished is dedicated to six of my teachers from grammar school. They were grammar school boys themselves, they were meritocrats and to a quite a remarkable extent, we were still a very hierarchical nation in the early sixties, they became quite good friends with us even before we left. We were lucky we were regarded as especially good year...It was a critical mass of fizzy people. I think that groups of teachers like it if they get a year like that. But I think I was extremely well served. The problem of that education was that it was not wide spread and some grammar schools were not like this. Some were like factories, intellectual factories. We had a kind of easy going social sense because Gloucestershire was a great levering up of locally recruited boys with rural background. There were quite a few people coming from other areas around there, London in my case, whose fathers were working in the light industry around so there was a mixture of good rural types and clever types from elsewhere...I keep using this word 'clever', but we did not actually have a special sense of our own cleverness because socially we were not pretentious.

AS: But you were relatively well off, distinct from working class or lower middle class?

PH: It did not seem to matter much because of the rural background. In a city the working class element might have been more obvious but even middle class boys in Gloucestershire spoke with a quite broad west country accent. It's rather like in Scotland the accent makes it different. They were very few boys whose parents were very rich, I have to say, but socially we were not snobbish. We were the reverse of snobbish in the sense that if occasionally we had teachers who had public school values they stood out like sour thumb. There was a kind of rough unspoken egalitarianism in the social sense which was very appealing to me.

AS: OK you say it was egalitarian but you were aware that you were the ones who passed the eleven plus...

PH: Oh yes, but within it boys were from quite a wide range of backgrounds. There was not a lot of money flying around. The school uniform was one of the few set of clothes you had. We liked all that. Well I did. I will know till my dying days in a room in a university or in any professional circumstance who were the grammar school boys and who were not. There is a slight edge to them. It is a combination of both striving and superiority. We did think we were superior to those who had good education because of birth or money, we got there because we showed them that we could hack it. That gave a sense of slight specialness. But we did not convert into social snobbery.

AS: Not even national snobbery?

PH: There was then still a resentment for the Axis powers. We have all grown up with war movies. Some people were pro-Americans others were not.

AS: So Britain for you was the liberator.

PH: We felt that we have done the right thing in the two world wars, particularly the second. My father was too young to fight the world war two but most of the parents of the pupils had been soldiers in the war. We were not that nationalistic. We were self confident as a nation we needn't be neurotic about other people.

AS: So do you think that history teaching was contributing to the idea that Britain was the country of victory, democracy who fought fascism?

PH: It was unspoken. We just thought that certain nations do not put up with certain things. Of course you absorbed this without realizing it. It is what we call the unspoken decency of British political life or British society, which of course had its blemishes but there is no sort of dickering with totalitarianism. We were unideological but the ideology of pragmatism was very strong. We were the first television generation, we did not get a television until later on, we still went to the films. We were not in any way flash, we were only at the edge of consumerism. It was a transition age. We used to climb in the mountains and get drunk. Innocence. We knew we were clever. That's for sure.

AS: Thank you very much.

E

Dr Richard Cockett

IHR 19. 2. 1992

Marlborough 1974-1979

Athena Syriatou: What did it mean to you to be in a Public School during the seventies, was the myth of Public School still alive then, did you have the feeling of being the elite?

Richard Cockett: No, not to me, because in my English educational system, if you are mainly interested in things of the intellect and you measure your teenage achievements in exams, that was not necessarily a good thing but that's what happened, then going to Public School was no great thing it's just whether your parents have a lot of money to send you there. What matters is that you went to Oxford afterwards. The fact that I went to Oxford, I got a scholarship in the entrance exam there, is what I hold which gives a slightly more glow. I have no nostalgia at all for Public School, I don't think they form any intellectual elite at all. Each school has a fast stream of people who are perhaps more intellectual going to Oxbridge which was what happened to me. But out of my school those did not number more than about thirty or forty a year. It was at Oxbridge that actually you felt that you were part of an intellectual elite. We were looking back to Oxford as forming for us a form of intellectual network.

AS: I know that during the seventies there were lots of fashions especially as it concerns history. Sociology suddenly became more important in some schools. Were Public Schools susceptible in such fashions or was the subject of history stable there?

RC: Each Public School has different intellectual tradition. It is not so much an institutional tradition you are looking at but a personnel tradition. Different Public Schools had different strengths in terms of the subjects, according to who were the strongest teachers in that particular subject. Winchester was famous, ever since the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century for turning out a series of classical scholars. So the standard route for classical scholars would be Winchester and then New

College Oxford... a very standard pattern followed by Richard Crossman, Douglas Jay, Jon Sparrow and others. At Eton there was a rather similar tradition, Westminster there was a strong historical tradition. So I would say that each school had strong traditions and the tradition of each school had certain strengths in a particular subject. The tradition of what was strongest in each particular school was designated by the strength of the teachers in that particular subject. Marlborough as happened when I was there, 1974-1979, since about 1960 there had been this person called Dr Peter Carter and he was a medieval scholar and he had done his first degree in Merton Oxford and his PhD in Oxford and then left and came to Marlborough. He was a brilliant scholar and a brilliant teacher. It was his brilliance as a teacher that produced exams results out of us. So the brightest in the arts like me, tended to congregate around Peter Carter. When it came to Oxbridge in 1979, out of his nine candidates all nine got in, three with awards, including myself. No other teacher ever achieved anything like that. English had one out of ten, Maths was half...he always produced the best results which meant that history had the very strong tradition when I was there. These teachers knew nothing about the debate of new teaching methods they were just teaching what they wanted to teach. And that consisted of lecturing. He walked in took out his notes and lectured for about forty minutes very rarely did anyone ask a question. I spent two and a half years in his classes and I never spoke in his class I never once asked a question or had any interaction with him in class at all. Yet, I would say that he was the most inspiring teacher. Far better than anyone at Oxford.

AS: It sounds as if it was an undergraduate class.

RC: That's right he treated you as if you were undergraduate. So from sixteen to eighteen you were basically taught by lectures by him, and then you wrote an essay once a week. Extraordinary good lectures. The point is that he had no fear that any of it would go over your head, of course a lot of it did go over your head from the word 'go', but because he was teaching the brightest it meant that it was up to you to learn afterwards what you had been lectured to during the class. So the idea was to read the books and get about it. There was no empathy and modern educational stuff in it at all.

AS: In terms of content how much European or British history you were taught?

