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**THE TEACHING OF CHINESE HISTORY IN ENGLISH
SCHOOLS IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY: A CASE
STUDY IN WORLD HISTORY TEACHING**

Allan Jackson

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16. JAN 1984

ABSTRACT

The thesis focuses upon China as one example of a non-european culture which might merit fuller consideration in british school curricula.

Five principal questions are addressed. First, should chinese history be taught in schools? Second, has it been neglected hitherto? Third, can the reasons for neglect be identified? Fourth, could chinese history be taught in schools, and how might it be approached? Fifth, are there adequate resources for teacher and pupil use?

All five are answered in the affirmative. Teaching chinese history is shown to be justified on grounds of intrinsic interest and importance and educational potential. Nonetheless, a study of schoolbooks, history teaching handbooks and reports, theses, journal articles, school inspectorial reports and the recollections of teachers and advisors suggests that chinese history has suffered serious neglect in schools. The principal reason behind that neglect is shown to be the theory of historical progress, euro- and anglo-dominated, and concentration in historical education upon the evidence for and narrative detail of that progress, particularly its constitutional and political features, in pursuit of moral and civic education. The influence of major official and semi-official bodies is noted, as is that of the New History movement of recent years. It is suggested, however, that the pattern has also reflected deep-rooted assumptions as to national worth and superiority and acceptance of a range of ethnic, national and racial stereotypes. The role of the popular media is discussed. Foreign influences are considered.

With regard to the fourth and fifth questions, it is argued that chinese history could be introduced to school curricula but that such development demands a broader world-historical framework. In addition, it must capitalise on the move in recent years towards resource-based evidential learning. The importance of the teacher is stressed, and books on chinese history and civilisation which a non-orientalist could draw upon are suggested. Aspects of chinese history which might be studied in schools, and the relevant adult literature, are considered. Finally, available books and materials suitable for children's use are recommended.

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SECTION ONE: INTRODUCTORY

Chapter One: Western interest in the wider world, with particular reference to China, from classical times to the present.

Wider world historical and contemporary vision has deep roots in the West. Herodotus saw history as a clash of cultures, and recognising "the astonishing achievements both of our own and of the asiatic peoples",¹ gave the histories of such as Assyria, Babylon and Scythia. Later, Stoicism perceived a universal binding breath - "no work on earth is wrought apart from thee"² - inspiring common concepts traceable in all ages and among all peoples. This underpinned the doctrine of total sympathy, that all men being God's children were equal world citizens. Seneca insisted that "The whole world" was the temple: "We are members of a vast body. I will look upon all lands as belonging to me, and my own lands as belonging to all".³

Those tenets rose to prominence in the roman empire through Marcus Aurelius, by which time universalist thinking had been reinforced by roman military triumphs. Further impetus was given by Christianity - the closeness of some pauline and stoic ideas is evident: "We are all baptised in one spirit into one body ... Greek and Jew, Barbarian and Scythian".⁴

From those seeds of stoic, roman and christian universalism, the sapling of world-perspectives was nurtured throughout the middle ages.^{*} By that period, the writings of Rashid al-Din and Ibn Khaldun, the first historical records genuinely global in conception, were circulating in the libraries of Western Asia, and with other islamic literature such as Ibn Batuta's Travels may have been known to scholars in later medieval Europe.^{**}

In early modern times, despite the development of more nationally-conscious views following the reformation, some universality of vision survived in the deism of Servetus, the histories of Vives and Sleidanus,^{***} the humanistic pleas of las Casas and de Vitoria for the human dignity of Indians, and the works of Bacon and More. Aurelius' Meditations was first published 1558;

* And later. Kidd, for instance, has pointed to "some remarkable similarities to the Stoa in the philosophy of Spinoza". (In J.D. Urmson, Encyclopaedia of Western philosophy, 1960,376).

** Though not translated into european languages until recent times.

*** Though within confines of christian eschatology.



Raleighs' History of the world in 1614 and Cruce's call for a universal league in 1623.

Even more expansive thinking emerged from mid-17th century onwards. Comenius (d. 1670) advocated universal (if eschatological) studies from the earliest years - "all men without exception should be educated for humanity" - ⁵ introduced world history to the school curriculum and urged an international pan-sophic college. Contemporaneously, Spinoza argued that blessedness came from mental projection into facies totius universi and understanding that all reality was part of a universal order. Wisdom lay in acceptance of political and religious diversity and any religion or social system promoting a good life was intrinsically good. Bossuet's Histoire universelle was published in 1679. Temple (1690) interpreted history in world-cyclical patterns wherein new heroes constantly replicated predecessors' achievements. St. Pierre (1717) sought a diet of christian states. Turgot (1750) saw humanity advancing universally. Helvetius (1758) felt no insurmountable barriers between peoples. Bentham (1760) suggested a world court. Holbach (1770) believed "true morality .. the same for all - Indian and European, Chinaman and Frenchman".⁶ Mercier (1770) envisaged a family of nations. Herder (1774, 1784) saw an historical continuum, each people building on another's achievements. Kant (1784, 1795) advocated a universal confederation and legal code leading to a world republic. Similarly, Condorcet (1795) foresaw a world civilisation based on international equality.

Particularly important historical world-views came from Vico and Voltaire. Vico (1725) saw the past as the identical growth and decay of peoples, attacked theories of successive cultural superiority, and pointed to beliefs and cultural forms common to all.⁷ Voltaire, in some respects not only "the most universal of the historians of the enlightenment," but also the clear forerunner of modern world-historians,⁸ devoted the introduction and first 14 chapters of his Essai sur les moeurs (1756) to the pre-carolingian world, including America, China and India, and later (1769) attacked Bossuet for interest in only four or five peoples and omission of all mention of the East.

Such thinkers, besides articulating christian or reason-inspired ideas of universal government and a league of peoples, clearly accepted that no people or culture was excluded from the drama of

history, and offered "a synthesis comprehending not merely the western civilised nations (sic) but the whole human world."⁹

Interest in more international perspectives continued throughout the 19th century, whose early years saw the foundation of the Société Asiatique (1822) and whose closing decades the world disarmament conferences and the Nobel peace prize (1895). In terms of world-historical perspectives, however, despite the influence of such as Goethe, profoundly inspired by Leibnitz' concept of the divine purpose of life world-wide, and thus deeply interested in comparative social morphology, whose Westöstlicher Diwan (1819) owed much to Persia, the tide of advocacy ebbed.

Certain viewpoints demand attention, nonetheless, particularly that of Hegel, who (1830-31) attacked concentration on classical civilisation as the supposed ancestor of modern Europe; pinpointed the weakness of purely national perspectives in education as contradicting the oneness of mankind, insisting that the nations were each to the universal as the individual is to the nation; and advocated a Kulturgeschichte, stressing in particular the cultural and ethical importance of China.¹⁰ The significance of this world-historical philosophy has been obfuscated by taking out of context references to state, nation, or heroes, to vindicate retrospective interpretations of his ideas as nationalistic and proto-fascistic.¹¹ In fact, the Hegelian discourse clearly perceived a pattern of history centring on the attaining of Spirit's self-realisation through the achievements of successive civilisations.¹² Moreover, that process was on a world-scale, the spirit Weltgeist. Hegel offered a genuine world-historical interpretation: * "The universal spirit as such dies only in its capacity as a national spirit ... Each new individual national spirit represents a new stage in the conquering march of the world spirit".¹³

World history received further powerful endorsement from Ranke, whose "universal sympathy could embrace all ages and all nations",

* Hegel saw the pattern in progressive terms, however, (Hegel, Philosophy of world history, 1975, 128-93) and thus, paradoxically, contributed to the ethos of euro-centrist history. But Friedrich (1956) has correctly criticised interpretations of Hegelianism as a nation-state philosophy. (In Hegel, Philosophy of history 1956.iii).

and who "saw the map of universal history as the final objective".¹⁴ Every historian, he believed, must demonstrate "a real affection for the human race in all its manifold variety". They "must keep an eye on the universal ... the development of the world in general ... universal history comprehends the past life of mankind ... in its fullness and totality ... the final goal ... remains the conception and composition of a history of mankind".¹⁵ At 83 he began his own 17-volume Weltgeschichte.

Nineteenth century socialism also stimulated 'internationalist' viewpoints, from Babeuf, Owen and Saint-Simon, to the Marx-Engels theories which acquired 'world' dimensions through the industrialisation of all the continents. The marxian philosophy of history, itself in line of descent from the hegelian dialectic, claimed all world societies to be globally interlinked, the developmental characteristics of all reflecting the centrality of economic determinants.

Darwinism was also important. Contrary to later reputation, it invalidated theories of racial superiority and claims of religious or national exclusiveness, forcing cultural differences to be considered world-historically, and not as unique facets of each branch of humanity.¹⁶ It probably influenced Hegel's student Feuerbach, who regarded religion as anthropological in essence, reflecting human needs unvarying the world over; and, indirectly, Dewey, who saw man everywhere in biological terms, an organism in an environment.

In respect of Asia, however, it would be incautious to make too much of these varied references. Ranke, Kant, Bentham and others, when writing of 'the world', generally meant Europe. The great civilisations of Islam, India and China were not comprehended.¹⁷ Nor, in respect of China, should too much be read into references to 'Asia' or 'The Orient'. The presidential address to the first meeting (1842) of the American Oriental Society gave six times more space to western as to eastern and southern Asia: China and Japan were allowed half a page (0.8%) each.¹⁸

The 20th century West's 'world' attitudes will be detailed later.¹⁹ In that period, however, particularly since 1945, attention has been given especially to Asia and the phenomenon of East-West (mis) understanding. The extent of that interest in both Europe and

America^{*} has been shown by Pearson (1971)²⁰ and its historical origins require brief consideration.

As with world-historical interest, from which it is often not separable, western interest in and knowledge of China is long-standing. Du Halde (1733) observed China to have "for a long time past excited the Curiosity of Europeans",²¹ and, though references are fragmentary, such curiosity may be traced far back. Herodotus, for instance, quoted Proconnesus (7th c. B.C.) that there were "dwellers beyond the North Wind", the Hyperboreans, whose territory reached the sea.²² Deutero-Isaiah referred to "the land of Sinim".^{**}

Much less speculative are the well-documented (in Chinese sources) westward contacts of the Chinese themselves between 138 B.C. and 42 A.D.,²³ and from that period the frequency of western references increased. In 30 B.C., Virgil observed "how Chinese comb off leaves their delicate down".²⁴ Propertius mentioned Chinese in Bactria, and Strabo noted an earlier reference by Apollodorus to the extension of Bactria "as far as the Seres".²⁵ *** Before 79 A.D. Pliny mentioned 'seric iron', and before 180 A.D. Pausanias gave accurate details of silk production. About the same time, Ptolemy's world-map showed both 'Serica' and 'Sinarum', and the Syrian Bardesanes described the advanced social system of the "immense country" to the east.²⁶ Two centuries later, Caesarius of Byssa knew of Chinese observance of custom,²⁷ and the Roman historian Ammianus Marcellinus of the 'Aggeres Serium', possibly the great wall. Smuggling silk-moth eggs to the West was recorded by Procopius in the mid-6th century. Finally the Byzantine Simocatta, c. 630 A.D. referred to recent Chinese history and may have known of the Sui conquest (590 A.D.).²⁸

* Though suggesting a less than satisfactory situation in Britain outside London and Cambridge

** Isaiah, 49:12, King James Version. 'Sinim' derived from Sanskrit 'Cinasthana', which may have come from 'Ch'in', according to Needham, Science and civilisation in China, 1, 1954, 168-9. Sykes, Quest for Cathay, 1936, 20, accepts this to refer to China. In the Revised Standard Version, however, it was replaced by 'Syene' (Aswan).

*** A Greek word, ser possibly derivative from Chinese ssu (silk).

The provenance of these references is uncertain. One source may have been Alexander's army, which occupied Bactria and Sogdiana, reached the Tien Shan, and possibly heard rumours of the powerful Ch'in. A more likely source was reports from bactrian missions to the Han between 55 and 30 B.C., transmitted to the West via parthian merchants.

Later sources are more evident. Syrian missions reached China in 166 and 284 A.D.,* syrian jugglers and acrobats somewhat earlier, and roman/syrian merchants in 226. Their accounts would be complemented by those of the caspian Sarmatians (435) the byzantine Nestorians (643 and 667)** the official bactrian mission (719) and no doubt, the wondrous tales of parthian, syrian and semitic traders.

Throughout the dark and early middle ages, information must have seeped westwards through arab contacts with China from the 8th century²⁹, especially their first embassy (726) Haroun al Rashid's mission (787) soldiers from the Talas (751) and travellers such as al-Tajir (851) and al-Basri (876) who met emperor Hsi-tsung. Information probably came from other asiatic sources such as indian visitors to China following Kumarajiva's journey (386) and the sinhalese (5th century) and turkish embassies (1081,1091).

Westward activities by the Chinese themselves almost certainly helped. Following Chang Ch'ien's expedition to Bactria after 138 B.C., Ssu-ma Ch'ien laconically claimed, "all the barbarians of the distant West craned their necks to the East and longed to catch a glimpse of China".³⁰ Rumours in the West of a subsequent mission to Parthia (120 B.C.) whose King had established trade with Rome; the conquest (102-101 B.C.) of Ferghana; the seizure (42 B.C.) of Sogdiana, the suppression (73-80 A.D.) of the Tarim basin; Pan-Ch'ao's penetration to the Caspian; Kan-ying's journey (97) to Mesopotamia; Fa-hsien's visit (399) to India; Sung Yün and Hui-sêng's journey (518) to the Indus; Hsuang-tsang's tours (629) in India; and I-ching and Chi-Yeh's visits there in 671 and 964 respectively - plus the arrival of chinese ships and goods in the Persian Gulf by the 5th century; with regular trade with Sirāf by the 9th century - probably further titillated interest.

* Hudson, Europe and China, 1931,129-30, questions whether these were other than mercantile contracts. No western sources mention them.

** Treadgold, The West in Russia and China, v.2., 1973, 2, regards this as the earliest official Europe-China contact.

The high middle ages saw important new, more fully detailed, information. Marco Polo's anecdotes (1295) "opened the land-gates and the water-gates of the Far East to Europe".³¹ His Travels, printed in 1477, the earliest eye-witness description of 'Cathay'* by a European, crucially influenced western attitudes and was closely consulted by Columbus. Polo's was not the only new source, however. Other information came from Carpini and Rubruck, who visited the Mongols at Karakorum in 1245-7 and 1253-4 respectively; Monte Corvino, in Peking from 1305-7; Perugia, in China in 1326; Pordenone, there for three years in the 1320s, who subsequently wrote detailed accounts of chinese cities and lifestyles; the legate Marignolli, in Peking 1342-4; and Clavijo, who in his account of his journey (1405) to Tamburlaine's court portrayed 'Cambaluc'** as a great city, 20 times larger than Tabriz. Even the Travels of Ibn Batuta (1340s) though not published in Europe till modern times, may have been known in the West. Knowledge must also have been brought by Rabban Suma (1287 on) who visited several european capitals (and gave communion to Edward I). Additional information possibly filtered through, via the Arabs, from other foreign journeys of Chinese, such as Chou Ta-kuan's to Cambodia (1296).

A rapid extension of awareness followed the printing of Polo's Travels (1477) . 'Mandeville's' Travels of 1357-71, printed 1499 with its portrait of a heavenly city and court, though not genuine*** enjoyed nine English editions by 1700. Varthema's account of his journey to Malacca (1503-7) the first western description of the spice islands, spurred interest, further shown by the earliest known printed map of China (1584) and Speed's map (1626).

In 1508, the King of Portugal sent a mission to the Indies to inquire about the 'Chins'. 1514 saw the first portuguese ships reach China, and an ambassador was sent in 1517. A trading centre opened at Macao in 1557. In the 1540's, some portuguese sailors were

* Cathay, via Russian Khitai, from the name of the Ch'i-tan Liao dynasty of northern China (10-12.c.A.D.).

** Mongol Khan-balik.

*** First written in French by Jehan de Bourgoigne (la Barbe) whose accounts of China (where he claimed to have stayed for 15 months, in imperial employ) and of the Mongols, were based on the narratives of Pordenone and Carpini respectively.

imprisoned. One, Pereira, later published an account in Italian (1565) whose portrayal of chinese law dealing "justly and in truth", efficient government, cities "as well walled as any in all the world .. very gallant", plus other highly favourable human and socio-economic detail*, further whetted european palates.³² Four years later, the Tractado of the portuguese dominican da Cruz, who had spent a few months on the South China coast and had visited Canton, was published.** Its descriptions of chinese cities, "very great and populous, with noble buildings", the prosperous economy and well husbanded agriculture, the people's talents ("they have a natural vivacity and ingeniousness") and the efficient administration ("with how much care and consideration this country is governed") must have fired the imagination of renaissance man.³³

By then, the favourable account of Henriques was also known.³⁴ More important, however, was the Relaçion (1575)*** of the spanish augustinian de Rada, the first publication clearly to identify China with Polo's 'Cathay',³⁵ substantially based on chinese gazetteers, and again giving a noticeably favourable portrait**** of the talents and character of the people.³⁶ (He had been two months in Fukien).

The accounts of Pereira, da Cruz and de Rada were freely used by Mendoza (1585) who had never been to China, but whose best-selling Historia constituted a watershed from which knowledge of China, its institutions and history became available to the learned of Europe, including Bacon and Raleigh.³⁷ Rich in social and other detail, it included a genealogy of chinese kings going back to 2,600 B.C.*** and thus added historical dimension to the dawning realisation of China

* Though critical of idolatry and sodomy.

** The first european book specifically on China, if Polo's Travels is excluded. It was in any case better than Polo's account, clearer, and more sober.

*** The second part was not printed until 1884. His work was not published in English until 1953, however. (C.R. Boxer, South China in the sixteenth century).

**** Though attacking their mathematics, astronomy and science as "nothing more than the smell or shadow of the substance". (Boxer op.cit, 295).

** Plus the first chinese characters printed in Europe.

as "an enviable country, where justice was well administered ... (and where) art and industry were developed to unsuspected heights". As Boxer (1953) has written, "the 'China legend' ... was off to a good start".³⁸

By that time, a well-developed spanish interest in China had grown. De Rada was spanish - his report inspired an embassy to China in 1580 - as was the Jesuit Xavier, who saw the China coast in 1552. Italian interest had similarly grown. Columbus had a personal copy of Polo's Travels, and italian missions went there in the 1580's.

But english interest was also blossoming. Clearly, though no books were published on China in English before 1577,^{*} the English knew of the fabled 'Cathay'. Cabot (1497) sought a north-west passage there, Willoughby and Chancellor's expedition (1553) was "for the discoverie of Cathay," the Muscovy Company gave Chancellor similar instructions in 1556, and Frobisher searched for a passage in 1576. In 1577, Pereira's account was published in Willis's History of Trauayle, and two years later a paraphrase of da Cruz' Tractado was included in Frampton's Discourse of the navigation which the Portugales do make ... and ... of the great things which are in the dominions of China. In 1580, Pet and Jackman again sought a sea route and were asked by Hakluyt to bring back old books so he could see whether the Chinese had printing before Europe. Moreover, the Willis and Frampton accounts were probably read by the queen, who wrote to the chinese emperor, urging trade (1583).^{**} The same year, Macao was visited by Fitch, who produced a favourable portrait of chinese trade and Canton; and Davis sought a north-west passage. In 1588, de Mendoza's Historia was translated into English by Parke. 1591 saw Davis's second attempt. In 1596, a three-ship royal mission was lost at sea. In 1598-1600, Hakluyt's Principal Navigation, Voyages, Traffique and Discoveries (etc) included Pereira's material and excerpts from Carpini and Rubruck, and lauded the examination system and government of China, and her reported tranquillity.³⁹

James I entertained the french ambassador to a 'chinese' masque in 1604, and London's first porcelain shop opened in 1609. In 1625,

* And there are no 'chinese' scenes or characters in elizabethan drama, though some references were made by Bacon, Burton and Raleigh.