RC: Well I did medieval history for A-level. The first years of school you did twentieth century the thirties, Germany and Italy and things like that. For O-level you did a British History Paper but I remember that we also did a very good course called 'The Expansion

of Europe' which was from a paper about the voyages of discovery the Europeans of fifteenth century starting from Henry the Navigator 1415. How the colonisation of the New World and Africa basically ended as British Portuguese and Spanish. In that sense it was very European oriented but basically looking how did Europe colonise the rest of the world. It was basically European Imperialism.

AS: What about subjects like the French Revolution?

RC: It doesn't seem to be impinged in my memory so probably we did not do it.

AS: In most state schools comprehensives and many grammar schools, you were taught history in a chronological order: first ancient then medieval then modern. From what you say this did not apply in Public School.

RC: What you did for A-level, when you got your A-level paper, the A-level paper asked questions from 200 AD to 1964, six sides...Basically you could take your pick. I elected to go for the medieval in the sixth form because it was best taught. There were the fast stream classes you were going to get the best AL and you were going to Oxbridge.

AS: Which examination board did you take?

RC: Oxford and Cambridge. So you see we did European and British. Yes I suppose there was no logical progression in teaching history, no continuity.

AS: As far as I can see in the statistics in most schools candidates chose nineteenth and twentieth centuries for their A levels, so Public Schools must be an exception.

RC: It so happened that the best teacher happened to be a medievalist. We were taught essentially for O-level six times and those six times we had about three terms with him. The rest was a range of all sorts of other subjects. For instance one term we did a course of nineteenth and twentieth century German philosophy and literature from Schopenhauer to Thomas Mann. Another term we did a course on European political philosophy, say Marxism, Anarchism and things like that. They were supposed to generally enlarge your mind. We did another course on the Growth of Scientific Learning, with Roundsbottom. So we did dip around without chronological order.

AS: Or any ethnic order.

RC: We did half and half. In a way it was more European because all our general philosophy courses we did for individual terms were all European, so it was German literature and philosophy, Russian literature and philosophy, almost exclusively European. All was within history teaching.

AS: Can you tell if there was an idea of Britain in comparison with Europe?

RC: We could not tell because we did medieval history which was pre-industrial. What Carter was interested in was the tide of ideas. Carter was very much an intellectual historian and intellect during the medieval period meant to a certain extend theology and ideas of ecclesiastical growth. So what we mainly focused on was theological controversies, ecclesiastical controversies and of course Britain in as far as it was a member of the Catholic Church was very much seen as an adjunct of ecclesiastical and theological controversies going on the continent. So there was no way to see England apart from the European hinterland because of course as I say the English church and State was dominated by what was going on the continent. Also for 400 AD to 1200, all English history is a series of invasions of Saxons, Danes, Normans, you name it they came here. You could not really view English history in that period as any other but a long continuation and impingement often unwelcome from the continent.

AS: It does not seem very typical. Usually the case was teaching the period where England was really Great, nineteenth century...

RC: Yes this is a part of history you do. When European countries look to Britain for ideas, political economy, liberalism, free trade...Yet 800 AD, 900 AD, the year 1000, the reverse was absolutely true. All ideas you were looking at, were brought to England from the Continent - even warfare. To that extent it was impossible to see Britain as an imperial nation. As it was often pointed out Britain had three periods of intellectual domination of Europe where English culture exported to Europe. The 8th century with Northumbrian Renaissance, so you could study the transfer of Celtic ideas - the transfer of Christian culture to the then un-Christian tribes of Northern Europe. The other period was the Elizabethan period and the last would be the late nineteenth century. To that extent we were studying one of those periods but to a certain extent the evidence we had was so fragmentary, you could say it was a great cross fertilisation and cross currents of

ideas from Europe to England. It may well be atypical but that has to do with the period you were studying than any sort of ideological bent. I must say that my teacher Oliver Roundsbottom was a Marxist. He believed very much in the class war and Marxist analysis. Dr Carter was above politics, he did not have any politics he was just sceptical. There was a very good combination, say you were brought up a sort of public school Marxist by one, while Dr Carter had a very sceptical inquiring mind. You had a glimpse of ideology of systems with Roundsbottom and yet with Carter you had an association with sceptical inquiry. There was a good balance.

AS: What about textbooks? Did you rely on the notes of the teacher or did you have textbooks for your everyday study?

RC: Up to A-level you had textbooks which were definitely more simple, designed for sixteen year olds. These textbooks were simplistic, they had lots of pictures etc. Then when we were getting into the sixth form we were given textbooks which we were using at Oxford. Of course at the beginning we could not make head or tail of them, let alone read them, they were far too complex, but you just kept on and one day you could understand them and little by little you did. So we very much relied on notes at the beginning. For A-level we relied on books which would become fairly standard for undergraduates.

AS: Speaking of Medieval history did you do any Byzantine history at all?

RC: Well you see we did from 200 till about 1200...

AS: Excellent period for Byzantine history...

RC: We started with the Diocesan Reforms and then I suppose we went up to ... We did theological controversies up to the thirteenth centuries, the Franciscans...Byzantine history we did not do a great deal of but that was because Carter's main interest was not that. It was in the churches of the Occident. He was mainly interested for the Papacy and the growth of Catholic borders that came out of the Papacy. The main thing we did in great detail was the monastic movements, the Cluniacs, the Cistercians, the Friars...were our main focus, Gregory the Great, the Benedictine order...

AS: I suppose when you refer Byzantine history it would be to report the main clashes with the occidental faith.

RC: Exactly. We only stopped in Byzantine history when it impinged upon the West. Before we did Justinian and the re-invention of the West by Byzantium. And of course Constantine the Great and the foundation of the eastern empire, and I think that's about it.

AS: So it was entirely up to the teacher to select what to teach, there were no any standard subjects which had to be taught as it happened in many European countries.

RC: No, Carter for example had carte blanche, and one of the reasons he had carte blanche was that he was so successful. Nobody was going to challenge what he taught or how he taught it, if every year he got his entire class into Oxbridge. Nothing succeeds like success. So the fact that he was so successful meant that he was untouchable. Nobody interfered in his teaching methods for the whole twenty five years he was there. Medieval history was the right thing to do anyway, because when he came to Oxbridge every College had a medieval don and medieval history was underused, not many people do it, so when we went up we immediately had sole attention of one don - when everybody else was producing endless Tudor-Stuart papers, Modern European papers, Modern British history papers to have less attention.