** Newbery failed to deliver the letter.

da Cruz' important account was published in Purchas's Hakluytus Postumus, plus a fuller version of Rubruck. English interest was by then also burgeoning, however, due to the 95% profit from the East India Company's second expedition (1604) and the establishment of 12 East Indies 'factories'. In 1637, Weddell arrived off Macao. Other than a significant skirmish, and taking the first chinese cargo on board a british vessel, the sojourn was important for the diary of a crewman, Peter Mundy. The impact on return to England of his drawings of chinese life, wealth of detail ranging from "leicheea" to the abacus, and pen-portrait of "this soe great, Ritche and Famous a Kingdome", with "no general sicknesse Reigning", and where most commodities, including fabrics, porcelain, "the best in the world", sugar "smelling like roses", and "Gold in lumpes" were all "ritche, rare, good and Cheape",⁴⁰ must have been great*. He concluded: "This countrie may bee said to excelle in these particulars: Antiquity, largenesse, Ritchenesse, healthynesse, Plentiffullnesse. For Arts and manner off governmentt I think noe Kingdome in the world Comparable".⁴¹

By then, more profound interest in China's philosophical tradition and governmental institutions was stirring, substantially due to the Italian Riccio - Jesuit, linguist, scientist and mathematician, "one of the most remarkable and brilliant men in history"⁴² who lived in China between 1582 and 1610 and not only adorned the Peking intellectual set, but also first romanised the chinese language, coined the name 'Confucius' and translated confucian ideas into Latin.⁴³

Ricci died in Peking (1610) but his memoirs were brought back by Trigault and published in Latin and French.** They were also

* Though critical of cowardice, greed and xenophobia.

** When Ricci arrived in Peking, even after 19 years in Macao and Nanking, he enquired where was Cathay-hitherto placed north of China by Europeans. (J. Villiers, in H.T. 25,3, 1975, 165). He subsequently definitely decided that Cathay and China were one. In 1603-4, however, Benedict de Goez, in search of Prester John, travelling across central Asia, was surprised to hear the people, speaking of China, calling it 'Khitai' (Cathay). This was confirmed on his arrival in Kansu 1605. Parts of his diaries were included in Ricci's memoirs. Thus was first established for Europe the identity of maritime China and of Polo's Cathay already suggested by de Rada. (See N.C. Buckley, in H.T., 28,9, 1978, 569).

included in Semmedo's work (1642) itself translated into English as History of that great and renowned monarchy of China (1642 and 1645). Complemented by the sinophile writings of other Jesuits, such as Schall (Peking, 1622-66) Verbiest (Peking, 1659-88) Gaubil (1733-59) and du Halde⁴⁴, and describing not just chinese economic geography, urban topography and administrative systems, but also cosmic and ethical attitudes, they were to exercise pervasive influence upon the enlightenment*. They also stimulated interest in chinese history, increasingly seen as fundamental to an understanding both of contemporary China and of the whole pattern of universal history.

In 1658-9, Martini published his Sinicae historiae, the first systematic account of ancient chinese history in a european language. Much of this, dating chinese history from 2952 B.C. and listing seven emperors before the flood**, thus challenging the bible as the authentic source for world history, was published ten years later in England. 1659 had also seen Vossius' argument that chinese historical annals proved accepted biblical datings unreliable, and that the flood must have occurred earlier, in 3617 B.C.

The chinese documentation and astronomical observations thus cited - sober, historically continuous, replete with scientific references*** - not only "exposed as never before the traditional approach to world history"⁴⁵, but encouraged even greater interest in all things chinese. In 1666, Horn located a flood in the reign of Yao, the seventh emperor. Chinese annals showed his line active in land drainage: they were thus no more than a version of Genesis-Yao was Noah, and Fu Hsi was Adam. In 1667, Kircher argued philologically that China must have been settled by Egyptians.

* An influence reinforced by the visits to Europe of chinese Christians such as Cheng Ma-no (1650). Chen Fu-tsung (1680) Louis Fan (1709) Father Ripa (1709) Louis Kiqua (1755) and the artist Tan Chit-qua (1769) the latter two being received by English royalty and Tan by the Royal Academy.

** Dated by Ussher only four years previously at 2349 B.C.

*** Some of the observations were later proved false (Royal Society, Philosophical Transactions 44, 1747, 475, 92)

In 1676, Navarrete displayed deep respect for chinese history and suggested Fu Hsi was Noah's son. A similar line was expounded (1662-on) in jesuit translations of confucian classics, Confucius Sinarum philosophus.^{*} In 1696, Mentzel argued that Fu Hsi's serpentine form was derivative from Genesis 3:1-15, and that Fu Hsi was Adam, his sister Nu Ku being Eve. (More importantly, Mentzel included German translations of chinese literature. The same year, great impetus was given to contemporary chinese studies by Lecomte's work, which, based on journeys in China, gave valuable details on government, religion and law, besides topographical and other information. It was published in English in 1698 and in German in 1700.

Seventeenth century interest culminated in Leibnitz' suggestion (1697) that chinese missionaries be sent to Europe to teach a universal system of natural philosophy. Leibnitz, an admirer of K'ang-hsi as the portrait of his ideal of a benevolent monarch, also believed the I-ching to represent ancient chinese understanding of binary mathematics and to be the key to all the sciences, Neo Confucianism a theology not dissimilar from Christianity, and chinese historiography the ultimate in exactitude. One purpose of his Akademie der Wissenschaften (1700) was to promote the interchange of philosophical and scientific thought between China and Europe.⁴⁶

English scholarly interest also grew during the 17th century. Burton (1621) praised the scholar-gentry system. Wilkins, secretary of the Royal Society, argued (1668) for a universal writing system developed from chinese ideographs. Webb (1669) argued that Chinese antedated the Tower of Babel, and that chinese and biblical chronology could be synchronised. Noah, an early chinese emperor, had returned there after the flood. (Similarly, Whiston, 1696, argued that superior chinese governmental ideas and learning had been preserved for the world by Noah.) In 1686, Hooke lauded China as an empire of learning. Four years later, Temple's Of heroic virtue teased out the qualities displayed by great men the world over, including China, "the greatest, richest and most populous kingdom now known" , whose praiseworthy examples of learning, "perfection of

* Louis 14th received a composite edition in 1687. Mencius' thoughts were added in 1711.

natural reason", and "wise institution of just orders and laws" Britons should seek to follow; whilst On ancient and modern learning, argued chinese and indian moral philosophies to be direct antecedents of the greek.⁴⁷ In 1691, Couplet's Morality of Confucius denied that the Chinese were heathens. They had much in common with Christianity, since Confucianism accepted a universal creator.

The first day of the 18th century was celebrated at Louis 14th's court chinese-style, and throughout the century Le Rêve Chinois grew apace.* In this, the product of scholars and missionaries continued of great importance - Van Kley (1971) has pointed to "increasing concern among 18th century european scholars to bring China and the rest of Asia into their view of world history",⁴⁸ - but economic factors, such as the establishment of a permanent british trading post at Canton (1715) were always prominent. Clearly, however, Russell's assertion (1951) that "from the time of Vasco de Gama until the russo-japanese war, the western world did not think seriously about Asia"⁴⁹ was erroneous. Chinese philosophy and institutions were considered very seriously, if not always accurately. Nor was Trevor-Roper (1963) correct that "in the 18th century, men studied afro-asian society ... but with afro-asian history ... they had little patience".⁵⁰ Isaacs (1958) was more accurate, that "a great number of leading thinkers and writers of the enlightenment ... took China very seriously indeed. The impact of ideas from and about China on the intellectual environment of Europe ... was considerable ... educated westerners in the 18th century probably knew more about China than they do in the 20th".⁵¹ China's profound importance to scholars, not just chinoiserie's trivia, but in philosophy, law, government and administration, has been repeatedly demonstrated.⁵² In France in particular, the philosophes used chinese cultural traditions and institutions to force contrasts unflattering to european religious history: "Missionaries and travellers alike .. concurred in their praise of China's peaceful and stable government ... China also became renowned for superior morality ... the cult of the sage ... became almost synonymous with chinese culture ... such a figure fitted admirably into the european philosophical background".⁵³

* A little chinese history was even found in school textbooks in France and Germany in 1705 and 1722. (E.J. van Kley in AHR 76,2,Ap.1971,383).

It is not possible here to comment in detail on 18th century scholarly debate on chinese society, institutions and thought.⁵⁴ Virtually all literati and philosophers - Condorcet, Diderot, Helvetius, Poivre, Herder, Quesnay, Turgot, Wolff and Goethe - wrote about China. Herder (1784) viewed China as "the foremost educational institution and cultural centre of all nations". Diderot (1751) believed the Chinese to "dispute the palm ... with the most enlightened peoples of Europe". Poivre (1769) advised Frenchmen: "Go to Peking! Gaze upon the mightiest of mortals ... the true and perfect image of heaven". Quesnay (1767) rated chinese philosophy above the greek, believed China "the most beautiful ... the most flourishing kingdom known ... equal to what all Europe would be if the latter were united ... founded upon wise and irrevocable laws", and drew up proposals for the application of chinese law in France.⁵⁵ Wolff's nine major treatises (1728-53) were strongly influenced by chinese philosophical traditions, and in his retiring address at Halle (1721) he instanced confucian moral aphorisms as witness to human capacity for attainment of moral truth through reason.⁵⁶

Prominent among the sources on which such scholars drew were du Halde's Lettres édifiantes which (1702 - on, carried on by other Jesuits until 1776) contained sophisticated comment on chinese institutions; and his Description ... de la Chine (1733) which contained besides topographical, political and social detail, a detailed, documented survey of earlier chinese history, with an evaluation of the sources.^{57*} Other influential writers included the royal historian Fourmant, who gave 67 pages to chinese history from 2704 B.C. in his Réflexions (1747) and importantly asserted the superior detail and veracity of the chinese sources;⁵⁸ Lambert, whose Histoire générale (1750) devoted two volumes to China; and de Marsey, whose Histoire moderne des Chinois (1754-73) consciously avoided euro-centrism. The various publications of de Guignes, curator of the french crown's oriental manuscripts, especially his History of the peoples of the steppes (1756-8) based mainly on chinese sources, brought out the world-importance of China, West-East cultural diffusion, and the theory that not only Japan, but also the

* Though he never visited China.

Americas, were peopled by Chinese. The translation of the confucian Classic of history by Gaubil (in China 1733-59) and his subsequent Traité de la chronologie Chinoise (1814) were influential. Lastly, de Mailla's 13-volume, 5276-page Histoire générale de la Chine (1777-85) translated Chu Hsi's abridgement of Ssu-ma Kuang's (1084) microscopic record of chinese history 403 B.C. to 959 A.D. Mailla's work , which included a 200-page explanatory preface, was also published in Italian (35 vols. 1781).

Moreover, chinese detail was increasingly found in 'universal histories',⁵⁹ - even if always narrative and dynastic, only pre-221 B.C., and usually added to the main text in separate chapters. Of such works, the most significant, influential and historically acceptable was Voltaire's Essai sur les mœurs (1756) which was primarily on Europe, but with chapters on the Arabs, Persia, India, Japan and China. The introduction * eulogised chinese historiography, writing, ethics, government and religion, pointed to the comparative accuracy of her historical records and picked out China as one of the major civilisations of antiquity. The main text opened with two major chapters on chinese civilisation, glowingly describing all aspects including inventions (mentioning silk, paper, printing and the compass) science, law and religion. Later chapters portrayed the Ming as a time when "L'esprit d'ordre, du modération, le goût des sciences, la culture de tous les arts utiles à la vie, un nombre prodigieux d'inventions qui rendaient ces arts plus faciles, composaient la sagesse chinoise"; and the 17th century as a period when "la culture des terres, poussée à un point de perfection dont on n'a pas encore approché en Europe".⁶⁰

This, then, constituted a serious and influential treatment of chinese intellectual and institutional history.^{**} The implications of Brumfitt's (1958) comment that Voltaire "discovers the philosophe beneath the robes of the chinese mandarin"⁶¹ are vitiated by the text, which demonstrates Voltaire's interest in chinese history

* Not published until 1769.

* Albeit only 2.3% of the book.

per se as he knew it from many sources and his genuine belief in its world-cultural importance.* Supplemented by further attention to China in his later works,⁶² it helped reinforce the situation he himself noted in 1769, that China was "enfin mieux connue de nos jours que plusieurs provinces de l'Europe".⁶³

Mainland Europe's interest was paralleled in Britain. Stimuli included, besides the hoaxer Psalmanazar,** writers such as Tindal (1731) who, following Couplet, correlated christian and confucian aphorisms; Jackson (1752) who noted the uniqueness and superior reliability of chinese historical sources despite some legends;⁶⁴ and Bryant (1775-6) who again saw early chinese history as a distortion of Genesis. These, with earlier correlatory analyses, despite some almost comical fantasies represented "a serious and significant endeavour - Europe's first attempt to bring China into world history".⁶⁵

One particularly important stimulus to interest both in contemporary China and in chinese history was the English version (1738-41) of du Halde's work, commended by its translator as describing "a People who wisely make (politics) the Top of all Science, and have perhaps arrived to a greater Proficiency therein than all other Nations ... No laws or institutions appear ... so well contrived as the Chinese to make both King and People happy ... their History furnishes more remarkable instances of intrepid Virtue ... than that of Great Britain itself".⁶⁶ (He had evidently read Temple, 1690).

* Clearly brought out in (Johnson's?) translation of his 'conversation with a learned Chinese' which unfavourably contrasted european states with China not only on account of philosophical considerations, but also simply in terms of length of history and size; had the (fictitious?) Chinese mock the smallness of the Jewish nation, deny knowledge of Greece, Constantine, the popes and protestant reformers and claim Caesar to have been a Turk; and concluded, "how ridiculous is it for the Princes of our Little Dynasties to hope for Fame". (Gentleman's Magazine, Jan 1742, 41-2).

** With his invented 'Formosan' language, currency, geography, social customs and political conditions, Psalmanazar "captured the imagination of a reading public already highly curious about the countries of the far east" (J.R. Knowles in H.T. 15,12,Dec 1965,873) including the Royal Society, notable sinologists and academics (English and French) from 1703 until exposure in 1710.

Probably no less influential was the anonymous Chinese Traveller (1775) based on du Halde, Lecomte and others, aimed to correct superficial stereotypes even then developing, and gave full and favourable details on chinese government, law, religion, money and trade.⁶⁷ These - plus descriptions of "innumerable" villages and 4402 walled cities, especially Nanking, 48 miles around, with two million people, Canton, with 1.2 million people, Peking, with 120-foot-wide streets, and "many more (which) might pass for the biggest in the world"; 9,999 large ships; "broad, deep and commodious" canals, with paved and planted roads alongside; 1,145 inns for mandarins; and the army of 2,648,000 men⁶⁸ - must have helped fuel the interest in China which was by then burning bright. The book opened with a study of Confucius and his "admirable" maxims, bases of "long peace and happy tranquillity" under a "perfect and exact" government; and, interestingly, stressed that "the history which we offer to our countrymen of this wise and industrious nation is highly worthy of their perusal and consideration".⁶⁹

As in Europe, the superiority of chinese philosophy and ethics was accepted. Addison, whose Spectator (1710-on) popularised moral philosophy,⁷⁰ was impressed by confucian precepts. Dr. Johnson, in his summary (1742) of du Halde's great work, represented confucian philosophy as propagating "Virtue and the Restitution of Human Nature to its original perfection"; and thus inspired, subsequently (1749) advised scholars to study humanity "with extensive view ... from China to Peru".⁷¹ Such positions were strengthened by the English translation (1750) of Wolff's famous lecture (1721) portraying Confucius as "spokesman for a sensible morality almost euclidean in its logic and efficiency ... here indeed was a man who would have been acceptable at almost any english dinner table".⁷²

Acceptance of the superiority of chinese moral philosophy underpinned the use of comparative detail, sometimes in fictitious letters from chinese observers, as a means of satirising english institutions. Most notable in that respect were the over 170 letters from 'Lien Chi Altangi' to 'Fum Hoam' by which Goldsmith lampooned London society twice-weekly throughout 1760-61.⁷³

Interest was especially demonstrated in England,^{*} however, by 'chinoiserie' in its various aspects.⁷⁴ Tea-drinking, brought from China in 1658, was universal within a century. Chinese textiles, porcelain, wallpaper, lacquered ornaments, 'japanned' furniture, chaise-longues and sedan chairs all became features of wealthy lifestyles, particularly after the importation of dutch-oriental taste by William III: "Our rooms are filled with Pyramids of China, and adorned with the Workmanship of Japan ... the Chinese (are) our potters", wrote Addison (1710).⁷⁵ 'Chinese' styles also strongly influenced domestic architecture from the 1750s, based on patterns published by Chambers (1757) and others. Chambers also published a dissertation on chinese gardening (1772) itself influenced by Attiret's description (1749, English translation 1752) and masterminded perhaps the best - known example of 'chinese' taste, the Kew 10-storeyed pagoda^{**} and 'chinese' pavilion decorated with panels of the life of Confucius.^{***}

In the theatre, chinese allusions and themes were increasingly frequent. Chinese history inspired several plays, and an entertainment by Garrick (1775). More significantly, the 14th-century chinese play, Orphan of the house of Chao, which had been published in five european languages by the 1740s (a French version Orphelin de la Chine, was brought out by Voltaire, and an operatic interpretation by Metastasio, whilst Goethe's unfinished Elpenor^{****} was based on it) was staged in London in 1741 and 1759.^{***}

This rage for 'chinese' motifs, fashions and themes should not be dismissed as a triviality. Van Kley (1971) has pointed to its significance: "The chinoiseries of 18th century decorative arts ...

* Though also pervasive across Europe, as shown by Lesage and d'Orneval's 'chinese' masque, Arlequine Barbet, Rameau's opera Les Indes Galantes and 'chinese' motifs in palaces at Versailles, Potsdam, Munich and elsewhere.

** Chinese pagodas should have an odd number of storeys.

*** 4,000 horticultural specimens brought back by the Macartney expedition (1793) were later planted there.

**** He had read du Halde's translation.

** 1761 saw the first English publication of any authentic chinese novel, Percy's The pleasing history (Hau Kiou Chooan) in 4 vols.

were all part and product of this greatly expanded knowledge of and interest in China ... european scholars were building up an increasingly broader base from which to evaluate China's past ... chinese history appears to have become, in fact, a self justifying study".⁷⁶

Disenchantment with China may be found in the same period, however, in Fénelon's (1697) criticism of claims for chinese history, philosophy and technology; Defoe's writings (1705, 1719, 1720); Walters' description (1748) of Anson's stay at Canton; and Montesquieu's (1748) attack on the favourable reports of missionaries in phraseology such as "les brigandages des mandarins", "des injures faites à la nature humaine", "tyrannie consumment", "la tyrannie plus cruelle".^{*} Subsequent accounts of Macartney's experiences, stirred up by Gillray cartoons, occasioned disfavour; and romantic views were undermined by Alexander (1798) and Barrow (1804) both of whom had accompanied Macartney. Barrow attacked the chinese government's "pride and haughty insolence", argued "that (China) has continued to improve so as still to vie with many of the present european states ... is not by any means clear", insisted that China had "few works of art, few remains of ancient grandeur ... no paintings, nor pieces of sculpture", and described the people as "frowzy ... filthiness is found to be most favourable ... many are not so cleanly, but spit about the rooms or against the walls like the French ... their bodies are as seldom washed as their ... dress".⁷⁷

Western acceptance of chinese traditions as a desirably normative influence fell away sharply in the 19th century, culminating in the hostile racial and cultural stereotypes broadcast by the American Wells Williams (1847)^{**} and by Smith (1894).⁷⁸ That deterioration was partly due to the ridiculing of things chinese along with the rococo, but also reflected a complex of more serious factors, not least the development of nationalism, national history, racial and ethnic beliefs and the doctrine of historical 'progress'.⁷⁹ Interest never died, however, in Europe. Rémusat (1815) attacked ideas that the Chinese had not progressed and pointed to the importance of their scientific tradition. In his later years, Goethe

* Montesquieu attributed chinese successes solely to the climate.

** First published in Britain in 1883.

read widely into chinese literature and became increasingly convinced of the qualities of her public morality.⁸⁰ Published books included Grosier's seven volumes (1818-20) giving detail on all aspects of China from ecology to science; Rémusat's translation (1836) of Fa-hsien's Travels; Huc's study (1857) of Christianity in China; several studies by Reinaud (mid-century) demonstrating euro-indian-sino relationships via the islamic world; Biot's (mid-century) translations of Chou period sources, plus a study of chinese educational history; Pfizmaier's translations (1850-84) of parts of the Shih Chih and Han Shu; and Richtofen's publications (late century) on chinese historical geography. The important journal T'oung Pao was published from 1890. Especially important to the preservation of mainland Europe's realisation of China's world - historical importance was Hegel, who clearly understood both her cultural importance ("there are nations in which many arts have attained a high degree of perfection, as in China and India") and that her tradition was autochthonous ("a country which, self-originated, appeared to have no connection with the outside world "). In particular, in his Philosophy of history (1830-31) Hegel strongly stressed the importance of China's history, recorded civilisation and political system.^{81*}

Interest similarly survived in the English - speaking world. In 1835, the Penny Magazine ran a six part series confessing China "palpably distinguished from all other nations claiming to be civilized ... The remote antiquity which it claims, and which seems to render it the oldest of existing nations, makes us anxious to investigate"; and describing in terms of awe her "impressive" cities, "astonishing" great wall, "incomparable" grand canal, "magnificent" bridges, "admirable" roads and "ingenious" people.⁸² In 1843, London's 'chinese' exhibition drew vast crowds, as in the USA, where the previous year the American Oriental Society had been founded and where, ten years earlier, the first american sinological journal, Chinese Repository, had been published. In 1842, Ewbank admitted the Chinese to have been "preserved as a nation through periods of time unexampled in the history of the world ... who, notwithstanding all

* Though attacking aspects of her morality and scientific reputation. (Philosophy of history 1956,117.)

that our vanity may suggest to depreciate, have furnished evidence of an excellence in ... the arts that has never been surpassed ... as distinguished for their ingenuity and the originality of their inventions, as for their antiquity and the peculiarity of many of their customs".⁸³

In addition to popular general overviews of chinese people and social customs, such as those by Davis (1844) and Wells Williams (1847, 1861, 1883) numerous scholarly works* of significance were published during the 19th century up to the great war. They included Staunton's edition (1853-4) of Mendoza's history of China; Yule's influential versions of western travellers' journals (1866, 1871); Wylie's study of chinese literature (1867) and translations from the Han Shu (1874 on); Legge's renditions of the confucian analects (1861) the ideas of Mencius (1861) the Shih Ching (1865) the Shu Ching (1865) the Ch'un Ch'iu (1872) the major confucian and taoist texts (1879-85, 1891) and Fa-hsien's Travels; Beal's (1884, 1911) and Bretschneider's (1888) major translations; Giles' translation (1889) of Chuang-tzu, his biographical survey of 2379 chinese personalities (1898) and his histories of chinese literature (1901) and civilisation (1911); Hirth's history of early China (1908); and Mayers' biographical survey of 900 leading personages (1910). By 1914, at least three translations of 'Confucius' Book of History had been published in English, and at least 13 articles on the confucian examination system.⁸⁴

Twentieth-century interest in China and her history will be detailed subsequently.⁸⁵ Continued scholarly attention has reflected not only realisation of the subtlety of the chinese historical and cultural tradition, partly in response to the 'chinese renaissance' scholars such as Fan Wen-lan, Hu Shih, Fung Yu-lan and Lin Yutang, but also sharply increased awareness of China's contemporary world importance. Thus by 1921, Latourette could list 60 major books published the previous decade, whilst by 1977 over 500 doctorates on China had been presented to U.S. universities since 1900 (though the bulk were post 1970).⁸⁶

Reference to more popularly known writers on China, particularly those who may have influenced teachers' attitudes will recur

* For titles of these and works noted on subsequent pages see bibliography.

throughout this study. Nevertheless, a brief survey of 20th century scholarship is thought relevant at this point, particularly those writers who have brought chinese source material into european languages. From Sweden have come Andersson's major book (1934) and important articles on chinese pre-history; Janse's studies of ancient East-West contacts; and Karlgren's articles on chinese philology. From Holland, Duyvendak's translation of Yang Kung-sun (1928) and monograph on early chinese-african contacts are much cited. Germany has produced Forke's definitive history of chinese philosophy (1927-38) and other publications; Franke's historical and philosophical works, especially his five-volume History (1930-53);* Herrman's articles and book (1935) on East-West trade routes; Wilhelm's translations in the 1920's of several early classics; Eberhard's studies from the 1930's on north China, and much-quoted general history (1950); and, particularly in respect of documentary sources, Hirth's work from the 1880's including translations (1885) of 17 chinese accounts of missions abroad and incoming,** Chao Ju-Kua's text on medieval chinese trade (1911) and Ssu-ma Ch'ien's summary of Chang-ch'ien's report (1917). France has produced Saussure's articles on chinese astronomy (1930s); Chavannes' five-volume translation (1895-1905) of part of the Shih Chih, and other materials (pre 1916) from chinese sources; Cordier's great bibliography (1878-95), four volume History (1920), and editions of Yule (1903-20, 1913-16); Pelliot's articles on chinese civilisation and foreign infusions (1905-28); Maspero's publications on language, religion, astronomy, science and religion (1910-50); Granet's researches (1920s) into song, dance, festival and legend; Grousset's publications (1929-onwards) bringing out the world-connections of chinese civilisation; Chardin's work (between-wars) on neolithic China; and Balaz's articles (1933-on) on Taoism.

English-language scholarship has been no less productive. Among american scholars, Schoff (1921) showed trading connections between East Asia and Mediterranean in roman times. Laufer (1919) published

* "The best history of China in any western language". (J. Needham, Science and civilisation 1954, 1, 73)

** "A classical book". (Needham, op cit, 191 note a).

microscopic evidence on chinese-iranian cultural diffusion. Teggart (1938) suggested inter-relationships between political events in Han China and Rome. Lattimore (1940) clarified the importance to chinese and world history of relations between the agrarian and nomadic peoples. Creel's several books (1936, 1937, 1951, 1970) illuminated the Shang-Chou period. Dubs' translations of the Han Shu significantly added to sources for western scholars (1938-55). Bodde's important source-based study of Li Ssu (1938) and translations of Fung Yu-Lan's philosophical histories (1937, 1953) have been much-cited. Goodrich's series of publications since the 1930's on chinese culture and technology culminated in his important short history (1943).

More recent american scholarship has included Burton Watson's study of Ssu-ma Ch'ien (1958) and translations from the Shih Chih (1961) the Han Shu (1974) and chinese philosophy (1963-4); de Bary's translations from chinese philosophy (1960); Reischauer's work (1955, 1960-73); Wright's publications on Confucianism (1960) and early medieval China (1973, 1978); Levenson and Schurmann's analysis of early China (1969); Hsü's modern study (1970) complemented by translated sources (1971); McNeill and Sedlar's classical and medieval documentary extracts (1970-71); Fairbank's illumination of chinese-western relationships (1964, 1968, 1972); Elvin's socio-economic analysis (1973); and Spence's document-based 17th century studies (1974, 1978, 1979).*

Likewise, rich scholarship has emanated from 20th century Britain. In 1923, Giles complemented earlier work with a translation from Fa-hsien. By then, Stein had already publicised (1912, 1921) his discoveries in north and west China, whilst Childe was beginning to publish studies of interconnections between China, India and the West, and Hopkins his detailed articles on ancient inscriptions (1917-47). Understanding of geographical determinants on early China was enhanced by Barbour (1925-35). At the same time, Soothill's study of China and the West (1925) was published, and later (1951) his complex analysis of late Chou kingship. Hudson (1931) demonstrated the world-historical significance of China-West contacts. Fitzgerald's pellucid summary of chinese civilisation (1935) is well known, as are his other, biographical, studies (1933, 1956) and more political works (1964, 1973). Hughes', work on western religious penetration of China (1937) and chinese philosophy

* Though the latter two are british scholars.

(1942) was significant. Other publications between the wars included Rostovtzev's articles detailing connections between China, Persia, Russia and the hellenistic world; Seligman's work on likenesses between bronze-age Europe and China; and Armstrong's on common agrarian-fertility ritualistic features. The importance of Waley's work between 1918 and the 1960's in disseminating knowledge of chinese sources to a wider audience will be considered separately.⁸⁷

More recent british scholarship includes Boxer's translations (1953) and numerous articles for non-specialist readers (1958-80); major historical and historiographical studies by Pulleyblank (1955, 61, 76); McAleavy's work on modern China (1968) and, again, several popularising articles (1957-64); Loewe's researches into the Han (1967,68,74); Schram's much-cited works on Mao (1966,69); William Watson's authoritative scrutinies of early chinese culture and artefacts (1966, 67, 73, 81); Dawson's valuable quartet (1967, 72, 78, 81); and Twitchett's studies on the T'ang (1963, 73) plus joint editorship with Fairbank of the Cambridge History of China (1979 ongoing). Standing distinct over several decades, however, has been Needham, with over a score of detailed articles on chinese science and technology and a succession of books (1954 ongoing, 1969, 70, 75, 81) of fundamental importance to world-historical studies.⁸⁸

In sum, it is clear that since the middle ages, but sharply increasing from the later 19th century to today, persistent scholarly interest in wider contemporary and historical perspectives has focused in particular upon things chinese; and has been more recently paralleled by reasonably accurate, objective, textual translations^{*} and source-based descriptions and evaluations of chinese customs, institutions, high culture, philosophy and historiography. Moreover it should be emphasised that many of those studies are readable without difficulty by laymen. Thus, it is asserted that any neglect of chinese history and culture which may have occurred in british schools and colleges in recent decades⁸⁹ cannot have been occasioned by lack of materials for use by teachers or school text-book writers and must have reflected questions not of resources but of educational attitudes and convictions.⁹⁰

* Even by 1954, Needham could list 37 chinese non-fiction books published pre 1800 translated in whole or in part into English (including 15 of the Histories) and another 18 into German or French (including 13 of the Histories). (Science and civilisation vol 1, 253-62).

Chapter Two: The case for teaching world and chinese history to british children.

It now becomes necessary to consider why the product of that interest and scholarship outlined in the previous chapter might be considered relevant to children's education in the late 20th century West. Such consideration will be pursued in two stages. First, arguments for and advocacy of broader perspectives in education - particularly in history - will be surveyed. Second, the specific values of studying chinese history, particularly in the light of broader world-historical arguments, will be assessed. These processes will be pursued despite awareness that there is, first, a residual danger in all considerations of comparative values, certainly with regard to world-historical studies, of naive statement of the obvious;¹ and second, in the present exercise, danger of superficiality and assertion unsupported by empirical evidence. Nonetheless, some attempt is considered essential, pending future doctoral research more closely focusing on these particular questions.

One fundamental argument for world history must be that which applies to all history - that, like the evening sky, it is there (or used to be) and fascinates man by virtue of its intrinsic interest, in that its patterns cannot be comprehended save through an exhilarating process of imaginative inquiry. That argument, advanced in respect of education in general and history in particular by the 19th century ontologist Herbart, from whose contention that the chief purpose of education must be moral technology, which depended on the cultivation of ideas across the whole learning spectrum, "many-sided interest became the ultimate aim of education";² and by modern historical educators such as Hales (1966) and others;³ will not be discussed further. It will be assumed that "boys and girls want to know, and this is an excellent reason for introducing them to another historical tradition than their own";⁴ as will a closely related world history argument, that its study promises enrichment for the individual, seen, pace Herbart,* as the quintessential aim of education, and in which the role of broader historical studies has been urged by Dean (1956) and many others.⁵

*

And R.H. Tawney, in W. Rawson(ed) The freedom we seek, 1937,62.

Human enrichment presupposes the broadening of imagination, eloquently advocated as an educational goal by Polanyi (1958) Bruner (1966) and Warnock (1976) and particularly in respect of historical study by Charlton (1967-8).⁶ The point was specifically directed towards broader historical studies by the Council for Curriculum Reform (1945), that a basic human need was "to be swung clean out of ... confined and immediate circumstance into a wider world of imagination". They continued, "We cannot deny the use of the historical imagination ... some rich or exciting piece of the past remote from (the child's) own life," and suggested studies of Marco Polo or the chinese emperor's court. Similar arguments have been advanced by numerous scholars including Hill (1953) who, asserting history's potential for awakening "imaginative wonder and excitement about the whole world of humanity", pointedly advocated "study of a region or country ... markedly different as well as far away from the homeland".⁷

The relevance of such stress on imagination to the interests and thought-processes of the child is well-established. Cairns (1953) detected "interest in the ideas of other peoples," with no apparent national preference, and a definite predilection for "more romantic and remote elements". Musgrove (1963) discovered among children of all abilities, including the less-able, "a very strong inclination towards foreign and away from parochial history ... an extremely pronounced tendency ... to prefer history which is distant in time and place and involves an imaginative effort at reconstruction". Those findings have been confirmed by Simon (1979).⁸ Strong supportive assertions have been made by leading historical educators including Coltham (1971) Burston (1972) and Egan (1978).⁹

A fundamental outcome of personal enrichment and imaginative stimulus which might reasonably be looked for in children is "heliocentric" thinking,¹⁰ a deepening of their human understanding and imaginative empathy and ability to conceptualise and appreciate that "what is sacred among one people may be ridiculous in another; and what is despised or rejected by one cultural group may in a different environment become the cornerstone for a great edifice".¹¹ Understanding of this led Morris (1967) to place first among the attributes of civilisation "love, sympathy and respect for others", and Boyle and Lauwerys (1967) to assert that "the human species ... will need to achieve a world perspective ... an

understanding and a tolerance ... for the innumerable traditions and patterns of behaviour ... throughout the world".¹²

Such understandings of human diversity, that "reciprocity in thought" singled out by Piaget and Weil (1951) as "vital to the attainment of impartiality and affective understanding", itself a major problem of the educational process,¹³ must be regarded, paradoxically, as essential to any realisation of the oneness of mankind.

Insistence upon realisation of common humanity, that "the mansion of human values is large",¹⁴ as cardinal to all philosophical and educational enterprise, was central to stoic and early christian thinking. The early 16th century Las Casas maintained that "mankind is one".¹⁵ Hegel (1830) argued that man's relationship to the 'world spirit' was "that of single parts to the whole which is their substance ... Since God is omnipresent he is present in everyone and appears in everyone's consciousness".¹⁶ In more recent times, strongly influenced by experiences of world war,¹⁷ the theme has been recapitulated by a succession of scholars and educators, including Schrödinger (1961) Berredo Carneiro (1963) Gallie (1964) Henderson (1966) Okasha (1972) and Freire (1974). Shafer (1952) for instance, lamenting western scholars' elaboration of differences rather than common features, insisted that whatever 'progress' man had achieved, "all ideas in literature, philosophy ... all knowledge in the arts in all civilisations", reflected the efforts of many peoples.¹⁸ Urgent need for understanding of a more concrete aspect of this essential interdependence, that of technological diffusion, was underlined between the wars by Linton (1936) whilst the outstanding post-war exponent of the same theme, focusing particularly on China, but impressively world-wide in vision, has been Needham (1954-on, 1969, 1970, 1975, 1981).¹⁹

In respect of school curricula, the theme of common humanity has been most effectively amplified by Hill (1953) that history syllabuses must emphasise those universal spiritual and material factors-such as family life and social organisation, technological innovation, arts and sciences, religions, and outstanding heroic or self-sacrificial achievements-demonstrating to children "that the culture of mankind represents the accumulated experience ... of almost every part of the globe."²⁰

Such appreciations are themselves essential to the pursuit of international understanding, the central educational importance of which, and the related role of history teaching, have been repeatedly urged since the first world war by the League of Nations Union, the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, the New (World) Educational Fellowship whose 1932 conference asserted that "international understanding can result only from an appreciation of ... geographical, economic, historical, political, religious and other facts ... about other peoples in relation to their way of life"; and Unesco, whose educational purposes were defined by its director-general (1962) as "to increase among youth a knowledge of the world and its peoples, sympathetic attitudes which will enable young people to view other cultures without prejudice".²¹ Those aims, and their corollary, the need for world-historical perspectives, have likewise been strongly urged by a succession of 20th century scholars,* especially since 1945. Caldwell, for instance (1959) observing that "a great measure of the understanding needed stems from the experiences children have in school", insisted that "the necessity for mutual East-West understanding cannot be denied; and the soundest basis for fostering (it) is ... the inculcation of true appreciation for the cultural values, ideals, and accomplishments of the peoples who are alien to us". Henderson (1964) called for an ambitious educational drive, capitalising upon the processes through which loyalty to nation is built up, to help the child acquire global loyalties complementing his provincial attachments and enabling him to combat prejudice and fanaticism. Toynbee (1970) maintained, "We cannot know anyone adequately unless we know more ... than merely what he is today ... some teaching of world history ought to be part of the curriculum at every stage".^{22**}

The goals of promoting international understanding and appreciation of common human characteristics and achievements through educational avenues including world-historical studies are further

* Though origins going back to the 1830's have been noted by E.M. Hunt, in I.L. Kandel and G.M. Whipple 36th year book of the NSSE, 1937, part 2, 109.