AS: So the target was to get a good place into Oxbridge by specialising quite early in one subject. This was far different from other European countries which at that level were targeting to a more general and more holistic approach to history through a compulsory curriculum.

RC: For people like Carter I think that history was very organic. What you learnt when you were studying history was the history of ideas, the history of politics, the history of human motivation. He would have said that what you learned about one century is equally applicable to another period. Our first lectures were given and we started off by Gibbon and the lines: 'History is nothing more than the tale of the fables, follies and shortcomings of mankind.' and that's what history was all about. So it did not matter what century you were dealing with. He could see patterns in history about every idea, history was a not week, that history is seamless, history of unendingly bright progress and that every system is corrupt, that power corrupts. These were maxims which it didn't matter which history you study. We studied the debauchery of the Catholic church, ideas,

the extra-beliefs, gaps between ideas and realities. He wasn't lecturing you these things, he was taking you through the history and you learned it. He was telling this was what happened draw your conclusions. You did not need to look over your period. Problems of Marxism were the same say as Clunian monks, what happened to ideas put into practice, how ideas were abused, how mankind ended up with the opposite of what he hoped. Medieval history is very good for that because it's raw ideas it is very little external events impinging on things and so it quite easy to categorise. So yes Carter had almost carte blanche. That was very public schooling. But of course this happened because he was very successful. I think that this does not happen in comprehensives. They have to follow a much more rigorous course and of course it depends what course you do as well. So I would say that this is pretty singularly in public schools.

AS: Thank you very much.

F

Alfred Catterall
Bexley, 8. 12. 1992

Athena Syriatou: Which Local Educational Authority were you councillor at?

Alfred Catteral: At the London Borough of Bexley in South-east London. We have a population of 830,000 people and there are about 90 schools. 18 secondary schools the rest are either primary or special schools. Three special schools banded for the age of two to eighteen.

AS: When exactly did you work in this Authority?

AC: I am elected councillor you see, I was first elected in 1982, but before that since about 1968 I had been a school governor.

AS: Well it is not exactly the period I am examining. Were there many changes during that time?

AC: Tremendous changes in all these years.

AS: What were the duties of someone directing the Local Educational Authority?

AC: You do not direct it. Every school was like a cottage industry. Up until 1980 it was all laid down by the 1944 Education Act, which only laid down that the one subject which had to be taught was religious education. The rest it was expected, as a great tradition of not writing down anything and rely on everybody to understand. Children ought to know about arithmetic and history and English and hopefully a foreign language and things of that nature. Lately it became vital to know about science as well. But most schools taught a balanced curriculum, and that included mathematics, English the humanities, at least one foreign language, some science, technical education and religious education. The 1944 Education Act was making sure that every child received an education within its school system. So you had to be at school so you had truancy officers to make sure you did not stay away from school unnecessarily. Half the funds for the Local Educational Authority were raised locally and half were raised by the government.

The teachers were on a national wage scale but other aspects of the curriculum were to some extend dependant on the Local Authorities' generosity to buy books and equipment the type of buildings they provided. Britain suffered during the period you are looking at, because we had a tremendous boom in building, at the later stages of the Victorian Era, and an awful lot of public buildings were put up in 1880s 1890s, 1900s when Britain was very very rich compared to the rest of the world. So we were left with a legacy of hospitals and schools which were very well built, but of course the time came to the fifties, sixties and they were totally out of date. Getting towards a hundred years old...the roof started leaking, the windows did not fit properly...and it wasn't really acceptable for children to go outside to go to the toilet anymore particularly in winter. A lot of local authorities were quite busy replacing things. That sort of attack was going on. The need to expand school facilities where as twenty years ago it was quite an achievement to get one computer in each school. Now it is different. We went through stages where we were buying each school ten computers a year...There is the need to make sure that there is enough textbooks, enough teaching equipment...

AS: With what criteria do the LEAs give money to schools?

AC: To a large extent it was based and always has been based on how much did it cost to run the school. There were certain fixed costs. Then you got pupil-related costs. A pupil teacher ratio. It varies in forms. The books are pupil related. Up until 1980 there was the premises related costs, fixed costs and then there was the pupil-related costs.

AS: Did it matter what kind of school it was?

AC: The grammar schools would have different books they would have science labs where the secondary modern would have workshops, they would be different, but it cost the same amount of money. The expenditure for science labs and the domestic science facilities were about the same cost. They both break things, they use the same amount of energy, electricity, gas, the same sort of proportions. In grammar schools maybe you need expensive books which do not last forever. In the end you need the same amount of money per pupil if you are sensible authority. I am not saying that every authority did that. If you look an authority in Wales, there was a great disparity between grammar schools and secondary modern ones. Again it is very difficult to take away money from a school if you start giving. In Bexley we became an authority in 1964, we set up policies that we believed were right.

AS: Did you get any directives from the Ministry concerning the curriculum?

AC: No not concerning the curriculum during the period you are examining. The kind of directive we had were about structure. We should have comprehensive education, there shouldn't be settings within the schools, there should be mixed ability all the way through and the theory was that the higher ability children will help to teach the lower ability children. Well that was the theory. My colleagues and I saw this as transforming education into a child minding service, which we did not believe in. To be fair to them a lot of the people who were supporting comprehensive education were basing it on two or three very successful schools not very far from here where they had very high proportion of social class A and B children. Not that many social class C and a few Ds going into the school. Calling this comprehensive education they achieved very high academic standards. Well they would...wouldn't they? So in theory because all subjects were taught in school it saved a lot of money. Again if you are going to treat children well the teacher has to be given a chance. To try and teach all abilities all at the same time is a very very hard job to do. And to try and reduce that ability span gives the teacher far more chance to teach in depth to everyone of those children, stretch everyone of them to their ability. If you have an all ability then the teacher has to concentrate either to the top or to the low or to the middle. It is   party political in Britain this issue. I know that my political opponents feel very passionate about this as well. There are within the framework, there is a series of inspections from HMIs. The minimum time for inspection for every school is about ten years and can be a lot longer than that. These were the arrangement from the Ministry. The school governs through the LEA. There was a very notorious case where the whole teaching stuff was sacked. It was an extreme case.

AS: It must have been very extreme, as far as I know their role was to advise and cultivate consensus.