** Nor should such ideas be dismissed as empty dreaming by zealots. Henderson has pointed to the futility of "soapy sentimental ideas about world co-operation and brotherhood", insisting that what is needed is practicable measures of curriculum reform. (J.L. Henderson World co-operation, 1968, 37, 45).

linked to urgent need for education against ethnic, national and racial misconceptions and stereotyping, eloquently proclaimed by scholars including Russell (1932) Henderson (1963) Gallie (1964) and Toynbee (1972).²³ Empirical evidence relevant to such need in respect of children, whether against persons and groups within or without the national frontiers, is offered by mainly british and american research findings. These amply justify Katz and Ivey's insistence (1977) that "we must begin to remove the intellectual shackles and psychological chains that keep us in a mental and spiritual bondage".²⁴

Of earlier researchers, Bogardus (1928) demonstrated that cultural differences reinforced by both family and media, led first to misunderstandings, then to "fundamental aversions". Children were thus "saturated at an early date ... with both antiracial and proracial beliefs" which preceded the acquisition of knowledge or experience. Green (1932) extracted over 30,000 prejudiced statements from over 4,000 children, both primary and secondary. All the sample were prejudiced. Chinese, for example, were seen as cruel torturers and idolaters. Children were already biased at the age of seven by prejudices which would not materially alter throughout school life. Katz and Braly (1933, 1935) detected in Princeton students stereotypes of racial groups, including Chinese, Japanese and Turks, not based upon inherent qualities, but personifying "the symbol we have learned to despise". Such stereotypes were a powerful cause of racial prejudice. Bassett (1940) found London secondary children believing australian aborigines should have welcomed the English because of their superior civilisation, and applying cultural assumptions with "uncompromising rigidity".²⁵

After the war, Dobson (1950) found own-nation preferences clearly based on racial and national assumptions. James and Tenen (1951) found differences in colour, appearance or speech disturbing to children, especially with regard to Chinese. In particular, Feakes (1953) found powerful negative attitudes towards Chinese. The most common discriminants were yellow skin and slit eyes, regarded as "evil", "sly", "ugly", "cruel" and "horrible". Chinese were perceived in terms of media stereotypes, "a lot of bad men with knives". Ideas of dirt, squalor and poverty prevailed, and images of drugs, pigtails, long finger-nails and murder.²⁶

Even in more recent decades, Jahoda (1963,1966) found "disturbing" ethnocentrism and colour prejudice even down to

nursery-age. Tajfel (1966) identified clear national preferences, unsupported by factual knowledge, in primary age children and concluded stereotypes to be "early learned, widely used ... subject to very slow change ... (and assimilated) in a conceptual vacuum". Morrison (1967) observed "very significantly more favourable evaluations of West over East, reflecting "East-West dichotomy", in his lower secondary sample, notably in respect of China. Those attitudes were unshaken by "lack of specific detailed information". Rowley (1967-8) found over 90% of children of all ages preferring own-nation friends and concluded that this pattern was probably due to race and colour, that racial awareness began early, and that "it should be of concern to all educationists to improve international relations in schools as part of the general programme". Similarly Durojaiye (1968-9) found overwhelming ethnic self preference in junior children, especially whites, as did Tajfel, Jahoda and Johnson (1970) and Worrall (1978) with juniors, Bagley and Verma (1975) with upper secondaries and Madge (1976) with infants.²⁷

Three pieces of research have been of particular importance. Johnson (1971) revealed an increasing tendency for the child to be "psychologically incorporated into the mythical national community ... contrasted emotionally with other dimly perceived groupings", his attitudes culturally determined, incorporated in simple stereotypes, and slow to change. The 'goodness' or 'badness' of nations was learned as primary information. He concluded that children's attitudes appeared immature and dangerous, and that teachers should aim to develop reciprocity in thinking about other nations. Carnie (1971) found some junior children "quite ignorant" of foreign people, whilst others had extensive knowledge, but elementary and stereotyped. Of all peoples, Chinese and negroes were least favoured. Significantly, those children more prone to accept differing peoples could relate accurately a greater variety of facts, especially social and cultural detail, and reflected outdated stereotypes to a lesser extent, whilst rejecting pupils gave least information, but the most diversified range of evaluative descriptions. Children needed more understanding of and diverse information about major races and nations. More positive intervention by junior and secondary school teachers was requisite. This must involve the social studies. Thirdly, and most conclusively, the work of Lambert and Klineberg (1967) with primary and secondary children of 11 national groups revealed firmly held

stereotypes of national similarity and difference world wide. This was particularly so in respect of the Chinese, seen as most different by several national groups at all ages, and in no case ranked lower than third most different. No significant proportion of six national groups, at any age, would have liked to be Chinese. But when asked whom they would least like to be, choosing from among all the world's peoples, all eleven national groups placed the Chinese first, or among the first three. Overall "the Chinese were clearly conceptualised as dissimilar by all groups of children", emphasis being placed throughout on physical differences, personality traits, habits, clothing and language. (Even Japanese children saw the Chinese in 'oriental' stereotypes). The authors concluded that "children commence to like and dislike foreign peoples on the basis of their dissimilarities or similarities". This was particularly true of the Chinese. There was "a Western versus Oriental-African bias". At least six national groups displayed strong ethnocentricity and unfriendly attitudes towards most foreigners. This was at its worst after eight years of schooling.²⁸

Additional evidence which could be adduced as to the speed, scope and intensity of formation of ethnic, racial and national attitudes in children is extensive.²⁹ The picture is highly disturbing,* particularly when complemented by investigations of 57

* Not unrelated and no less disturbing is research evidence as to the effects of white ethnic or racial assumptions upon the self perception of coloured minority group children in multi-ethnic societies. Evidence in respect of Britain has been published by Rutter and Madge (1976) who showed via doll-preference studies West Indian children holding negative self images associated with their blackness; Milner (1971) who showed black and Asian children significantly less likely to identify with their own group than were whites; and Davey and Norburn (1980) who, from tests with 544 junior children on who they'd like to be if not themselves, showed 86.2% of white children choosing whites, but only 49.2% of West Indians choosing blacks, and only 45.5% of Asians choosing Asians, and concluded: "the task of the educator and is ... bringing about an adjustment to diversity". Similar evidence concerning Maoris, Bantu and American Blacks has been published by Vaughan (1964) Gregor and McPherson (1966) and the Clarks (1959). Their doll-tests with 253 negro children in Arkansas and Massachusetts (aged 3-7) found "clearly established knowledge of 'racial difference'" which increased with age. Two-thirds preferred white dolls. A 5-year-old lamented, "I burned my face and made it spoil". They concluded: "The crucial period in the formation and patterning of racial attitudes begins at around 4 and 5 years".³⁰

bright children's attitudes to and knowledge of foreign peoples, including Chinese, carried out in ten junior schools in northern England by the author during 1981-2. The children clearly thought along racial and national lines. When asked which of the world's people was most like the British, 100% chose American, white commonwealth or western Europeans. When asked which was least like the British, 83.9% chose Asians or Africans (44% chose Chinese) and the remainder Russians. When the same questions were given, but limited to seven specified peoples,^{*} 94.8% thought Americans the most similar, the remainder the French. 37% thought Chinese the least similar. The remainder chose Africans, Arabs, Indians or Russians. None chose Americans or French. When asked to write descriptive words of the seven peoples, 94.8% used pejorative terms in respect of Russians, 89% of Africans and Chinese and 88% of Indians, but only 3.5% used them of French and none of Americans. On the other hand, 100% used appreciative terms to describe Americans and 98% to describe French, but only 7%, 12.3%, 14% and 16% to describe Russians, Chinese, Africans and Indians respectively. When asked which of the world's peoples they would most like to be, 89.5% chose Americans, the remainder white commonwealth or Europeans. Of those they would least like to be, 60% chose Russians, 17.6% Chinese, the remainder Africans or Asians. When asked to nominate which of eight degrees of 'social distance' they would apply to the seven nominated peoples, the average degree permitted for Africans, Arabs, Chinese, Indians and Russians was the first,^{**} whereas for the French it was the fifth^{***} and for Americans the seventh.^{****} Not one child was prepared to allow Africans, Arabs, Chinese or Indians to reach the fourth degree.^{***} 24.6% of children wished to bar Africans, Chinese and Indians from ever visiting England, and 28% the Russians. No child wished to bar Americans or French.

* Black Africans; Americans; Arabs; Chinese; French; Indians (India); Russians.

** "I would let them visit England".

*** "I would let them live next door".

**** "I would have them to tea in my house".

** "I would let them live in my area".

Yet when the children were asked factual questions about the world on which they held such clear preferences, their knowledge was shaky. On a world map, only 63% could identify the USA, 40% the USSR, 25% India and 23% China. When asked to place five countries^{*} in order of size (area) only 33% placed Russia first. 12.3% chose Israel. 20% placed China last. Placing the same five countries in order of size (population) proved equally difficult. Only 22.9% placed China first, and 11% placed her last. 12.3% placed Israel first. (But when asked to place the five in order of preference, there was no difficulty. 75.5% placed America first, the remainder ranked her second. 56% placed Russia last, the remainder ranked her second last. 44% placed China last and 53% second last). Evidence of lack of knowledge particularly on China was then ascertained. When asked to write down everything they knew about China and the Chinese (unrestricted time) the average number of words written was 43. Only one child mentioned anything historical. 65% mentioned slit eyes, and 60% yellow skin. When asked to draw a Chinese, 84.2% drew a traditional costume, pigtail and flower-pot hat. Only three children knew of any city in China, and none could name a Chinese river, an important living Chinese, the leader of the communist revolution, the present political system, or any invention from China. Only one could name anything from the past which might be seen today (pagodas).

The conclusions were clear. The children held strong preferences with regard to the peoples of the world. These entirely reflected racial images, except in the case of the Russians. The children were almost universally hostile to people of different race, colour or ethnicity. Their strong affective attitudes were not, however, based on knowledge. In respect of China, ignorance was virtually total.³¹

The causation of such stereotypes and attitudes is a complex question^{**} reaching beyond the scope of this thesis in its widest

* America, China, France, Israel, Russia.

** For instance, whether children's attitudes can be influenced positively or negatively, by the media or by schools has never been definitively examined. Feakes (1953, pp6, 22, 79-80, 115, 127-31, 133, 137) and Hamer (1954, p.5) reached conflicting conclusions regarding teaching's effects. On the media, Johnson (1966, p.12) found comics influencing attitudes. On the influence of books, Fisher (1968) Litcher and Johnson (1969) and Ashby and Wittmaier (1978) showed attitudes to blacks, indians, and women respectively could be positively changed, whilst Habtai (1981, pp73-4) found correlation between textbook content and children's prejudices.

ramifications, though closely considered with particular regard to China in a later chapter.³² A variety of 'psychological' factors have been suggested by such as Piaget (1929,1932) Allport (1954) and others:³³ but these are considered less relevant to questions of school curriculum content and purposes than the role of the media, highlighted by a number of researchers since the 1930's, including Johnson (1966) and Laishlie (1972).³⁴ Neither is the role of the culture, especially of adults and families, again spotlighted by a succession of scholars since Lippmann (1928) and effectively pushed home by Little (1958)³⁵ irrelevant to questions of curriculum reform. When these causative factors are remembered, then, it is clear that "the schoolmaster is not the only or perhaps even the most important cultural influence".³⁶ Nor, regrettably, is it clear that the schoolmaster's and particularly the history master's has been a benign influence. The contrary has been suggested by Bogardus (1928) Allport and Kramer (1946) Tajfel (1966) and Lawrence (1967,1972) who has scorned as illusory the idea that history textbooks "are solely studies of the past".³⁷ Similarly, the main body of this thesis will demonstrate an insistent and powerful emphasis in british history teaching since 1900 on the national story, and a neglect of world history in general and chinese history in particular. Thus it will be throughout implied, though nowhere proven (that awaits other research) that history teaching as it has been hitherto has been a significant cause of those harmful attitudes in children whose modification is suggested as a major justification for world-historical curricular development.

Whatever its source, ethnic, racial and national stereotyping in children's minds clearly constitutes a serious and worrying phenomenon, particularly if, as some have claimed, such views are carried forward into adult life.³⁸ This alone, it is asserted, offers overwhelming justification for the structured introduction of 'world-perspective' material into school curricula at the earliest possible moment in the child's life.

There is yet one other world history argument, however. Acceptance of human diversity yet equality of value, realisation of the oneness of mankind, understanding of international interdependence, the development of international empathy, and the reduction of stereotyping are all prerequisites to that understanding of the modern world situation advocated throughout the 20th century by a multitude of educators including such as Dance (1970) and

Henderson (1979).³⁹ The principal new features of the contemporary world are that interdependence and growth of a world civilisation which have followed world economic and political changes and new communications and transportation technology, together comprising the phenomenon of the 'shrinking world', or what has been termed the 'global village',* which almost all writers on world-historical themes, including Grousset (1951) Toynbee (1953,1972) and Needham (1954) have spotlighted, some in apocalyptic terms. Most elegant expression of the educational implications of that phenomenon has come (1968,1979) from Henderson: "Almost overnight (we are) confronted not with the idea but with the reality ... and challenged to behave ... as world citizens ... As citizens we can use history as a mirror ... living in a global village ... demands some knowledge of that village's common ancestry".⁴⁰

It is, however, to the arguments for an expanded study of asian and specifically chinese history in our educational institutions that the remainder of this chapter will be devoted. The validity of such concentration upon one country in the pursuit of world-historical perspectives may be challenged. On the other hand, it has been supported, largely on grounds of practicality, by numerous scholars since the 19th century. Hill, for instance (1953) contended that study of the history of one nation notably dissimilar from their own "might do more than a study of an outline of world history to make (children's) minds receptive of international ideas and capable of understanding the problems of nations other than their own".⁴¹

That it appears necessary to justify teaching chinese history in our schools may be, as with world history, indicative of public attitudes. It could be thought self-evident that ignorance of eastern cultures is a privation demanding urgent rectification.⁴² Nonetheless, should the need for justification be accepted, then it must be straightway asserted that, unlike Killingrays's (1977) reservations as to a special case for african history,⁴³ such restraint would seem much less necessary in respect of China. Not only do all the foregoing arguments for world history apply, there are additional and more specific (though not unique) considerations

*
Though anticipated 1762 by Rousseau: "Our island is this earth".
(Emile, or Education, 1878 edn,130).

from which it becomes clear that the study of chinese history - and not merely recent times - is not an exotic or esoteric recommendation, but is quintessentially relevant to western people today.

That relevance is demonstrable in two ways. First, that it paints in the background to a country of immeasurable contemporary importance. Second, that it offers the study per se of a culture which, in its length, richness and contribution to human civilisation offers profound educational reward to human beings everywhere. This essay will concentrate upon the latter. Nonetheless, attention will first be given to the former - to what might be seen as 'practical', 'realistic' or 'forward-looking' factors, which commentators of all standpoints have pointed to.⁴⁴

If for no more than practical understanding of the world in which they are to grow up, it is argued, british children must study the present situation and historical antecedents of the world's dominant peoples and be protected against fontenellian illusions⁴⁵ of themselves as citizens of a great power. Of those, China is now in many respects, and likely to become so in others, a member, and several practical issues underpin the argument for her place in our school curricula.

First, there is her sheer bulk. "With its large land territory and large population, it is, in itself, a universe. To ignore these facts is a fatal mistake".⁴⁶ The world's third largest country, including the USA and Western Europe, China is 42 times larger than Great Britain.* The Gobi is seven times larger than Britain: Sinkiang three times larger than France. It is 1200 miles from Peking to Canton and 2,000 from Shanghai to Urumchi. Canton is sub-tropical: the Yellow Sea iced for four months. Her frontiers include four of the world's longest rivers and two of the world's largest mountain ranges.** Within that area live over 900 million people (859 million, 1977).***

Moreover, though about 80% are engaged in agriculture - "the most important single fact about China is that it is a land of

* 3,692,000 sq.mls.

** (a) Amur, Kwang-ho, Mekon and Yangtse.
(b) Himalayas, including Everest (Qomolonga); and Karakorum.

*** Average density 190 sq. mile (55 U.S.A.) and 1650 in cultivated areas (276 U.S.A.)

peasants"⁴⁷ - she contains 120 cities of over 100,000 people, eight being over one million and another eight over two.* Thus, if Burston (1972) is correct, that "what affects most people appears to be part at least of our judgement of what is important in history",⁴⁸ strong emphasis on chinese history must follow.

Furthermore, though China's world-economic importance should not be overstated (she ranks only 28th in world trade, in per capita income may be as low as around 100th., and most known figures do not equate to her percentage of world population) she is a significant force, the world's largest producer of millet, sorghum, rice, pigs, pork, tobacco and tungsten; second in maize, barley, tea, eggs, silk, salt, cotton yarn and antimony; third in fish, sheep, potatoes, wheat, raw cotton, timber, coal, lignite and mercury; fourth in mutton, lamb, natural fibres, magnesium and tin; and fifth in cattle, asbestos, phosphate and crude steel.⁴⁹ In petroleum, natural gas and some rare minerals she could become an additional force.

She is also of great political significance. Internationally, she represents a potential flashpoint which must be comprehended;⁵⁰ a military power whose capacity has been demonstrated by decisive intervention in Korea, defeat of India and a role in Indo-China;^{**} and a third-world leader. Internally, her socio-political experiment over recent decades has been of profound importance and could become a model for others.⁵¹

Some attempt to convey to children the magnitude of these factors would seem essential. But to achieve this, historical perspective would be unavoidable: the contemporary study must inevitably lead to and arise from the historical.

It is highly questionable, in short, whether any contemporary world study is possible without attention to contemporary China, and thus, if only out of necessity, to chinese history. If the principal modern world themes are considered - population, food supply, trade, resources, science, technology, communications, totalitarianism, democracy, religion, the family, rural and urban problems, national expansion, the revolt against the West, and the threat to peace - China plays a significant part in each: and chinese history, even

* Figures include Taipei and Hong Kong.

** With a 4-million army, she has been a nuclear power since 1964, with delivery capacity including, since October 1982, submarine-launched missiles. She is also active in space.

back to the bronze age, may well throw important light on the contemporary syndrome.

That contemporary China cannot be comprehended except in a pattern of historical change, recognised even in 1775, has been reiterated over the years by many specialist scholars, including Hirth (1908) Latourette (1947) Bodde (1957) and Dobson (1963) who insisted that "the perceptive reader might well find that some ideas which he thought were new and alien in the new China have familiar echoes in the works of Mencius". North (1966) has shown, for instance, how chinese foreign policy post-1949 must be seen in longer historical perspective.⁵² Specifically in respect of school-teaching, similar arguments have been advanced by the D.E.S. (1967) Robottom (1971) Fitzgerald and Roper (1973) and Cotterell and Morgan (1975) who have stressed that "the influence of even remote times is evident ... no understanding of China would be complete unless historical experience ... has been taken into full account".⁵³

Moreover, it is clear that, if fuller study of contemporary China is to be pursued, there must be some expanded study of the language. But again, as several scholars since Morrison (1817) have emphasised, it is not possible adequately to study the language except in relation to understandings of history and culture, particularly literature and philosophy.⁵⁴

Nonetheless, were the purposes of study solely 'contemporary' it is unlikely that more than a cursory historical survey would follow. Moreover, justification of any historical material solely as a pragmatic response to contemporary situations is neither educationally sound nor intellectually satisfying.⁵⁵ It is also historically unsound, highlighting tendencies illuminating present conditions irrespective of whether considered noteworthy by man at the time, and obstructing the inculcation of empathy and respect for societies other than our own, since their characteristics would be subordinated to explanation of contemporary society. That would be equivalent to the musicologist studying only those features of Buxtehude which explained Schönberg's Gurrelieder.

All historical argument must go beyond merely contemporary significance. Perhaps, like world history, chinese history should be justified for children on grounds of intrinsic fascination, worthy of study per se in expressing through imaginative reconstruction human experience in another place and time.⁵⁶ Again, however, the argument

must be handled cautiously. Besides threatening historical studies of little educational worth, glittering but insubstantial, it must logically extend to all history, since all relates to man in another time, and necessitates imaginative reconstruction through the eyes of the present. Study of palaeolithic Asia would then be regarded as of equal value to british children as that of 20th century Britain or the history of Paraguay to that of the U.S.A. Clearly however, selection must occur: the whole history of the world cannot be opened in adequate detail to bring out its intrinsic interest. This would suggest teaching children about those aspects of the history of their own and other lands which help to explain the world in which they will live. However, explanation of the contemporary world has already been rejected as the sole or even the primary criterion for historical studies in schools.

Thus, though justificatory arguments polarising around comprehending present-day China and appreciating her history's intrinsic interest cannot be overlooked, if chinese history is to be studied in our schools, then a more substantial rationale must be sought. It must identify in detail those unique or special features of the chinese historical and cultural experience which demonstrate the fundamental importance of man's socio-cultural achievement beyond the european theatre, thus illuminating and broadening our own understanding of human heritage,⁵⁷ and ipso facto worthy of inclusion as a significant part of historical studies in our schools.

A closer look at particular features of chinese history show that this is so, that it comprises an "immense store" of human experience, a reservoir of information of "immeasurable value", and belongs "in the truly universal world of the understanding, transcending area boundaries". Its significance is timeless and world-wide. It conveys the generic in human life and is no less a possession for all time (κτήμα ἐς αἰῶνα) than the greek history which has been so rightly prominent in western education since the 18th century.⁵⁸

First, and fundamentally, even if all before Shih Huang-ti is excluded,* 29 successive dynasties ruled China between 221 B.C. and

* 1300 years of known civilisation, 300 of which are substantially documented.

1912. She represents "the most important living culture that can be traced back in unbroken derivation to the Stone Age". Greece and Rome are dead, but the historical continuity has remained unbroken in China. No other cultural tradition has endured so long and influenced the lives of so many.⁵⁹

Three points should be noted about that unbroken tradition. First, it is original and independent. China is "the only large area of the world which has never at any period been brought under the rule of western men, the only region where an alternative tradition, equally ancient, has flourished and perished down to modern times".⁶⁰ Second, despite dramatic change in recent decades, culminating in attacks during the cultural revolution on traditional elements in chinese life, that alternative tradition has flourished up to the present day. Third, despite those ancient and unbroken qualities, though seeming static to the West, it manifests "a continuous process of development and change"⁶¹ - social, political, economic, technological and artistic. In short, chinese history is not only more extensive and complex than that of any western nation, rivalling the history of Europe as a whole,⁶² it offers a unique exemplary study of a fundamental historical concept, change and development, over a period of time and involving numbers of people such as cannot be paralleled.

Politically, although it is erroneous to portray the Chinese as peace-loving inhabitants of willow-pattern plates - succession to the crown or revolt being frequently accompanied by butchery* - their governmental tradition is impressive.⁶³ An "amazing" system prevailed by the 9th century, by which time the department of state governed six subordinate boards, the board of finance alone comprising four departments, each with chief and under-secretaries. By the 17th century, China boasted a complex, efficient bureaucracy, flowed through by paper seas. The metropolitan division and 18 provincial bureaucracies were each structured as above. In addition, each province was divided into prefectures (fu) and counties (hsien).

*

Thus, when T'ang Wu-tsung became emperor in 840 A.D., he slaughtered over 4,000; and after the Lu-chou rebellion, all prisoners were cut into three pieces in the street, and soldiers ate their eyes. (E.O. Reischauer, Ennin's Travels, 1955, 235, 345).

The 1,500 hsien averaged 100,000 people each. Magistrates collected taxes, maintained order and supervised the selection of examinees for the imperial bureaucracy.⁶⁴

But China's importance, and her lead over all other parts, including Europe until comparatively recent times*, goes far beyond matters of administration, though its stability and structure must be seen as a critical factor. China has enjoyed almost unrivalled cultural pre-eminence throughout history, recognised in ancient islamic literature,⁶⁵ and attested to by numerous modern scholars. Hu Shih, for instance (1933) has identified five periods from chinese history equivalent to the european renaissance.⁶⁶ Moreover, this high cultural development** was continuous. China never experienced a dark ages. From earliest times to the 20th century, even in times of internecine strife, the inexorable march of chinese civilisation proceeded.⁶⁷ Western cultural relativism was always illusory.

Several scholars have argued that this chinese culture was from the beginning largely endogenous and autochthonic.⁶⁸ For example not only do chinese astronomical observations date back to 1600 B.C., but the Chinese have never perceived most of the star-patterns known in the West, whereas they have detected hundreds of patterns un-noticed elsewhere. Needham (1970) considers this "one of the most convincing

* Chinese written and competitive civil service examinations, for instance, date from the second century B.C. Oral exams go back to the 12th. century B.C. By T'ang times, written exams for six specialised degrees were held, including maths and medicine. Exams are not found in the arab world till the 10th century and in Europe (oral) till the 13th. Europe's first written exams were in 1702 (Cambridge). Written exams for the british civil service started in 1870. Teng (Harvard J. of Asiatic Studies, 7, 1943, 267-312, esp 270,305) has insisted that the chinese precedent influenced european developments.

** Though 'high' culture should not be stressed to the neglect of 'popular' culture, which has long been of recognised importance in China. 100 folk songs survive from the Han period alone, collected by the State Music Bureau after 120 B.C. (Liu Wu-chi, Introduction to Chinese Literature, 1966, 45-7) and the 20th century renaissance centred around a vernacular literature (pei-hua) which consciously projected chinese culture. Over 400 vernacular periodicals were published 1919-20 alone. (Hu Shih Chinese renaissance, 1933, 44-5, 56).

arguments for the independent original development of chinese astronomy".⁶⁹ As such, chinese culture offers particularly valuable points of comparison with our own, comprising "an unequalled source of fresh insight".⁷⁰

The pre-eminence of high culture in chinese society is witnessed to by scholar-statesmen. The Han emperor Hsiao Wen-ti could converse like a confucian scholar. The protector Ts'ao Ts'ao was a lyric poet and scholar. The first Sui emperor named himself Cultured Emperor (Wen Ti). The T'ang king Li Yǔ was an important tz'u^{*} poet. The Sung emperor Hui-tsung was a philosopher, archaeologist, painter, art critic, poet and calligrapher.^{**} Two sons of the Ming emperor Hung-wu published significant books on botany and alchemy. The Ming emperor Hsüan-te was a landscape painter. A Ming prince Chu Tsai-yu published on musicology. Of Manchu emperors, Shun Chih was an impressionist painter; K'ang-hsi wrote poetry, published three volumes of essays, conversed on mathematics with western scholars, studied astronomy, played the harpsichord and spent three years working on a version of the dynastic histories;^{***} and Ch'ien-lung wrote 42,000 poems and published notes on his own studies (1736) and a prose and verse collection (1737). Thus, Mao Tse-tung may be seen as in a line of tradition, a scholar-ruler, philosopher, author of maxims for the people, and poet of some quality.⁷¹ No other civilisation has held high culture in such esteem.⁷² By the tenth century it was impossible to hold office, even at the administrative grade, without a doctorate in letters.

One major feature of chinese culture has been art, especially the prodigious landscapes with their representation of infinite space and harmonious quietude, "inspired by a mystical conception of the relationship between man and nature".⁷³ No less important has been porcelain, "the best of all countries and all times",⁷⁴ at least nine major variants being produced in the Sung period alone.

But the universality of chinese culture is best demonstrated by her literary tradition. The word for civilisation, wen hua, means

* Lines of varying length.

** His personal art collection included 6396 works by 231 artists.

*** He practised 1,000 characters daily.

'the transforming influence of writing'. This emphasis on the written word produced a literary tradition of "remarkable growth and essential continuity (with) lasting splendor (a) vast corpus (and) high attainments",⁷⁵ neither the profusion nor calibre of which has been generally recognised in the West.

Examples sufficient to fill volumes could be cited. 48,900 poems by 2,200 poets survive from the T'ang which alone is divisible into four major periods. Ayscough (1934) quoted 374 poems from the last years of Tu Fu alone, including work of lyrical quality ("Limpid Autumn, I gaze, no limit") human feeling ("tears score my face, drop like blood") and philosophical profundity ("Useless, with a golden comb, to scrape film from my eyes; I cannot yet separate, value aright, the mirrored forms of actuality").⁷⁶ No other literature, including English, can excel the aesthetic qualities, clarity, and economy of expression even of early (3rd century B.C.) poetry such as Ch'ü Yüan's Encountering sorrow or Sung Yu's Nine arguments, still less later (5th-11th century) poetry including T'ao Ch'ien's Fifth poem on drinking, Li Po's Fighting south of the ramparts and Night thoughts, Po Chü-i's Everlasting sorrow and Spin-dance girl or Su Shih's Red Cliff meditations. Prose writings of high stature in world literature include Wang Shih-fu's (13th century) play, Romance of the Western Chamber; the 17 surviving plays of his near-contemporary, Kuan Han-ch'ing, especially Injustice suffered by Window Tou; the historical novels of Lo Kuan-chung (d.circa 1400) especially Romance of the three kingdoms and The Water Margin;* Wu Ch'êng-ên's (d.1582) Journey to the West; the anonymous pornographic novel, Prunus in a golden vase (1617); T'ang Hsien-tsu's (d.1616) 55-scene love drama, Return of the soul; Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'in's (d.1764) Dream of the red chamber; and the 20th century work of such as Mao Tun, Lao She and Lu Hsün.**

Besides the aesthetic and literary qualities of the material, three points in particular should be noted. First, chinese literature was never a dead art, but always included material from popular culture, giving "sidelights and intimate glimpses of chinese

* Or, All men are brothers.

** The list makes no claim to be comprehensive.

life", and as such constitutes a major historical source in its own right.⁷⁷ Second, its social realism is unsurpassed. The Dream of the Red Chamber, for example, portrays upper-class family life in the early 18th century. Third, it is moralistic, further ensuring social comment and detail allied to an insistent philosophical tone unrivalled in other traditions.⁷⁸

In fact, it is impossible to study chinese literature and landscape art separate from her philosophical, ethical and spiritual tradition, which has permeated the whole fabric of social and political history and whose world cultural importance has been frequently noted. Voltaire (1756) claimed, "Ils ont perfectionné la morale, qui est la premiere des sciences ... C'est par là surtout que les chinois l'emportent sur toutes les nations de l'univers". The claim has been starkly put (1930) by the philosophical essayist, Liang Ch'i-ch'ao: "China's achievement is second to none in the world ... (and) widely different from that of any other country ... (in that) the central thesis of her literature is the ethical conduct of mankind in this life".⁷⁹

The last four words are significant. Chinese philosophy has focused upon man's behaviour in relation to society and to the natural world. It has been humanist, ethical and naturalistic in impulse. Even in the taoist conception of the Way (Tao-tê), the latent power of the universal order, heaven was mute, its will manifested in physical and natural phenomena, including man.⁸⁰ Confucianism, stressing benevolence (jen) sincerity (ch'eng) and respect for the order of relationships as essential for human co-existence,* strongly buttressed the humanist thrust, its concern above all social order and harmony and thus in practical terms more the concrete problems of life than metaphysics.⁸¹

Not that chinese philosophy has lacked a concept of the divine. The Tao-tê ching's opening closely resembles that of the fourth gospel; Mo Ti conceived of a personal god whose will was universal love sans distinction; Tung Chung-shu sensed a oneness between heaven and man; and from 65A.D. Buddhism began its conquest of China. By 1291, there were over 42,000 buddhist establishments: 142, 289 statues at Lung-men alone.⁸²

* Campbell, Masks of God, oriental mythology, 1962, 416, sees affinity here to indian philosophy.

Even in Buddhism, however, chinese thought emphasised a 'noble eight-fold path' of righteousness similar to confucian ethical humanism. Likewise, the Tao-tê ching followed initial portrayal of omnipresence with clear ethical desiderata; whilst Chuang Tzu's writings may best be described as speculative agnosticism. Eberhard (1960) has insisted that Taoism "cannot be described as a religion ... it is a sort of social philosophy". Later, the neo-confucian secular philosophy epitomised by Chu Hsi's speculative agnosticism denied deity, but seeing the origin of all matter (Ch'i) in reason (li) aimed at perfection in the individual, family, state and world. Essentially, only through jen could man comprehend the ultimate.⁸³

Chinese philosophy, in short, laid the basis of a tradition of humanistic reason which not only prevailed amongst chinese intellectuals to the 20th century, but strongly influenced Japan and the Europe of the enlightenment. As Grousset (1952) has written: "Any history of human thought which neglects (it) must be sadly incomplete ... (it represents) nothing less than the philosophical foundations of a universal humanism".⁸⁴ Certainly, it is scarcely possible to read chinese history without acquiring profound respect for her philosophical tradition.⁸⁵ But the converse must also hold if, as Waley (1938) observed, thought grows directly of environment.⁸⁶ Thus, if only better to understand the social origins and outcomes of this rich philosophical tradition of global significance, it seems reasonable to argue that chinese history must be much more-and more penetratingly - studied than hitherto in the West.

But there is yet another aspect of chinese culture of manifest world-historical importance, namely, her lead and consequent influence over both Europe and Western Asia in scientific, technological and industrial innovation until the early modern period.* Despite earlier doubts lasting even into the 20th century,

* The reasons are complex and go beyond present considerations. They possibly reflect a combination of environmental necessity producing a centralised state-system with a superior governmental and administrative structure within which the arts of peace could flourish, supported by the publication of great agricultural, medical, military and literary compendiums by the state, by contrast with which european technology and science were small-scale private enterprise. (See Needham, Grand Titration, 1969, 212).

and among Chinese themselves⁸⁷, the consensus of modern opinion is overwhelming.⁸⁸ Especially influential has been Needham, who, despite a strong caveat against careless inexactitudes, has demonstrated "the fundamental contribution which the scientists of China and India made throughout the centuries to the scientific patrimony of mankind"; that China was greatly in advance of Europe until at least the 15th century^{*}; and that there occurred "a slow but massive infiltration from East to West throughout the first 14 centuries of the christian era".⁸⁹

Four inventions crucial to world history - printing, gunpowder, the compass and the stirrup - originated in China. All pre-15th century printed books, for example, were chinese, korean or japanese and even between 1450 and 1750 chinese printed books exceeded those in the rest of the world.⁹⁰ Other important inventions probably attributable to China, however, even if only the period before the fall of Rome is considered, include cast iron, first noted 400 B.C; wheels with spokes, about the same time; paper, 105 A.D;^{**} a crossbow with trigger-mechanism, 198; the crank-handle, contemporaneously; and the wheelbarrow, 300 A.D. Moreover, many chinese inventions were directly related to manufacturing, both small and large-scale. The use of water-powered bellows for iron casting was dated from 31 A.D. in the fifth century, and illustrated in a 1334 book.^{***} The use of water-power to turn a lugged wheel is documented from 20 A.D., its use in rice-hulling from the 12th century, and application to textile machinery before 1300. A crank and belt powering a silk-reeling machine dates from 1090. The spinning-wheel was first^{****} shown in a painting dated 1270.⁹¹

Moreover, China's early lead over Europe went beyond technology. Fully to research her scientific and mathematical achievement would demand "the labours of 20 specialists working each for a lifetime".⁹² For the early history of astronomy, for instance, it is erroneous to think only of the Greeks. Five lunar eclipses were recorded by 1279

* There is no intention here to undervalue the importance to world history of the development of european technology, amply demonstrated by Singer, History of Technology (1956) and many others.

** And toilet-paper, 590.

*** Earliest european equivalent 1565.

**** First in any world culture.

B.C. in China and their algebraic stellar predictions antedate the periclean period. The first star-catalogue was compiled two centuries before Hipparchus. Sun spots were recorded from 28 B.C.* The age of the universe was calculated in 724 at 96,961,740 years. Before the crusades, the Chinese realised the stars were distant bodies in endless emptiness. By 1700, chinese astronomers had logged 90 supernovae and 581 comets. In mathematics, magic squares originated in China; algebra was advanced by the 12th century; and her influence on indian mathematics (and thus on arab and western thinking) is now clear. Chinese cartography was far advanced over european before the renaissance, and there was daily weather recording, with the use of wind gauges, by Han times.⁹³

But perhaps the clearest aspect of China's world scientific pre-eminence lay in medicine and pharmacology. The Chinese developed ideas of the circulation of blood long before Europe. 80 books on acupuncture were published by the 12th century. Chinese knowledge of the use of iodine for goitre, of sugar as a factor in diabetes, and of hormone treatments, anteceded Europe's by up to 1700 years. The great chinese pharmacopoeia had no western counterparts: one of the Han period listed 365 drugs. By the 18th century, the royal court alone employed over 100 doctors in eleven specialisms, the emperor had had all his children and troops inoculated against smallpox; and the catalogue of important chinese books listed 196 in the medical section alone.⁹⁴

Chinese scientific advance probably related to speculative traditions in her natural philosophy. Taoist alchemy** embraced chemistry, pharmacology and mineralogy, whilst confucian philosophers such as Chu Hsi (d. 1200) who deduced that mountains had once been submarine from the presence of fossils were also prominent in speculative thought. Whatever the cause, Needham (1948) insists that, in the absence of such speculative traditions, paralleled by the triumphs of chinese technology, "the whole course of our civilisation in the West would have been impossible".⁹⁵

* First observed in Europe 1615.

** Possibly an Arabic derivative from Chinese. It was first mentioned (by a Taoist) in 140 B.C., and an alchemical text was produced in 142 A.D.

That in all aspects of cultural development China has been a regional fountain-head, to the extent that it would be impossible to exclude her from a study of any part of east and south-east Asia, her position analogous to that of Greece and Rome in the West, has been widely recognised. Swann (1963) has insisted, "The key to an understanding of almost all the art and culture of East Asia lies in China".⁹⁶ But her influence has spread far beyond that region. Her culture, though largely autochthonous, has always interlocked into a broader world pattern. She has been of immense importance both to european and world history. That her history was until recent times "a closed compartment, affecting nothing and affected by nothing in the western world" has been shown to be erroneous by such as Carter (1925) and Needham.⁹⁷

Traffic was never solely East to West, of course. Babylonian ideas probably influenced chinese mathematics, astronomy and medicine, and egyptian designs possibly the development of the junk. Atomist thinking, found in Democritus (d. 380 B.C.) was first mentioned in Chinese by Mo Ching (370 B.C.) Teleological concepts of the spirit's progression, first found in Aristotle (d. 322 B.C.) re-emerged in Hsün Tzu (born 298 B.C.) The enigmatic Buddha found in all eastern countries, not least China, was first carved by greek sculptors.⁹⁸ Moreover, it is not always clear who influenced whom. Similarities have been traced between chinese and russo-western asiatic-european and in some cases, american stone and bronze knives, painted pottery, pot handles, swords, scabbards, axes, harness, arrow-heads, lances, clothing, ornaments, decorative motifs, pictorial representations, literature, legend and religion. Campbell (1965) has brought out connections between chinese religions and those of the occident; whilst Elvin (1973) has shown similarities between Han and T'ang military levy systems and those of their contemporaries in Rome and Byzantium.⁹⁹

Chinese history should thus be seen as part of a global pattern of extensive reciprocal cultural transference, a fundamental feature of world history of which all children ought to be apprised. Nonetheless, until recent centuries the tide was largely one-way, East to West. This influence of East upon West, not only in terms of cultural-technological diffusion, but also as a magnet, a challenge and an example, must also be represented in the historical education of all.

Certain influences are commonly known, such as China's stimulus to the voyages of discovery and the early and later european colonies. Moreover, she inspired an extensive descriptive and analytical literature crucial to the origins and progress of the european enlightenment, itself of major importance to world history.¹⁰⁰ But in addition, western Asia's and Europe's historical technological debt to China is now firmly established.¹⁰¹

In 1620, Bacon maintained that "printing, gunpowder, and the magnet ... have changed the whole force and state of things throughout the world ... no empire, no sect, no star, seems to have exerted greater power and influence".¹⁰² Those three innovations were of crucial importance in the disintegration of a unified christendom, the obsolescence of military feudalism, and the ushering-in of the age of discovery. Of the three, block printing had originated in the chinese cultural area before 700 A.D. The oldest known printed book is chinese (868). By 983, the entire buddhist Tripitaka had been printed from 130,000 blocks. Moveable type was recorded between 1041-49. The chronology of westward diffusion has been detailed by Carter (1925,1955) and Chatley (1947). Block-printing was first practised in Europe in 1375, and moveable type printing in the early 1400s.^{*103} Of gunpowder, the Chinese "had solved all the problems involved in its use long before it was known in Europe".¹⁰⁴ Fireworks date from 600 A.D. Gunpowder was used in battle in 900, including in rockets, and later in catapulted grenades and flame-throwers. Metal cannon date from the 13th century. Gunpowder was first known in Europe in 1327.^{**} The chances of its having been independently invented are mathematically small. As to the magnetic compass, even excluding disputed texts, the first chinese documentary reference dates from 1117. Other pre-1150 texts described its use in journeys. The first european reference was late 12th century.