AC: That's right. Legally they could only try to persuade. The Butler Act did not let any standards at all, other than religious education. All they said there was that it will be taught. What was setting the standards in effect for a lot of schools was the external examinations. The parents who wanted their children to go to university than they had to get external examinations and the schools had to teach them well enough so the children could sit with a hope of passing those. That was the motivation. The matriculation was in effect the curriculum driver. Other young people who wanted to go to professions, were

looking to the professional institutions who laid down entry standards, they were setting the curriculum as well. For craftsman and manual workers then you had the craft guilds and the trade unions, who were setting entry standards, for the lower levels of secondary schools. Before a young person entered an apprenticeship, they had to have readable education standards. To embark on a course what you had to do was go to a further education college and have remedial teaching or you were allowed to go on to do a vocational qualification. In the forties and fifties teaching was not considered a university education, it was a vocation and they did not go to university they were going to Teachers Training College, which was awfully high. The number of teachers who had no qualifications at all in maths or arithmetic or any science are legions and we have still got them.

AS: Were there any standards that the LEAs were using either for the curriculum when inspecting schools for example or when employing teachers for different schools to teach various aspects of the curriculum?

AC: Our schools here, well before 1988, we started as an Educational Authority to bring in curricular standards. We call them educational advisers for each curricular area and we insisted that it each school should have its own targets of what it wanted to achieve in the curriculum area. If it was the intention of the school that above 95% of the children should achieve what now would be a GCSE grade A to C, and 75% should go on and get an A level with a grade A to C in Maths, that would be a statement of intention of the school. It would lay out the way they wanted to teach and why and what they wanted to do.

AS: Academic standards is one thing but content is another thing. If there was a school for example where they wanted to teach Japanese history, would you ever intervene and say: you should teach British history as well or European?

AC: That came later. After we set the standards there was a push to do things particularly after 1973. It is a very slow thing. You have to let things grow but if you do not plant the bulbs there will never have great shoots coming out. You need to plant your seeds. There are more and more joint ventures, with schools in Bexley and schools in Germany, or France. This happened after Britain joined the Common Market after 1973. We allowed the children to be proud to be European, this did not stop them from being British, we made them proud of being from Bexley.

AS: I suppose after local history became popular in the seventies that would be the case.

AC: Yes I believe that is the right way to learn history at primary school.

AS: Was it the school adviser then who was monitoring things on the curriculum?

AC: It has been gradual. Every school now has these curriculum statements, objectives etc. They all now manage their own affairs.

AS: Do they submit that statement to LEAs?

AC: We provide them with a model curriculum statement, and let them do what they can. The councillors like myself look at these statements with the educational committee and approve. Then we send them to the school governments with heads of schools and approve. There had been very few disagreements. There was a little in the religious schools, some voluntary aided schools. We have three Catholic secondary schools and they wanted more emphasis on their own religion, and they wanted more emphasis on the Catholic aspects in history - a Catholic version of history. So all the school governors up until 1970, were appointed by the Local Authority. After 1970 the teachers were allowed to elect voluntary governors, starting mid-seventies you got parents asked to elect governors. After 1980 the number of Local Authority governors was diminished dramatically, the number of parent governors was increased and there was stipulation the schools should co-opt from the Local Business community. Some governors would have some expertise in finance and they would be able to offer to the secondary schools job work experience. There was definite move that business had to be brought in. This is a continuous trend now having a partnership between a school and a firm. It is my experience that in Britain not enough clever children get into engineering manufacturing or the wealth creating parts of society. It has been seen by the teaching profession as being trade ...only the lower achievers do that... Most teachers have no idea what goes on inside the factory at all, or they have one from 'Look Back In Anger'...or 'I am all right'. They have no concept of what the modern industry is all about. What Britain needs is that the brightest people go to manufacturing. I have been trying to get our youngsters in science and technology.

AS: Very often while doing this research I come across many independent institutes and institutions which were and still are working on projects improving the curriculum or the teaching methods. When it came to implement those projects did they do that through the LEAs?

AC: No. It is usually through the teachers through the head teachers and the Colleges of Education. We had a lot of experiments particularly on how to teach English. There was an awful lot of experiments in the fifties and sixties on teaching young people to read. Mostly there were total disasters. There was also put the heresy by some people that pupils should enjoy themselves at school. Absolute heresy, you go to school to enjoy yourself when you leave! You should work in school. We had this team in family groups. Not only mixed ability but mixed ages. Totally unstructured. The net result from certain areas was that we produced three generations of deprived people. It never happened in Bexley. They need guidance on how to fill their own unemployment benefit. If you do not have your basic education by the time you are eleven the remedial education is so hard.

AS: Did the LEAs have anything to do with that?

AC: They did through the school governors you see. In those days most of the school governors were appointed by the LEA. If the school governors were alert and knew what there were doing, but very often this was not the case. Most of them in this part of London took their duties quite seriously.

AS: How many educationalists compared to administrators were employed in a LEA?

AC: It really depends on the size of the Authority. A very large authority say Strathclyde in Scotland, or in London, they would have enormous numbers of bureaucrats and former professional teachers who then no longer taught. They were just shoving paper around because in theory they would understood the language.

AS: Were the school advisers who were sent to schools former teachers, did they have any school experience?

AC: Well one would hope that the director of education of a LEA would have some school experience. He or she would have stood in front of pupils. Because how do you relate to teachers if you have not done that. We would expect that so would the second

and third in line, and so were the advisers in each curriculum area. But once we established the curriculum, then we stopped advising we started inspecting. So then we did not have necessarily the same people. We started as an Authority monitoring of the curriculum, against the standard which we got all the schools to agree should be set. There was a sort of business education and administration education going on at the same time. During this period and particularly from 1980 onwards, you had seen great social revolutions throughout Europe and the need for education has changed dramatically as well. You had social change technology change and the pace of change was increasing. Whereas it was with the factory technology up until the fifties, which was a very low technology, people then were educated enough to be economically viable in that system. As technology changes there is a need for young people to be economically viable in a totally different world now. Everybody is keyboard literate now. There is an emphasis on integrated learning and there is the emphasis on electronic music, not for electronic music but as an introduction to keyboard skills, as part of the educational system. But you have to do that before the secondary education. By the time you go to secondary education you need children who are literate, numerate, have keyboard skills. How else are they going to cope with that pace of change. Before we had overspecialization. Now we have gone through that. We need rounded people. It is the next stage in mathematics, you go from differentiation to integration. Design teams not specialists, working to produce a project.

AS: Were the people working in the LEA considered civil servants?

AC: No they were considered public servants. There is a distinction. Different from Europe. In Bavaria all the churches belong to the state. On the other hand the state pays all the teachers but they do not own any building so all the schools belong to the local church or village. So the curriculum is set from the centre the teachers are sent from the centre but the building belongs to the local community. Here is a shared financially thing and a shared responsibility. The work is devolved from the centre and delegated to Local Authorities to carry out.

AS: Are the school governors professionals?

AC: No they are lay people. They were selected not elected and they can be a housewife, a councillor. Now say the local church school, there are four people who are selected by the church, there four people who are selected by the LEA, there four people who are elected from the parents of the pupils at school and there are two people who are elected from the

teachers of the school. Then there is the head teacher who is in effect selected. There is a mixture of selection and election. Then the rest of the governors go out on to the people who represent the local business. Pre-1970 I would say that all local governors were selected by the LEAs unless there was a church school and the church would probably select about four governors. We had training programmes for their role in schools. Officially governors were running the schools, but mostly they are just giving prizes on prize day, the real governors were the Headteachers. It was rather like the captain of a ship, and more or less as long as they didn't hit a rock it was fine. Financial control still rested in the LEAs in effect buying a chair, a pencil, was actually spend by LEA. What has been happening under the 1984 Education Act is that every school becomes its own budget holder. Now you have to have school governors with specific duties. You have a school treasurer...Now the chairman of school governors is a very important person, because they may be handling a budget of say five million pounds a year! They decide on teachers salary, on keeping the standards of the curriculum high and how they organize all that is their business. What the LEA could do that is monitor this. Instead of being the providers we are the enablers! We were in a way checking on the use of their budget.

AS: So before the money were given to the Authority while now the money are given directly to schools. Where did the money come from the Ministry or the Community?

AC: Half of the money is raised locally and half comes through the Department of Education. The grant that the Department provides is based purely on pupils' numbers. The accounting used to be based on historical data, plus the calculation on the inflation and so on, regardless if a school was doing well or not. The philosophy of the present government is market forces shall prevail everywhere and the good schools shall survive and grow and the bad schools shall perish! In the period we are talking about, from about 1975 onwards we had a birth decline, 35%, school population fell. This is a lot of spare capacities. So matching demand and need and resources is always a balancing act. At the moment here we have about 2500 extra spaces we do not really need. The governors will decide on that. It is important to run it like a business. I went to a careers fair for children of sixteen. Any school would accept them because they represent money, they represent one sixth of the teacher. No school is going to turn them down. What this means is that the costumer is always right, and the customer is the children, and that really is the revolution!

A: Thank you very much.

G

Professor M.R.D. Foot

This conversation took place in June 1992, in Russell Square.

Professor Foot was a pupil at Winchester from 1933 to 1937. Among his headmasters were A.T.P. Williams who was responsible for the opening of history curriculum in subjects other than British, H. Walker who taught the French Revolution and S.S. Leeson the principal teacher. History, although well established in the thirties as a school subject, was not the leading subject, that being classics. If subjects in the curriculum were put in some priority that would be: first classics, then science and mathematics and then history. There was not a set curriculum and choices on the syllabus were left to individual masters. There was also a very good school library updated with most recent publications. They were required to write an essay each week. They were very much encouraged to make their own mind, they were taught to think and they were often recommended books with contradictory views. Some of these books were C.W.C. Oman's *Seven Roman Statesmen,* H.A.L. Fisher's *History of Europe,* or J.H. Jackson's *The Post War World.* It was mostly topical history which was taught relying on the expertise of the master which was usually excellent. European history was taught in equal proportions with British history. Britain was seen as part of Europe if not a very special part of it; yet at the same time Britain was also seen as posing an example to the world on how to do things. American history was also taught, while German history was given special attention too. Germany was considered as an enemy country but there was a special interest for it. They were exposed to Christian religion twice a day and four times on Sundays. When asked whether public school boys at that time were privileged, Professor Foot quoted the inscription at the entrance of Winchester: 'To whom much is given much is required'.

Tables

These are the tables depicting the variety of questions of European history in the Examination Boards in Cambridge, Manchester and Oxford, UCLES, JMB, ODLE. The key applied in chapter V should be applied here too.