* Gutenberg set up his printing partnership in 1438. His first dated work is 1454.

** Probably via the Arabs, through whom the West earlier also got the trebuchet from China.

But cultural transmission from China to the West went beyond those three. A tide of invention drifted westwards for over 2,000 years. Needham (1954) has cautiously listed 35 major technological innovations probably transmitted from China to the West before the 18th century, the time-lag in some cases up to 17 centuries,^{*} and has insisted that many more^{**} could be given^{***} Random examples include blast furnaces, which first arose in first century B.C. China and in 14th century Europe. The rudder, in use in first century A.D. China first appeared in 14th century Europe. Artesian wells 3,000 feet deep were dug in Szechuan about 100 A.D: Europe's first artesian well dates from 1126. The invention of paper is documented from 105 A.D: it is then found at central asian oasis towns (third century) Samarkand (eighth) Egypt (tenth) and in Europe 1150 A.D. Neither the breast-strap nor collar harnesses, in use in Han and Tang times respectively, occurred in Europe until the later middle ages. Lastly, both segmental-arch and chain-suspension bridges were constructed in 7th century China: neither was known in Europe before 1340 and 1595 respectively.¹⁰⁵

Needham however (1970) has most importantly gone further, to inventions always considered the property of the West, and has established chinese knowledge of the explosive force of the creation of a vacuum by condensation of steam (2nd century B.C.); the conversion of rotary to rectilinear motion (first century A.D.); the double acting piston principle (13th century); knowledge of cooling

* Including the square-pallet chain pump (15 centuries) water-powered blowing machines for smelting (11) a rotary fan and winnowing machine (14) piston-bellows (14) the draw-loom (4) silk-handling machinery (3 to 13) wheelbarrows (10) breast-strap harness (8) horse-collars (6) cross-bows (13) kites (12) deep drilling (11) cast-iron (12) segmental arch bridges (7) iron-chain suspension bridges (13) canal lock gates (17) stern-post rudders (4) paper (10) and porcelain (13).

** Presumably including coal-burning, water-tight compartments in ships, lateen sails, silk, lacquer, ink, paper money, wall-paper, toilet-paper, and spaghetti.

*** On the other hand, he has identified only four major techniques moving from the West to China in that period - the screw (14 centuries) force-pump (18) crankshaft (3) and clockwork (3). (Even in the case of the latter, however, earlier forms of clockwork almost certainly came from China to the West. The Chinese had a form of clockwork in the 8th c. Similar mechanisms are described in 13th c. Arabic texts and in later 13th c. Europe - 'European' clockwork goes back to the early 14th c.).

of pressure-vessels (13th century); and reciprocal action mechanical devices with crank, connecting-rod and piston-rod mechanism (early 14th century). Thus, "the entire morphology ... of the reciprocating steam-engine of the early 19th century was prefigured in asian, especially chinese, machinery widely used at the beginning of the 13th".¹⁰⁶

It is clear that world technological history cannot be studied without substantial and recurrent reference to the chinese contribution. But China's influence upon the West was never confined to technology. In medicine for example, there appears to have been a strong westward impulse from earliest times. The use of iodine for thyroid problems, known in China in the first century B.C., refined in T'ang times and first appearing in Europe in 1180, is one example. Chinese medical degrees by examination date from 620 A.D. The first arab medical qualifications date from 931. The Baghdad teaching hospital opened in 980. The Palermo medical examinations began 1140. Even up to the 18th century, the influence continued, with Chinese knowledge of variolation against smallpox (16th century) probably reaching Europe via the Turks.*

The role in this process of intermediate peoples, the concentration of dates of first appearance in the West coinciding both with the Mongol rise in the East and Christian-Muslim conflict in the West, may be significant. Moreover, cultural transmission from other than China, including India, Persia, Syria, Iraq, Egypt and Arabia may be suspected, ranging from shipping terminology, numerals, mathematics, botany, pharmacy, astronomy, architecture and decorative motifs to agrarian implements, tipping-bucket devices and geared water-wheels. Fradier (1959) has concluded that by the 14th century "an impartial observer could have defined Europe ... as a peninsula of Asia ... susceptible to the civilising influences which reached it gradually ... from the East".¹⁰⁷ The modern observer, then, might well contend that, in pursuit of greater understanding both of world and of european history, attention should be paid in history curricula not only to the cultural-technological achievements of the Chinese, but of other asian peoples, and of their role in West to East cultural diffusion.

*

Omitted from all british school textbooks: scores mention the chinese origins of bubonic plague.

Nor has the East's world-historical importance been confined to cultural and technological creativity. Teggart (1939), attacking "the practice by which the history of every country is treated in isolation", and insisting that "the study of the past can become effective only when it is realised that all people have histories (which) run concurrently in the same world, and that the art of comparing is the beginning of knowledge", argued, from detailed study of 40 wars fought by the Romans on the Rhine-Danube frontier between 74 BC and 107 A.D., and all chinese activities in Mongolia, Kashgaria, Bactria and Parthia between 60 BC and 107 A.D., an important correlation between the political histories of Rome and China. Wars in the Tarim basin rising from Han attempts to dominate the Hsiung-nu to the north and the trading web westward to the Urals triggered-off disturbances in Parthia and Armenia, and eventually Barbarian outbursts around Europe. Thus, "a single command of the emperor of China set in motion disturbances which ... eventually reached the northern frontier of the roman empire". Of the 40 roman wars, 27 were "traceable to the ... changes of policy of the Han government". China was "highly important (to) ... the history of the remote West". Consequently, "if the history of Eurasia in general or of Europe in particular is to be understood, the history of China must be placed in the foreground".¹⁰⁸

One final aspect of chinese history renders it richly rewarding of study by both adults and children, not only in respect of intrinsic factors including historical methods and skills and the fundamental interest of history, but also in relation to broader extrinsic aims of human empathy and cross-cultural understanding. It is that chinese history is so fully evidenced and documented as against the speculative nature of so much egyptian and greek history and even the evidence for pre-modern Britain and Europe. Available resources include artistic, architectural, anthropological, archaeological, documentary, environmental and literary materials, besides historical writings.

In archaeology, a large number of major sites have been explored over the last 80 years. Much is known of lithic China from western and chinese activities at Chou-kou-tien, Pan-p'o and other sites. Important bronze age sites have been excavated at Anyang, Chengchow, Hui-hsien, Shang-tsun-ling, Hsia-tu, and Chang-chia-p'o. Buddhist shrines at Tun-huang, Ta T'ung and Lung-men have been excavated: the

library of the buddhist monasteries at Chien Fo-tung, 21,000 volumes from 400 to 1,000 A.D., was opened early this century.* Particular emphasis was given by the cultural revolution. Valuable Han period discoveries were made from 1968 at Man-ch'eng, Leitai, Mi-hsien, Cheng-chou, and Mawangtui; and in 1974 one of the world's major archaeological excavations began at the Ch'in tomb at Sian. Moreover, most of the T'ang tombs near Sian await excavation. Chinese archaeology eclipses that of Europe and can in some instances be paralleled only by the pharaonic treasures.¹⁰⁹

Chinese literature, stretching back to the 311 poems of the Books of Songs (Shih Ching) some of which possibly antecede 600 B.C., furnishes rich historical evidence due to its descriptive and social-realistic qualities, besides profound insight into the historical chinese view of life. No literary source from dark-age Europe can rival for historical detail the contemporary poems of Tu Fu alone, such as Song of the war chariot or My trip from the capital - but thousands more T'ang poems give similar detail, such as Wei Chuang's Lament of the Lady of Ch'in, describing the sacking of Ch'ang-an. From the same period, novellas (ch'uan-ch'i) such as The story of Li Wa, though usually supernatural in theme, abound with details of T'ang city-life. Equally valuable details on the daily life of such as teachers, butchers and actors have come down through the numerous short stories and three surviving plays of the Sung; Mongol plays, with their "clear perspective of the vast panorama of chinese life ... a wealth of socio-literary material"; Ming period short stories; and Ming and Manchu novels, such as The dream of the red chamber, with its extensive detail on 18th century upper-class family life; which together give "a vivid picture of chinese society ... its commercial and economic background ... social structure and family system".¹¹⁰

More direct historical evidence is furnished by China's unrivalled corpus of documentary and other primary materials. First are the numerous surviving commentaries on social practices: the fifth century B.C. Book of Rites** (I Li) details aristocratic marriages, death ceremonies, banquets and archery tournaments. Second, there are important documentary collections, such as the 60

* Stein took 7,000 to Britain.

** Or, Book of Etiquettes

documents of the later Chou History classic (Shu Ching, or Shang Shu), over a dozen possibly pre-600 B.C., which includes details ranging from royal and military speeches to the building of Loyang and denunciations of drink. Third are reminiscences and descriptive accounts, such as the contemporary record of the words, actions and movements of the first T'ang emperor during 357 days prior to his accession (618 A.D.); Hsüang-tsang's account of his journey to India (7th century); or eyewitness descriptions of Cheng Ho's voyages (15th century). All give information on such as beliefs, attitudes, social practices, personal habits, clothing, diet, artefacts and ships paralleled by few pre-modern western sources.¹¹¹ Fourth, and particularly importantly, documents on chinese local and regional history abound, as Spence (1978) has demonstrated. Stenton (1947) regarded domesday as unique among medieval records, but up to 11,000 chinese local gazetteers and chronicles for 2500 prefectures, totalling 5382 titles and 100,000 volumes, some from the 4th century A.D., collectively match any other local resources for historical value,* giving details on irrigation, agriculture, industry, trade, religion, education, local culture, and the lives of prominent people. The Yen-chou gazetteer, for instance, recorded a local population in 1167 of 10,718 adult males of the first four ranks, 71,479 of the fifth rank owning taxable property, and 40,198 who "possess not a scrap of land, not one foot of a rafter of a house." Moreover, gazetteers were constantly up-dated: that for Kiang-yin district, first published in 1194, had enjoyed 15 published revisions by 1840.¹¹²

Wittfogel and Feng's (1946) conclusion that chinese history is "at least as well documented as that of the Near East, Greece, Rome or medieval Europe (and) for many periods and aspects ... infinitely better", is demonstrably correct.¹¹³ But in respect of secondary historical evidence, written histories (though often almost contemporary evidence in their own right, and replete with primary documentation) China stands apart, "unique in the volume of its output and the length and continuity of its record".¹¹⁴ This has long been recognised. Fourmant (1747) observed that the dynastic histories read like journals and were more reliable than those of any

* Though there is no equivalent of the coroners' inquest, guild-proceedings, land tenancy records or parish registers which give such detailed evidence of later medieval and early modern Britain. (J.D. Spence, Death of Woman Wang, 1978, xii).

other ancient culture, including the greek: "de tout le Paganisme les Chinois sont le seul Peuple qui ... nous présente des Annales & une Chronologie dûment autoritée: peut-on voir rien de plus admirable qu'une Histoire de tant de siècles, l'Histoire d'un seul Peuple, crû si long-tems Barbare, & cependant dès son berceau, le plus poli de l'Univers?"^{*} The point was similarly made by Jackson (1752) Voltaire (1756) and Hegel (1822).¹¹⁵ It has received modern endorsement from scholars including Swingle, 1921 ("records of unsurpassed completeness ... the paradise of the historian"); Bodde, 1957 ("more voluminous than that of any other people"); Pulleyblank, 1961 ("unequalled by any other country before modern times"); and McNeill and Sedlar, 1970 ("unique in its chronological precision"). Waley, 1934, has made the comparative point most effectively: "In numerous instances ... China shows in a complete and intelligible form what in the West is known ... only through examples that are scattered, fragmentary and obscure".¹¹⁶

Inspirer of this tradition^{**} was Ssu-ma Ch'ien (2nd century B.C.) whose 130-chapter Historical records (Shih Chi) enjoys scholarly recognition as "a pioneer work in both chinese and world history", and "one of the world's most remarkable studies ... unprecedented scope and discipline".¹¹⁷ A five section history of the dynasties up to the Han, including carefully dated long extracts from ancient and contemporary documents, it also contained chronological tables, including a list of ministerial dates, eight historical treatises on such as economics, the calendar and music, histories of the separate chinese states, and orally sourced biographies of the famous, including the earliest of Confucius. Its value as a source for minute aspects of the history of early Han China may be seen, for instance, in his account of the

* "Across the whole pagan spectrum, the Chinese are the only people which ... has bequeathed to us both annals and a reliably authoritative chronology. Could there be anything more admirable than a history (across) so many centuries, the history of a single people, for so long held to be barbarous, but yet (from the time their civilisation was) in its cradle, the most accomplished in the universe".

** Though not the first historian. A court historian is recorded for 900 B.C., and the Tso Commentaries (Tso Chuan) and other histories antedate Ssu-ma Ch'ien.

south, where people were "able to gather all they want without waiting for merchants to come around selling ... but there are no wealthy families"; or his ironic account of young women "running after riches ...(showing) off their figures and faces ... (dangling) long sleeves ... (tripping) about in pointed slippers".

This imposing precedent was followed by Pan Ku's first century A.D. History of the Former Han (Han Shu) which, with its "grim realism and air of brooding grandeur".¹¹⁹ was similarly based on official documents, oral traditions and previous histories. It included descriptive accounts, biographies, treatises on such as the army, imperial administration and penal law, and chronological tables. For the Sui dynasty there is the 85 chapter Sui-shu (636 A.D.)^{*} plus ten monographs (656 A.D.) on such as law, administration, political economy and bibliography. A later example (1084 A.D.) but in direct line of succession, was Ssu-ma Kuang's Comprehensive Mirror for aid in government (Tzu-chih t'ung-chien). It covered not only "everything pertaining to the rise and fall of dynasties" (403 B.C. to 959 A.D.) but also "the good and ill fortune of the common people",¹²⁰ and was based on 322 specified sources.

Certain points about this documentary base and written history stand out. First is its sheer bulk. To be implemented, any proposal first required imperial 'vermillion endorsement'. The submission was then carefully filed so that hundreds of thousands are extant, as demonstrated in respect of medieval China by Elvin (1973). Peake (1932) knew of 800,000 in one of Peking's four documentary archives. The Shih Chi is variously estimated at up to one and a half million English words: Chavannes' version (1895-1905) comprises 3052 pages. By comparison, the nine books of Herodotus' Histories (600 pages in English) are slight. Again, the Han Shu would total at least 800,000 English words. In Swann (1950) two of its 100 treatises, plus one chapter of the Shih-Chi (with editorial notes) make up 355 pages. The 600 chapter first draft of the Tzu-chih t'ung-chien filled two rooms of Ssu-ma Kuang's house. It was then reduced to 294 chapters

* 50 of the chapters are biographies.

and a 30 chapter abridgement. The 26 major dynastic histories comprise over 20 million characters, equivalent to over 45 million English words, and a complete English translation would fill over 400 volumes at 500 pages each. That on the Manchu alone fills 134 chinese volumes in 536 chapters and includes 500 principal biographies.¹²¹

Second is its relative reliability. In respect of each dynasty, documented information on emperors, other leading personalities, ceremonies, law, music, literature, technology, astronomy, the calendar, and economic geography exists in such detail that it is often known to the day when particular events took place. Ssu-ma Ch'ien was almost certainly more reliable than either Herodotus or Tacitus.* He listed 30 Shang Kings: the bones found at Anyang in the 1920s named 23 of them. Similarly, the naming of the last 12 Shang Kings, the last of whom burned to death, was vindicated by the discovery of 11 great tombs between 1934-1950; his account of the career of an early Chou magnate was confirmed from inscriptions in 1954; and his reference to a state of Kuo (8th century B.C.) has also been confirmed by archaeology.

But accuracy was not confined to the Shih Chi. Ssu-ma Kuang applied high critical standards and compared conflicting detail in the sources. Again, both the Life of Hŭang-tsang, and his own account of his travels, ring true to the historical ear - as when, relating a buddhist legend, Hŭang-tsang laconically observed: "Without asking whether we believe the tale or not, it is a piteous one".^{122**}

* Herodotus (5c B.C.) is suspect for truth and accuracy. His sources were mainly oral recollections and visible evidence, possibly some documents, so that much of it is "more in the nature of popular legend than scientific history". (A. de Selincourt, Herodotus, 1954,9). He saw human history as governed by destiny, in the form of the jealousy of the divinity for human grandeur. Likewise, with Tacitus (1-2 c. A.D.) the main sources seem to have been oral. Moreover, despite generally accurate detail, he was emotionally involved, his research superficial, and his moralistic tone approached malice. (K. Wellesley, Tacitus, 1975,15).

** It is instructive to compare these writings with the almost contemporary Gildas, or the even more miraculous content of Nennius, our principal sources on early anglo-saxon history.

One reason for this relative accuracy was the emphasis upon not only massive documentation and referencing (the Han Shu included a bibliographical chapter) but historiographical analysis. Liu Chih-chi's eighth century Generalities on history (Shih-t'ung) was probably the world's first historiographical treatise, with sections on documents, biographies, monographs, headings, choice of material, use of earlier sources, verbiage, bias, judgement, vocabulary and valid documentation.^{123*}

Third, the material is vivid and realistic. Early in Hūang-tsang's journey, for instance, "suddenly on the dry plain he saw armed hosts, hundreds of men clad in fur and felt ... camels and horses, the glitter of standards and lances ... when he was trying to fill his water-bottle ... an arrow whistled past his head ... (and just grazed his knee) ... soldiers came and took him before the commandant, who ordered the fire built up to inspect him closely".¹²⁴

Fourth, it bubbles with personal detail, absent from western histories before the early modern period, on tens of thousands of greater or lesser personages. We read that Kao Tsu (d.195 B.C.) had a large nose, 72 black spots on his left thigh, loved wine and women, disarmed an enemy threatening to boil his father alive by asking for a cup of the soup, was contemptuous of intellectuals, urinated in mandarins' hats, and died from a septic wound because he despised doctors.¹²⁵

Fifth, not only are the chinese sources clearly superior to those of all other early peoples, as McNeill (1971) and Teggart (1939) have shown of Chou and Han China by contrast respectively with contemporary India and Rome,¹²⁶ they give better detail of other asian peoples than their own historical records. India lacks sound documentation for early and medieval times, whereas chinese sources offer substantial detail. Hūang-tsang, for instance, vividly described indian architecture, urban scenes and lifestyles ("every time they perform the functions of nature they wash ... and use perfumes").¹²⁷ Similarly vivid information on South East Asia has survived. The richness of descriptions has been shown by Schafer

* The continuation of this tradition to the present is shown in W.G. Beasley and E.G. Pulleyblank, Historians of China and Japan, 1961, especially articles by Pulleyblank (pp136-51) Lien-sheng Yang (44-59) W. Franke (60-77) P. Demieville (167-85) and J. Gray (186-212).

(1967) whilst Chou Ta-kuan's 13th century visit to Cambodia produced earthy and wry detail on such as monkish ceremonial deflowering of girls ("considered a meritorious deed") left-handed toilet habits ("when they see the Chinese ... wipe themselves with paper, they ridicule them") and naked bathing customs ("Chinese often go there to watch").¹²⁸ Likewise, much is known of the peoples to the north and west from Chinese sources, such as Sung-yün's (518 A.D.) description of the Persians; Hūang-tsang's (7th century) of the Bactrians; Li Chih-ch'ang's (1228) of Samarkand; Rabban Sauma's (13th century) of the Mongols, Byzantium and Europe; or the Official History of the Mongol Dynasty (14th century).¹²⁹

A sixth, highly important feature, already demonstrated in some detail, is that though much of China's vast corpus of written evidence has never been translated, especially the bulk of the local material, enough was available earlier in this century to offer adequate resources for the enterprising teacher, whether direct translations from literary, philosophical and historical texts, or source-based monographs. Since the second world war, that body of translated material has been greatly expanded.¹³⁰ Any neglect of Chinese history which may have occurred in British curricula, therefore, has reflected, not any lack of primary or secondary teaching materials, but rather a range of more complex issues and attitudes.

The correctness of the preceding assertions as to the fascination and importance of Chinese history both intrinsically and in terms of world historical patterns could best be established and reinforced through sketching a vignette of her history from earliest times to the present. The exigencies of space preclude such an exercise. Nevertheless, even from the limited brush-strokes which have been possible in this chapter, it is clear that China offers an historical and cultural tradition which from its earliest days to the present has displayed "a truly remarkable array of scientific initiatives, outstanding technical achievements and speculative insight" which rival those of Europe.¹³¹ The most distinctive and separate of the great historical civilisations, "a uniquely large and compact section of mankind, with a specially self-contained and long-continued tradition of centrality and superiority",¹³² yet always influenced by and reciprocally influencing other great centres of civilisation, it stands out as of distinctive world-historical

importance, not only in respect of military exploits, imperial expansion and revolution, but also in the arts of peace - religion and ethics; philosophy, historiography and education; art and literature; science, mathematics and astronomy; pharmacology and medicine; technology and invention; agriculture and manufacture; commerce and trade; administration and government. The point has been vigorously put (1949) by Latourette: "Chinese culture has been noteworthy both for its excellence and for its influence upon its immediate neighbors. In philosophy it has displayed originality and has had marked social effects. (Its) political structure endured longer than any other devised by man, and, when measured by ... the number of people governed, was one of the most successful in history. In quality and volume chinese literature ranks among the greatest produced ... China's art is being more and more enthusiastically acclaimed ... The economic organisation ... made possible the existence of an enormous population ... In itself such a civilisation deserves study".¹³³

It is therefore asserted that the onus of argument in respect of the study of chinese history and civilisation within a framework of world-historical teaching in western educational institutions must rest, not upon those who advocate its consideration - whether in pursuit of intrinsic or extrinsic educational goals - but upon those who, as will be demonstrated, through their national assumptions, curriculum attitudes, examining policies, publishing initiatives or classroom practices, have frustrated its development to the point of almost total exclusion from syllabuses in history and other aspects of the school curriculum.

SECTION TWO: HISTORICAL

Chapter Three: The teaching of history in Britain from the eighteenth century to 1939, with special reference to wider-world history.

History is a comparatively recent subject in british schools and colleges. George I, establishing chairs of modern history and languages at Oxford and Cambridge in 1724, observed that "no provision has hitherto been made in either of the said Universities for the study of Modern History ... the knowledge of which is highly necessary towards completely qualifying the youth ... for several stations both in Church and State to which they may be called". That phraseology was significant: the clear objective from the start was to produce, in Maitland's words (1901) "English leaders of english bears".¹ Nonetheless, little was done at first. No history lectures were delivered in Cambridge between 1725 and 1777.

Improvement began in the early 19th century. Oxford's regius professor Nares (1813-41) believed the subject "Light and unacademical",² but complied with an 1814 ordinance requiring three lectures per annum on natural philosophy and 20 on history. His successors, including Arnold (1841-2) continued lecturing, and the school of law and modern history was founded in 1850. That event, with the establishment of the Cambridge moral sciences tripos (1848) which included modern history, moral philosophy, political economy and english jurisprudence, was to prove significant to the subsequent development of history curricula in schools and other universities.

In general, history was not provided in schools before 1850, and though Rugby under Arnold (1827-41) saw growing expphasis on classical, christian and english history, neglect persisted elsewhere. Of 705 schools surveyed by the Brougham commission (1837) only 28 taught any history. In mid-century the Newcastle commission found little if any in elementary schools. None was taught at Winchester by 1864. Matthew Arnold observed (1867) that the subject had "in the great majority of schools fallen into disuse and neglect". The next year, the Taunton commission made no mention of history in its main report.³

Some development may have been stimulated by the 1867 franchise reform.⁴ This was confined largely to grammar schools, however. By 1890 only 5.4% of upper elementary departments offered the subject, and as late as 1899 it was studied by only 4.5% of London children.

But the abolition of 'payment by results' (1895) and the specifying of history as a necessary subject in the 1902 elementary schools code led to rapid spread. History was taught in virtually all elementary schools by 1903. In 1904, the Board of Education specifically recommended its inclusion in the curriculum of the new secondary schools.⁵

The content of this newly established subject and the reasons for it are of great importance to the development of historical education in England. From the beginning, it is clear that the more ecumenical views noted in an earlier chapter⁶ were represented only by classical history. English national history was increasingly the norm. In the elementary schools of the 1870's "English history only was to be studied ... standard 4 studied the outlines of english history as far as 1066, standard 5 from 1066 to 1485, standard 6 from 1485 to the death of George III". Public and grammar school history was similarly almost totally 'national' in content, with even Europe excluded.⁷

Factors influencing this development of national history may have included the french revolutionary wars and the anti-bonapartist syndrome; the growth of imperial possessions and associated jingoism; great-power rivalry; industrial and demographic expansion; scientific and technological leadership; naval mastery; the popularity of the monarchy; the extension of democratic constitutionalism; even Scott's novels. Foreign threat and social unrest further pushed educators towards realisation of the need for national awareness. Whether there was a more conscious attempt to close ranks socially in response to the socialist threat, the 'cultural hegemony' theory, is conjectural. The influence of social darwinist and racist thought is similarly open to speculation.⁸ What is not open to doubt is the influence of two closely-related 19th century views of history - history as a scientific method, and history as the record of progress - which burgeoned not only in 19th century Britain, but also in Europe and the U.S.A. "The great innovation was national history, pursued back to the mists of early medieval times and forward ... to the glorious achievements of the present. Sustaining and pervading history so conceived was the notion of progress".⁹

The role of university scholars was crucial. At Oxford, the combined school ended in 1870 with the establishment of the school of modern history. At Cambridge, the law and history tripos recently

emerged from the moral sciences tripos was likewise separated (1873). Independence did little, however, to lessen the emphasis hitherto placed on legal, constitutional and domestic political development. Oxford's modern history professors between 1854 and the second world war comprised Freeman, author of a 15 volume history of the norman conquest; Stubbs,* author of several works on the english constitution and editor of 19 volumes of medieval english chronicles; Froude, author of a multi-volume history of tudor England; Powell, student of icelandic philology; Firth, author of seven major books on the english civil war; Davis, editor of the Dictionary of National Biography and an expert on medieval England; and Powicke, again specialising in english medieval studies. Other influential Oxford scholars included Dicey, teacher of english constitutional law, and Vinogradoff, professor of jurisprudence and author of books on medieval England. At Cambridge, the revised syllabus (1885) provided for increased attention to legal and constitutional history and texts.¹⁰ The Chair was occupied from 1869 by Seeley, author of The expansion of England and Growth of british policy, and coiner of a famous dictum that politics and history were inseparable.¹¹ He was followed by Acton (1895) and Acton by Bury (1902) whose respective influences are detailed subsequently. Another influential Cambridge historian was Maitland, professor of english law and author of 10 major books on the medieval constitution. Nor was the pattern broken elsewhere. Gardiner, modern history professor at London, published 9 major books on early modern english constitutional history. He also edited the English Historical Review after 1891. His successor, Beesly, also Oxford trained, believed that knowledge emanates exclusively from the methods of the physical sciences. At Manchester, the history school was founded by Ward in 1868, who had studied in Germany and was inspired by rankean scientism. He subsequently edited the Cambridge Modern History, the Cambridge History of English Literature and the Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy. His successor Tout (1890-1925) one-time pupil of Stubbs, and president of the Royal Historical Society from 1925, was author, besides major works on medieval english legal and

* Whose "enormous influence" on school history syllabus was noted by HMI in 1967. (DES, Towards world history, 1967,9)

administrative history, of several books for schoolchildren, including (with Powell) History of England for schools. Even more important in respect of history teaching in schools, however, was A.F. Pollard, London professor of english constitutional history from 1903, who besides establishing the Institute of Historical Research, to promote the scientific study of legal, constitutional, political and diplomatic documents, primarily of english history, in addition co-founded (1906) the Historical Association whose declared objective was the promotion of history in schools. The first meeting was in his house. Firth was the association's first president; he was succeeded by Tout; and Pollard himself succeeded Tout.

These scholars had much in common. All were Oxbridge trained; advocates of historical scientism with strong emphasis on the use of original source material; specialists in medieval or early modern constitutional or political english history;^{*} and professionally active or educated in the later 19th century, when history was perceived in developmental or whiggish terms depending upon "the assumption of finality ... the culmination of human history" epitomised by english constitutional and political triumphs.¹²

The outstanding example is Acton. Fascinated by the scientific history of the german school, especially his personal friends Sybel and Ranke, he also profoundly believed that the triumph of english Protestantism^{**} and constitutional practice personified "the wisdom of divine rule". These momentous historical developments, paralleled by continental movements originating in classical times, allowed thinking men to converge along a single line of truth, realisation of the overriding virtues of english and european civilisation, a eurocentric vision given clear expression in the plan for his Cambridge Modern History (1898).¹³

The importance of such convictions to the development of historical education in Britain is plain. Those moral virtues spotlighted from 1895 in Acton's professorial lectures seemed to audiences almost uniquely english: the purpose of school history

* Excluding Powell.

** Despite his own Roman Catholicism.

teaching must be to bring them to the attention of the young. Their locus and expression was the british constitution and its practical translation through parliament and british political events. Children should therefore be given sound basic knowledge of the development of the superior british state and constitution. Thus, the new subject growing in public to elementary school curricula from the later 19th century set out to extol british constitutional and political personalities and achievements, mapping out a high road of key dates from 1215 to 1832. Essentially developmental and moralistic, it was intended "to give pupils a healthy respect for british institutions: the spirit of whig historians brooded over the scene".^{14*}

These various influences created a climate of academic opinion for the 20th century. Centrally important was the view of historical inquiry as scientific determinism, probing human and institutional functioning, thus revealing the causation of events past and future. This view, which paralleled broader philosophical evaluations of education and "for some zealots possessed the same objectivity and yielded ... the universal laws of human development comparable to those of the natural sciences",¹⁵ may be traced back to Condorcet, that the laws of human society may be revealed as in the natural sciences, and should induce universal ethical and materialistic progress; from thence to Comte,^{**} that history must utilise scientific methodology to identify laws governing change and development; and in Germany to Heeren, that the central historical theme must be the rise of the european nation-state system, to which there was no asian parallel, and its resultant moral and effective world supremacy. Heeren's ideas strongly influenced Ranke. Ranke was also inspired by Niebuhr and by Stenzel, who had adapted for historical inquiry the microscopic textual analysis current in german biblical scholarship. From 1824 he himself inspired critical source-studies (Quellenkritik) whose declared purpose was "to show

* It was these positions which Sellars and Yeatman satirised in 1930, whose book enjoyed nine reprints in the last quarter of that year alone. (W.C. Sellars and R.J. Yeatman, 1066 and all that, 1930).

** Inspiration of Beesly.

what actually happened" (wie es eigentlich gewesen). Thus developed an awe-inspiring tradition of historical scholarship,* under whose spell a generation of historians fell, including, among english scholars, Stubbs, Vinogradoff, Acton ("Ranke, my own master") Bury and Buckle, populariser (1857, 1861) of the belief that scientific method could be applied to historical questions and that the principal determinant of history was the progressive moral-ethical development of european man.¹⁶

Acton's life's-work was to translate to an english academic setting the continental scientific-historical method. For this purpose he founded the English Historical Review in 1886.¹⁷ His Cambridge successor, Bury, revealed himself "carried away by the dangerous doctrine of development in history, and the incontrovertible achievements of research", insisting not only that "history is a science, no less and no more", but that it represented a developmental continuum. This was its "great transforming conception". A genuine historical understanding "could not be formed ... until men had grasped the idea of human development". Thus, via a "comprehensive" scientific study of "all records", "microscopic research" carried on by "armies of toiling students", people could view the past in a dry light "in order that their influence on the present and future may be exerted in right directions". Clearly, historical scientism was associated by Bury at least with moral-ethical and developmental perspectives. Moreover, developmental patterns were seen as inseparable from the achievement of national aspirations.¹⁸

Those arguments, reinforced in The idea of progress (1920) exerted profound influence upon the teaching of history in schools. Much of Bury's thinking may be seen in Keatinge's influential handbook for teachers (1910) and the widely-discussed articles of Happold (1928-32) advocating close scrutiny of historical sources in the classroom and for examination purposes. Here lay the possible roots of the New History of today, whose detrimental effects upon the world history movement will be considered later.¹⁹

That scientism became common gospel in Britain no less than in Europe is abundantly clear from the pages of History.²⁰ That it

* Ranke himself produced 70 volumes.

induced a narrowing of perspectives, a concentration upon national or at best classical traditions, and a neglect of the world beyond the european peoples is equally evident. The problem was epitomised by Bury's dictum: "Who studies national history should study the whole history of his forefathers and not merely chosen parts". Scientism demanded study of the minutiae of history; concentration upon historical documents; teasing out of developmental patterns; and drawing of moral-ethical inferences. But all the minutiae of all history could not feasibly be tackled: the field had to be narrowed. Choice was then dictated both by practicality and by moral and historical assumptions. The documents most readily available for study, and most easily studied, were in the vernacular or classical languages; and because the grand pattern of historical development appeared to culminate in the moral and effective supremacy of Europe, they were also those most worthy of study. Thus, for instance, the overwhelming concentration between 1936 and 1945 upon german history in the Historische Zeitschrift, the principal organ of scientism, was not attributable solely to nazi control. From the beginning, german scientism had concentrated almost exclusively upon Germany, then upon Europe. The Nazi editor was correct in his assertion (1936) that its evolution had characteristically mirrored "the inner course of our nation's growth, as well as its spiritual life".²¹

It would be incorrect to accuse either Ranke or Acton of narrowness of vision.* Both agreed with Hegel that scholars must strive to understand connections and continuities across the whole historical panorama. Ranke, moreover, denied any a priori patterns in history, its events determined by faule Existenz.²² Nonetheless, Acton defined modern history essentially in eurocentric concepts and epochal perspectives, its prophets Columbus, Machiavelli, Erasmus, Luther and Copernicus. His published lectures (1906) contained two one-line references to China, both in the context of european penetration, whilst both Africa and India were mentioned solely in relation to Portugal. Similarly, Ranke's Weltgeschichte saw the world in european terms, and was essentially based upon a synthesis of earlier histories of the european peoples. Not surprisingly, then,

* And it would be absurd to imply any affinity between the great 'scientific' historians and Nazism.

the influential International Committee of Historical Sciences was from its inception in 1900 eurocentrist in interest, location and personnel.²³

Another, more insidious consequence of 'scientific' history should be noted, however. The feeding, if not of nationalistic frenzies, at least of assumptions of national worth and superiority, by the mis-use of the driving forces of scientism, namely the developmental view of history and the use of history to establish moral lessons for future guidance, is evident throughout this thesis. Stern (1970) has remarked that the developmental, moral-ethical line attracted scholars who wished to become "better partisans". It was no coincidence that "the national state welcomed and promoted the work of historians". Nor is such unease only a recent phenomenon. In 1926, Morison, professor of history at Durham, attacked "historians of repute perverting historic fact for practical purposes of the meaner sort", and insisted that "The danger to historic truth today ... comes from the misreading of documents and 'sources', by men and women defective in humanity, imagination and general understanding".²⁴

Criticism of partisan and narrow attitudes in school history teaching was being expressed in Britain, Europe and the USA before the great war.²⁵ In that war, the standards of historical veracity were frequently debased, and "historians often led the chorus of national hatreds". The war itself raised doubt as to the stability and superiority of western civilisation, and blurred the image of an occidentally-inspired millenium which historians had broadcast during the previous 50 years. Social, economic and domestic political problems, fears of class warfare and the apparent incipient breakdown of the social fabric in european countries, accentuated the mood of peasimism.²⁶

Ironically then, whereas vigorous optimism, consequent upon western, especially british, world dominance, had helped induce emphasis on national political, constitutional, diplomatic and military history, post-war pessimism led to doubts concerning that national emphasis, with a groping towards wider perspectives and more internationalist aims. Historical educators began more strongly to criticise national-patriotic history teaching and to demand education for international understanding. Hasluck for instance (1920) observed that many teachers now realised "how remarkably ignorant" of recent

world history, especially that of Japan, they had kept senior pupils, whilst Starr (1929) vituperated the misuse of history to promote cultural assumptions, to glorify imperialism and militarism, to pantheonise military and naval figures, and to arouse xenophobia.²⁷

Such authors helped pressurise british teachers towards acceptance of responsibility to teach more than british political history, and to consider the advisability of introducing at least european material in tandem. Of influence in that respect after 1918 was the League of Nations Union, among whose aims was to promote attitudes of goodwill, justice and mutual understanding. By 1931 it had 406,868 members, 2962 branches, 1293 junior branches and 3610 corporate members. It pressed for history syllabuses to include 'international' matter, play down national stereotypes, and present british history in world-perspective. The growing number of school branches might be taken as an indication of some success in that regard, particularly in London, as might the Board of Education's inclusion of a 23-page appendix on the league in its 1927 and 1937 Handbook for teachers. The LNU was also strongly supported by teachers' unions, who with it jointly (1927) urged schools to promote education for international understanding, and (1935) organised a major conference in which the use of history to promote ideas of world citizenship and of international understanding was demanded.²⁸

The work of the LNU towards reduction of national stereotyping in school history reflected the League's famous Casarès Resolution, 1925, that racially or nationally inciting passages should be excised from textbooks. Scandinavian countries took such steps during the next decade, and 31 others gave assurances that the resolution would be implemented. (Britain and six others were unable to do so).

Philosophical and academic underpinning for the work, and of attempts to secure international scholastic support for broader curricular strategies, emanated from the International Institute of Intellectual Cooperation, set up by the League in 1925^{*} under the chairmanship of the french philosopher Bergson. The british

* Though its origins went back to the Central Office of International Organisations (1907) the Union of International Associations (1910) the Brussels 'world museum' of the U.I.A. (1920) and the U.I.A.-inspired International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation (1921). Members of the I.C.I.C. included Mme Curie and Einstein.

classicist Gilbert Murray was chairman after Bergson (1928). He had co-founded the LNU, was its chairman after 1923, had helped draft the covenant of the League of Nations and was a delegate to the assembly. One of his major books was a study of Stoicism.