KEY TO TABLES

ANCIENT GREEK HISTORY

Origins: 1500 BC to 499 BC

Peak: 499 BC to 323 BC

Decadence: 323 BC to 146 BC

ANCIENT ROMAN HISTORY

Origins: Origins and the years of Democracy, 218 BC to 31 BC

Peak: The Empire AD 31 to AD 68

Decadence: AD 68 to AD 324

Section I: 800 - 1492

FGE: Questions exclusively on France, Germany and England

IS: Questions on Italy and Spain

OE: Questions on any other European Country

Var: Questions on a variety of countries including all of the above

Section II: 1492 - 1815

FGE2: Questions exclusively on France Germany and England

ISLCR: Questions on Italy, Spain, Lower Countries and Russia

Oth: Questions on other minor European countries

Var2: Questions on a variety of countries including all of the above

MODERN HISTORY

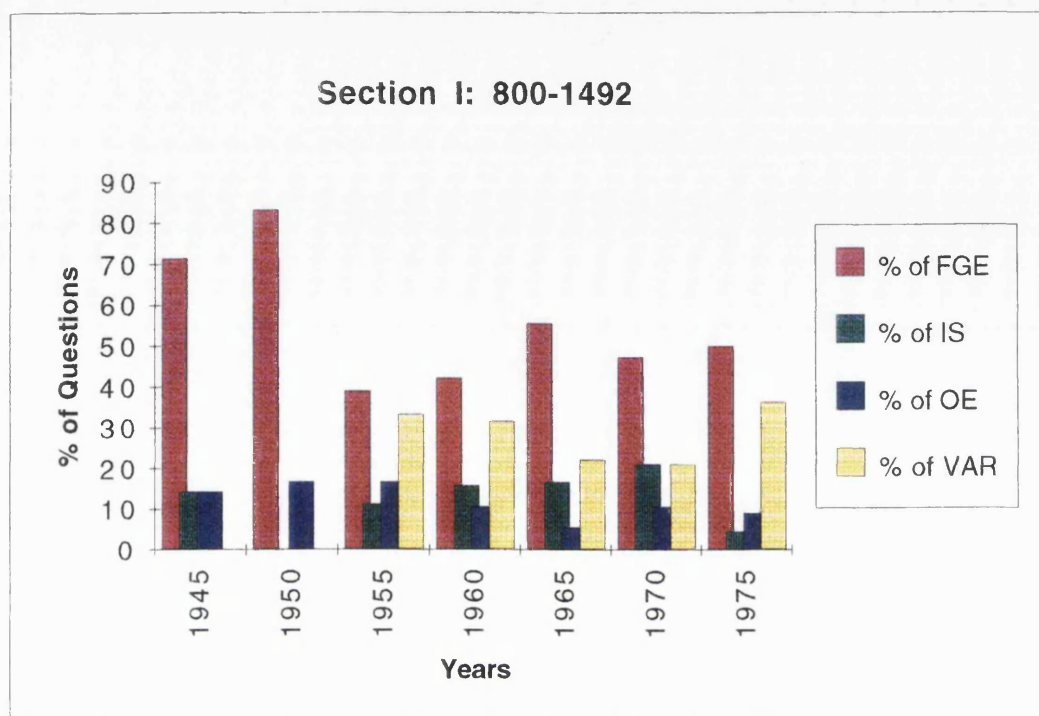UGFBR: Questions exclusively dealing with affairs of USA, Germany, France, Britain, Russia

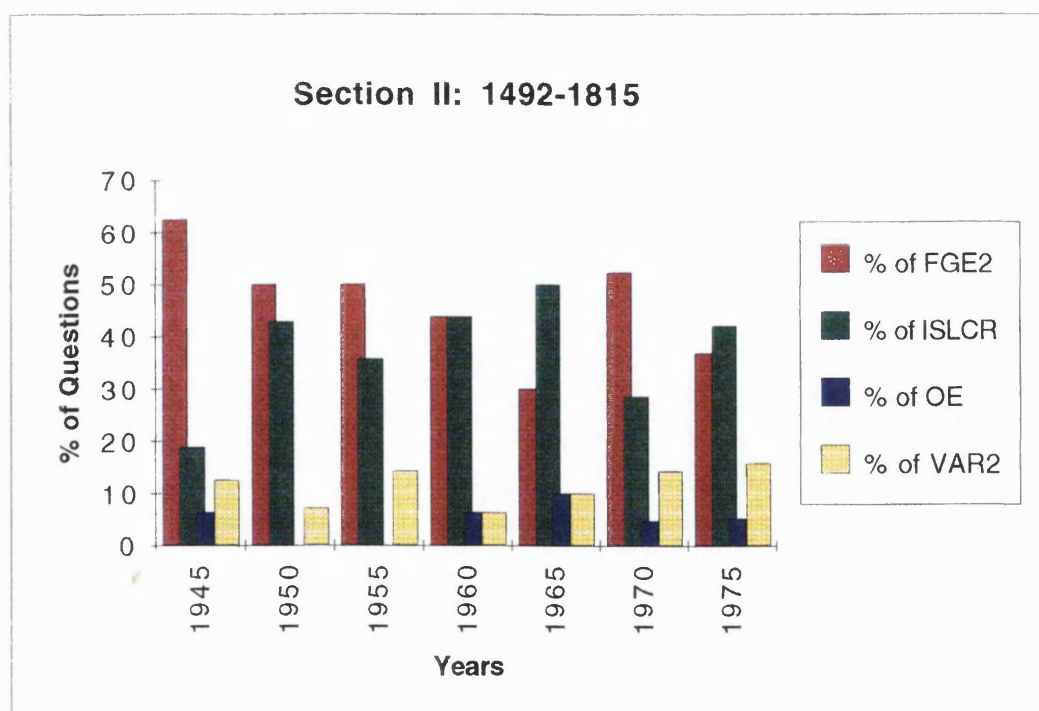MinEur: Questions dealing with affairs of any other European country

ECiv: Questions on culture, civilization, or ideological movements

II: Questions on the creation and role of International Institutions of the twentieth century

EWP: Questions on major European Powers interacting in non-European places world-wide
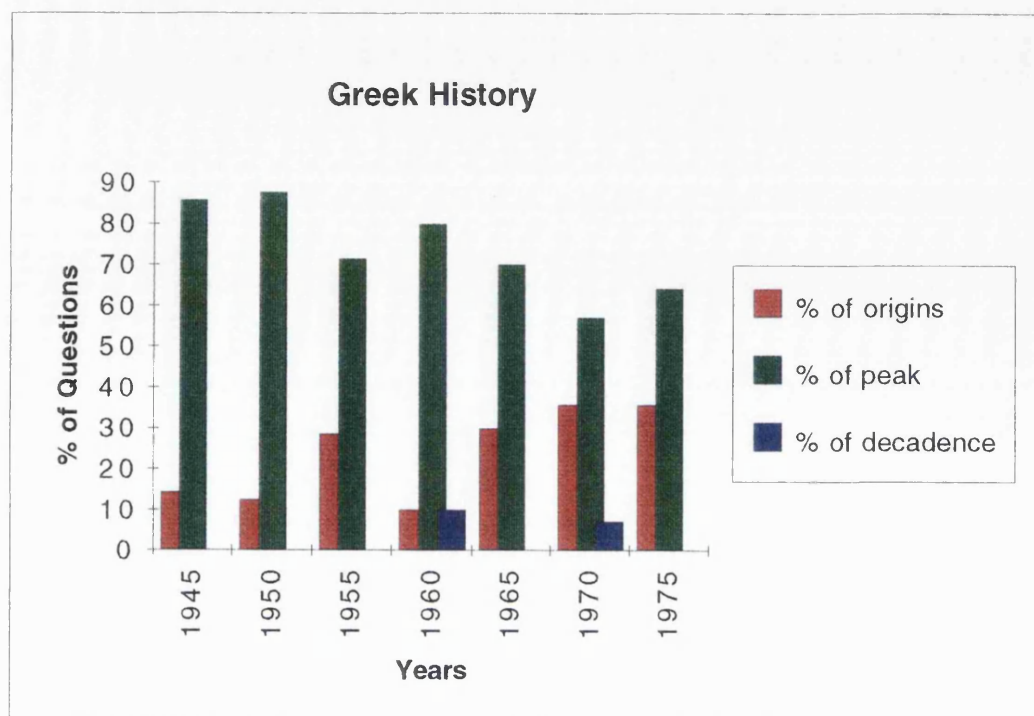
Section I: 800-1492

Table 1

Section II: 1492-1815

Table 2
Cambridge A – Levels

Greek History

Table 3

Roman History

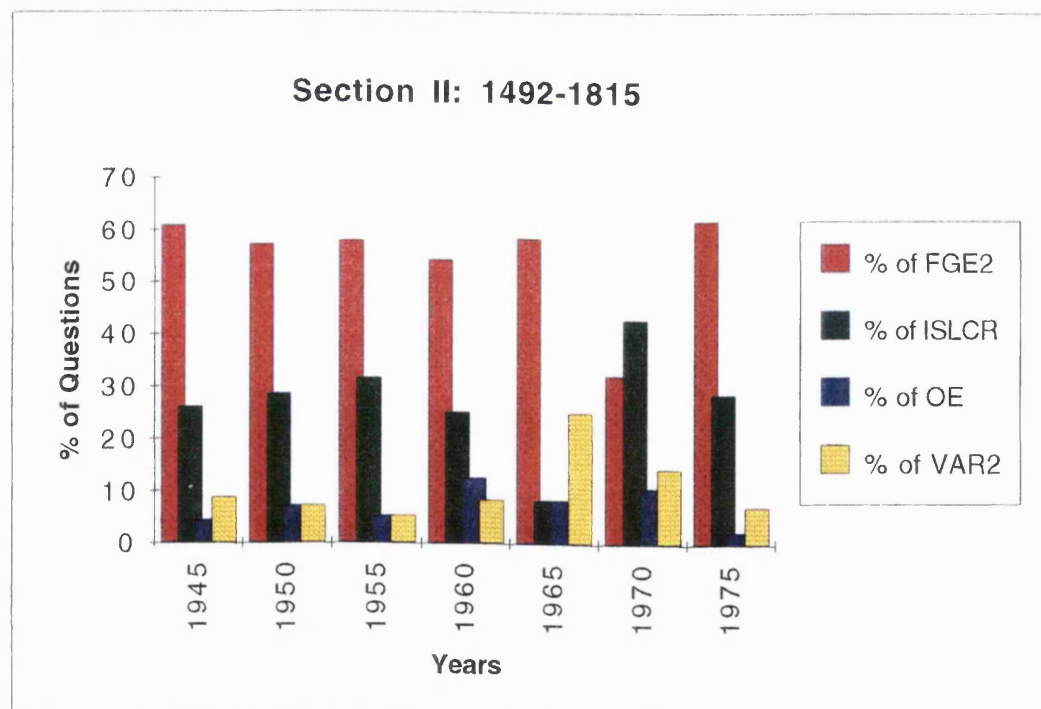Table 4

JMB   A – Levels

Section I: 800-1492
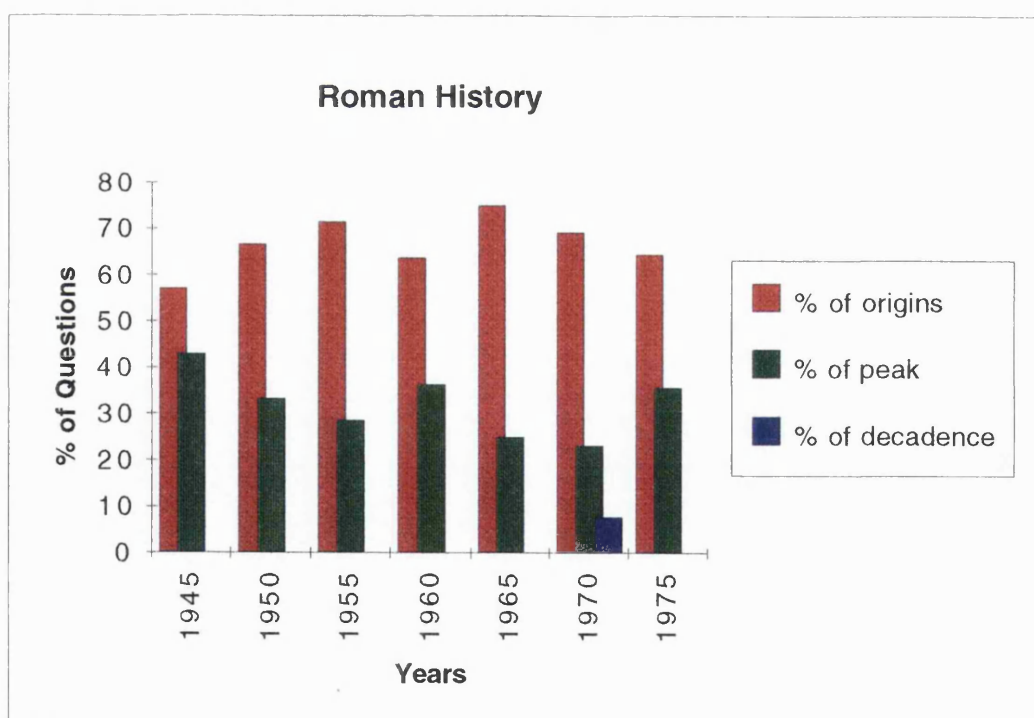
Table 5
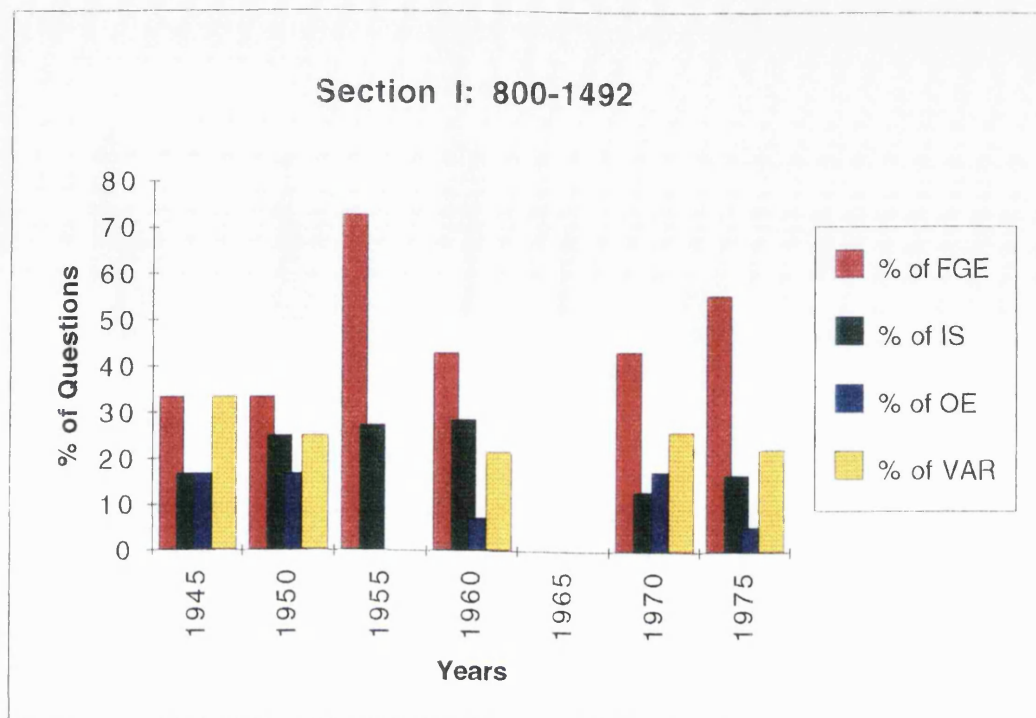
Section II: 1492-1815

Table 6

Oxford   A-Levels
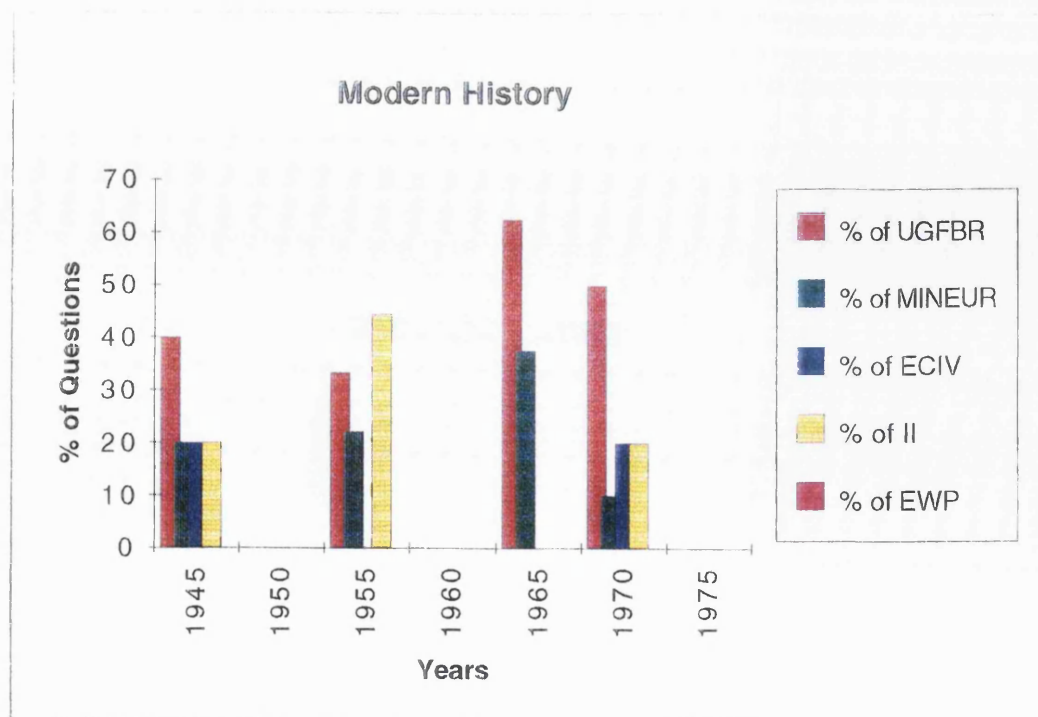
Table 7

Cambridge A–Levels
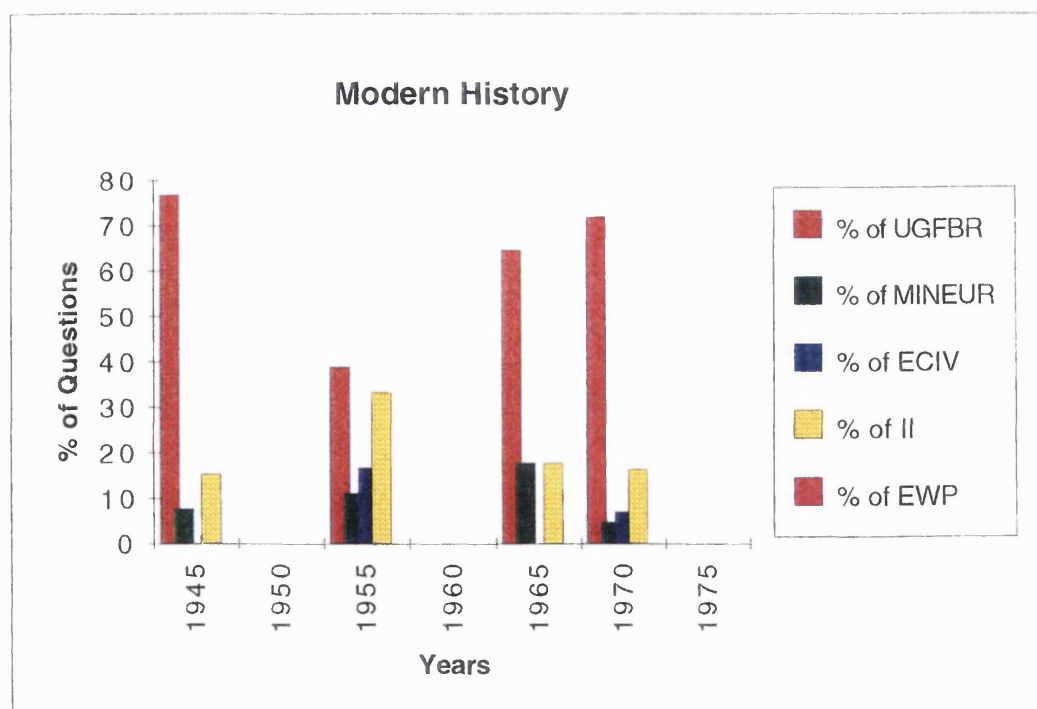

Table 8

Oxford A-Levels

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