Those were not, however, the only bodies influencing the resurrection of more ecumenical views on the study and teaching of history. The World Federation of Educational Associations called for 'history of world civilisation' courses equally stressing the cultural deposits of all peoples, and of which world understanding should be a primary objective. Marvin's 'Unity History' group advocated that children be taught about the development of a common world civilisation and aspirations, and promoted international conferences on related themes.²⁹

Of particular interest was (and is) the New Educational Fellowship, which "insisted all along upon the need for a world outlook", and whose origins in consequence merit some attention. In 1875, the Theosophical Society was established in the USA, to promote universal brotherhood through the study of comparative religion and philosophy. It later fragmented. In 1915, a new society was established in Britain by, among others, Beatrice Ensor, a former HMI, "to form the nucleus of a Universal Brotherhood of humanity without distinction". In 1920, a journal was launched, Education for the New Era,* which aimed "to bring freedom and tolerance and understanding into all relations between one nation and another" and to develop "a more true patriotism which while giving love to the Motherland yet is international in expression". Similar journals were founded in other european countries. In 1921, the New Educational Fellowship was established, with the objective of translating the New Era's and Theosophical Society's aims into school and college curricula. Branches sprang up in most countries of the world. From the start, close links were established with the LNU, and the Elsinore conference (1929) established a 16-nationality commission on international understanding which subsequently called for research into children's ethnic and national attitudes. That subject was considered during the 1931 conference. The following year, education's role in preserving harmonious world attitudes was studied. At that conference, speakers from Asia, especially China,

*

Later The New Era in Home and School: now The New Era.

"shocked the audience into realizing how little Westerners understand of ... Eastern lands". That may have been a factor in attracting 300 to a conference (1935) on Japanese culture and education. Further 'international understanding' emphasis emanated from the 1936 conference, during which the cultural and historical importance of China and its persistent influence upon western technologies were sharply highlighted.^{30*}

Even bodies such as the Historical Association and the International Historical Congress advocated less narrow historical curriculum content, despite their tendency towards eurocentrism. In 1932, the HA, in reply to an IHC memorandum including reference to 'l'histoire universelle', urged teaching the history of civilisation and the maintenance of a balanced perspective between national and universal, and welcomed world history "either as a separate subject or by relating the study of national history to world movements". The IHC, noted the Historical Association, was manifesting "a desire that is becoming almost universal to see the teaching of history become an aid to international understanding". 1936 saw the first mention in History of a specific HA recommendation for text-book revision; "with a view to the promotion of international understanding".³¹

Half a century later, it is not easy to elicit and quantify the practical response to these varied exhortations in British school curricula, but fragmentary evidence survives of limited developments in the 1920s and 1930s. A 1929 study, for instance, showed 10% of authorities requiring schools to teach about the League and 40% recommending it, and recorded "encouraging trends" towards world history in some schools, whilst of 150 schools surveyed in 1931, though little international emphasis was found in practice, most head-teachers favoured the development of such perspectives across the humanities, especially in history lessons. By 1939, as Smith's important research (1966) has shown, though progress was halting, there was "a body of professional opinion in Great Britain in favour of education for world citizenship". Elliott (1975) has concurred,

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Mrs Ensor remained prominent in the NEF/WEF until her death in Nov. 1974. Wyatt Rawson, co-author of the quoted material, was connected with NEF from the start, was assistant director then director, 1929-37, and helped found Dartington Hall School. He died in 1980.

particularly as regards the LNU, which had forced some history teachers to reappraise their teaching philosophies, drawn their attention to textbook deficiencies, and "helped to effect an expansion of historical attitudes ... firstly beyond british and later beyond simply european history".³²

Other influences between the wars centred around particular individuals, prominent among whom were Spengler, Toynbee and Wells, the ideas of all three coloured by war.

Spengler's world-view was anticipated by such as Temple (1690) Vico (1725) and Pareto (1902) who had redefined political patterns in cyclical terms, their causation the rise, fall and alternation of ruling élites. But in Spengler cyclical interpretations were expressed with unique pessimism. Clearly influenced by Hegel's belief in the immanence of historical pattern; Nietzsche's view of a meaningless human existence, a vast drama of 'eternal recurrence'; social darwinistic concepts of the irrational brute will of the mighty; and a profound personal conviction of western civilisation's death-agony, Spengler (1918-22, 1921, 1933) described and predicted world history in bleak terms for the West. Man was a beast of prey: there was no common humanity. A people's future was decided by its force-relationships. History was thus empty of purpose and meaning, its only pattern the 'morphology of cultures', from oblivion into oblivion. Historically, cultures had come to completion, and ultimately satiation, in urban growth. The West was therefore "metaphysically exhausted", on the verge of collapse, and Asia was "today the most important continent in world policy".³³

As with all philosophies, the influence of Spenglerism cannot be assessed with certainty. It is likely, however, that such crypto-biological determinism, portraying cultural morphology on a world-wide stage, had effects, paradoxically, not only on nazi theories of the organic nation-state, but also in undermining the complacent developmental interpretations of scientism, shaking western confidence in unchallengeable superiority, and bringing to popular attention the existence and equal importance of other cultures, particularly in Asia.

Spengler identified eight major historical cultures, including the chinese. In that global view Europe was only a "little part-world". Nonetheless, european historians has been "incredibly jejune", regarding Europe as a unique patch. Resulting from their

"preposterous" linear perspective, never properly criticised, "great histories of millennial duration and mighty far-away Cultures are made to revolve around this pole in all modesty ... a quaintly conceived system of sun and planets!" From that, all events of world history were relatively judged. But it was "in our own west-european conceit alone that this phantom 'world-history' is acted out". In opposition to such 'ptolemaic' eurocentrism, a 'copernican' interpretation was advanced by Spengler, "in that it admits no sort of privileged position to the classical or the western culture as against the cultures of India, Babylon, China, Egypt, the Arabs, Mexico - separate worlds of dynamic being which ... count for just as much in the general picture of history as the classical, while frequently surpassing it in point of spiritual greatness and soaring power".³⁴

Cyclical explanation of world history was carried forward in Spranger's argument that the cycle should be seen not in spenglerian state - politics ideas but in terms of cultural history. Contemporaneously, the chinese philosopher Liang Shu'ming's world-historical view assumed the decline of western civilisation and its replacement by those of China and India. In England, the principal exponent of cyclical theory was Arnold Toynbee. The source of his inspiration is not clear, but incorporating as it did belief in an ultimate religious symbiosis, a fusion of the truths of eastern and western traditions, Liang's influence may be suspected.³⁵

In his monumental* multi-volume Study of History (1933-1961), seen by Kohn (1963) as "the first major work abandoning a western-centred view in accordance with the first global era of history", Toynbee identified over 20 civilisations from history (and 650 primitive societies). One major survivor was the sinic, "chrysalis of the present far eastern society". Unlike Spengler, however, who stressed the theory of challenge to explain the irrational morphology of civilisations, Toynbee developed more

* The first 10 volumes totalled 6290 pp., three million words. The 332-page index contained 19,000 references. Its massive documentation calls into question the criticisms of such as Thomson (Aims of history, 1969, 241) and Geyl (Debates with historians, 1955, 91-129).

complex arguments based on assumptions of the repeated coming-together of men in common human-ness. First, by the law of 'challenge and response', all civilisations including the 'sinic' rose and survived to the extent that they responded to some external challenge. Second, by the law of 'withdrawal and return', when a civilisation's creative energy died a state of disunity ensued, followed by the institution by force of a powerful centralised state. This state included an 'internal proletariat', who established a new religion, and an 'external proletariat', who eventually forced disintegration. Third by the law of 'continuity of religion', a civilisation survived to the extent that its religions continued. The laws of 'withdrawal and return' and of 'continuity of religions' could be clearly seen in the historical patterns both of hellenistic-roman and of sinic society.³⁶

To those historical laws, in which chinese history was prominent, Toynbee added a prophetic law, the inevitability of world civilisation. Civilisations could no longer live in mutual ignorance because of their proximity through technology. Fusion would be obstructed by collectivism and nationalism, but they would be overwhelmed by Christianity's assertion of the individual over the collective. A subsequent symbiosis would emerge from the best of the world's great religions and from that would arise the new world civilisation. Moreover, that historical future represented divine purpose.³⁷

It is no less difficult than with Spengler to assess Toynbee's impact on the study and teaching of history, though his leading positions from 1925 to 1955 at the Royal Institute of International Affairs and at London University might suggest an influential propagandist role for world-historical studies. McNeill (1970) has been in no doubt as to the importance both of Toynbee and of Spengler in their acceptance of non-western civilisations as equal in principle with western, since according to their cyclical interpretations all were liable to rise and to fall.³⁸ Certainly, teachers reading Toynbee cannot have avoided three clear inferences. First, that english history could not be studied separate from movements involving other peoples, since "the forces in action are not national but proceed from wider causes". Second, that although western civilisation was currently dominant, that could not be seen as history's apogee, or as justifying the almost exclusive study of

the development of such ascendancy. On the contrary, there was an implicit necessity to study the non-european world per se. Third, historical studies must include the history of religion and philosophy and their various cultural manifestations.³⁹

Also influential between the wars was Wells, regarded by some as having done more than any other person to crystallize world history into a manageable concept for school history textbooks.⁴⁰ His Outline of history (1920) and Short history of the world (1928) attempted historical narratives free of the national hubris then rampant in textbooks. Of the former, Wells claimed that it was "urgently necessary" and was "written to help oust such teaching of history as one still finds going on in England - the history of England from 1066 to the death of Queen Anne ... without reference to any remoter past or to the present or to any exterior world".⁴¹ In other publications he argued that children must be introduced to the continuing social and intellectual achievement of the world and that lack of perspectives ranging beyond merely national understanding would inevitably help perpetuate current international suspicion. Important in that regard was his handbook for teachers (1921) which reiterated his pedagogical purpose - "universal history as an educational framework ... something that may be made the basis of a common understanding and sympathy for all mankind" - and strongly urged schoolteachers that their purpose must be, not national narrative, but "to take (children) out of themselves ... to make them realise themselves as actors ... in a great drama which ... opens out to issues far transcending any personal ends in their interest and importance ... (and that) the sphere of human interest ... comprehends the whole world".⁴²

Again, it is impossible to quantify Wells' impact upon schools. The books were certainly best-sellers. Within a year, the Outline had sold over 200,000 copies in several languages. It was subsequently commended by Jacob (1923) as "a real step forward in the popular teaching of (world) history". In the same issue of History, however, a teacher rejected the book for school use, and no further references to Wells' work have been traced in that journal. Moreover, the 'world' content of Wells' writing should not be exaggerated. The bulk of the Outline comprised the deeds of european peoples, and his vision of a perfect world appears to have been "one in which european institutions and western liberal ideas had been universalized".⁴³

Influence was also exerted in the immediate post-war years by the distinguished jurist Bryce, whose interests and publications ranged world-wide. His Oxford Raleigh lecture (1919) epitomised the world-historical aspirations of his closing years. For the first time in history, and demonstrated by the war, the world's peoples had become "one whole ... each and every part of which is affected by the fortunes of every other part". For the first time, then, "the History of the World in the full sense of the word can be written". It should be approached as "the Biography of Mankind", since "tendencies inherent in man's nature are potent everywhere, irrespective of Time as well as of Space". Bryce then devoted 11 pages of his published lecture to advocacy for world history, "an account of the process and the forces whereby races, tribes, nations and states have been ... drawn together into one community": radical words in the Oxford of Vinogradoff and Firth.⁴⁴

A significant if more narrowly influential lead was also given between the wars by the philosopher Russell, whose Education and the social order (1932) strongly advocated world history, emphasised the need for a sense of the solidarity of humanity, attacked jingoistic teaching, and demanded that the League write all history text-books. History should be global rather than national, and should emphasise "matters of cultural importance".⁴⁵

Some influence may also be ascribed to social anthropology. Benedict, for instance, insisted (1935) that, since possible human institutions on every plane of cultural simplicity or complexity were legion, "wisdom consists in greatly increased tolerance towards their divergencies". A man should "grant to other cultures the same significance which he recognises in his own". Moreover, although observers narrow in cultural sympathy could see bizarre characteristics only in alien cultures, not their own, there was "no reason to suppose that any one culture has seized upon an eternal sanity ... our only scientific course is to consider our own culture ... as one example among innumerable others of the variant configurations of human culture". We were "handicapped in dealing with human society so long as we identify our local normalities with the inevitable necessities of existence".⁴⁶

In addition, more ecumenical foreign views may have filtered through to British teachers. In France, a reform movement under Lavissee and Seignobos called for general history, human societies

studied in common in order to render more intelligible the study of specific histories. In the USA, there was a more clearly articulated movement towards teaching history for international understanding. In 1937, for instance, the National Society for the Study of Education devoted its Yearbook (35 Chapters) to education for international understanding in school and college curricula, in which one writer insisted that "the slow millennia that built up chinese civilisation" must be studied, since learning about international relations "must include a study of the nations concerned, of their chief interests and characteristics as revealed in their history".⁴⁷

More immediate influences towards world history also need to be considered. One was the BBC. Schools broadcasting began in 1924 and 9121 schools were using radio by 1939. History was an important component. Rhoda Power was an early force, and though her first three series were exclusively anglo-european in content, her work changed perceptibly after 1930. World history (1931) looked mainly at british, imperial and european affairs, but also gave limited attention to the extra-european world. In addition, Eileen Power's World history was broadcast for upper junior classes from 1933. By 1938, 3739 schools were listening to topics ranging from Columbus and Cook to Africa, Perry and the Oregon trail, though no chinese material was included. Another influential broadcaster was King-Hall,* who from 1931 ran Tracing history backwards, a current affairs series offering occasional wider-world glimpses; and, from 1936, History in the making, contemporary events ranging from the british empire to South Africa, Palestine, and the sino-japanese problem. By 1938, 2296 schools followed the series.** Elliott (1975) has correctly pin-pointed the importance of the BBC in spreading interest in world history and world affairs, pioneering developments which few teachers had either time or competence to tackle.⁴⁸

* Who in Letters to Hilary, 1928, had advised children that "the ideas of our western civilisation are not the only civilisation ideas in the world ... It is just as important to find out what the Chinese ... have done". (246,223)

** But in the same year a british history series for the same age-range attracted 3531 schools.

Glimmerings of influence from HMI have also been detected. One in London advised (1924) that "more attention might be paid to the outstanding figures in other countries who have influenced the course of the world's history"; another (possibly the same person) recommended (1928) a public school whose syllabus was exclusively english history to introduce general history to the first form; a third (1930) criticised knowing about Richard I's reign in detail but being ignorant of "Mohammedanism"(sic); and a Lancashire inspector (1930) urged that english history be compressed to allow more lower-school world (classical?) history. The Board of Education and some local bodies exerted similarly developing influence. Whereas the Board's 1927 Handbook urged that children should "learn in how many different ways the patriot has helped his country", by 1937 it read "learn in how many different ways the great figures of history have helped mankind"; and the Hadow primary report (1931) recommended teaching "that our civilisation is the fruit of the activities of many peoples ... the common possession of mankind". Likewise, the LCC recommended (1911) "some notion of world history"; and by 1939, though "the whole ... of english history" must be covered, it should contain "references to Europe within a world setting".⁴⁹

Additional brief, though sometimes powerful, advocacy has been traced in a range of other publications likely to be read by teachers. In 1920, Hasluck emphasised that besides the history of their own community and the empire, children must be taught "the story of the other peoples of the world". History should attack "insular prejudices". Broadening syllabuses by introducing european material into english history lessons was "objectionable", perpetuating "the old fashioned idea of England being the only country whose history has been of real importance in the world". Older pupils should be given a couple of lessons on U.S. history and "one lesson, perhaps two" on South America; and for younger children there was "no reason why other parts of the world should not supply their quota ... Those conversant with japanese history may even find a place for Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Saigo Takamori".* In 1921,

* Though of 28 suggested topics, 14 were british, and China was excluded.

Eileen Power required that "the great aim of history teaching must be to show mankind its common heritage". The child needed "a sense of community ... confined neither to class nor nation ... no child ought to leave school without knowing something of the history of the world". Two years later, Findlay suggested that "To leave our children as ignorant as their fathers were of the state of Europe and Asia is to invite disaster"; a comprehensive survey of the whole of world history, both in school and in teacher-training courses, was needed. In 1926, Scott argued that international empathy and friendships could be promoted simply by stimulating children's imaginative and romantic interest in other lands and other peoples. This implied "not the narrow, national narrative of today, but rather history written and taught with an outlook on the whole world. All through it should run the central thread of the evolution of our common humanity". During the 1930s perhaps the most powerful influence upon teachers was exercised by the Durham University professor Jeffreys' advocacy of 'line of development' social history approaches. Though the scheme was clearly developmental, Jeffreys insisted (1936) that there was "no need for us to ignore the insufficiencies of the traditional approach, burying our heads in Little Arthur's England"; and strongly argued its potential for world-historical developments in schools, as "perhaps the only method by which, without grossly overloading the syllabus we can ... (establish) at least a foothold in ancient cultures and the more remote contemporary cultures". Flickerings of broader aspirations for history content were also displayed in teachers' hand books by Dymond (1929) Drummond (1929) and Clarke (1929). Even the traditionalist Marten (1938) though stressing the cosy assurance of national history, confessed the need for fearfully snatched "peeps into the larger world".⁵⁰

Regular calls for the teaching of world history in schools have also been traced in journals likely to be read by teachers. For instance, the first issue of The New Era (1920) carried an article asserting that "International history should be taught from the beginning ... the child should learn to realise that heroes have lived in all parts of the world ... (and should) become familiar with the outstanding events and heroes of many great civilisations ... (how) all move towards some great divine event -

the realisation of a common humanity". More likely to be read by the non-committed, however, was History, and occasional references to the need for wider history curriculum content have been noted over the years between the wars. In 1919, a teacher's letter demanded that time for "world history on a wide basis" be created by "scrapping much of the detail in which english history is taught". Another teacher (1923) believed exclusively english history to be "incompatible (with) ... a truly humane education" and likely to produce "jingo-insularity". In a posthumous article in 1927, a teacher who had advocated history for citizenship before the war now condemned that goal as "a pathetic fallacy", and insisted that "allusion to english events should be only incidental". An important article in 1928 condemned the "dreary narrative" of english history, and recommended classroom study of "the grand human development". This must include the cultures of so-called backward peoples, to "powerfully minister to that inter-racial sympathy upon which the future world-polity will vitally depend", but for which "surprisingly little has hitherto been done in elementary or secondary education". In biographical studies, for instance, legendary asian figures should be considered. In 1932, four out of 12 contributors to a discussion on history curriculum content recognised a need for world history. Somervell, for instance, called for a study of modern chinese history. Subsequent correspondence insisted that "boys and girls must learn something about Europe ... perhaps Asia^{*} certainly India ... if English people are to understand India, they must learn something of the history of India ... its races and religions". In 1934, Woodward averred that "we are, by omission, over emphasising the contribution of our own nation to civilisation ... encouraging ... that national conceit which ... other nations have considered to be one of our most unpleasing characterstics". Two years later, Eileen Power recorded growing interest in world problems including sino-japanese relations. But teachers had failed to help children understand the background to such problems. They taught little world history, and were "still talking about history largely in terms of

* In his M. Litt thesis, Lancaster, 1970, P69, Cook mis-quoted this as 'China'.

what interested our fathers, and not in terms of what interests us".⁵¹

Some suggestions and pressures have also been traced in these early decades in respect of specific world areas, and in each case the world war appears to have acted as a catalyst.

European history was suggested as a desirable component in school history by the Board of Education from 1905 onwards, though at first only such as was "necessary for the understanding of english history." By 1914, however, the emphasis had clearly changed, with the publication of a leaflet urging european history in school to help children understand the current crisis. The impact of war can be inferred from a study of the pages of History during subsequent years. During an Historical Association discussion in 1918 for instance, the need for a broader syllabus was noted: "In particular it will certainly be necessary that the history of Europe in the nineteenth century should be treated with a knowledge and thoroughness which has hitherto been wanting". Moreover, although influential figures such as Keatinge (1919) were still advocating more traditional views, that it was "far better to treat the important episodes of european history when they arise out of, or are needed for the understanding of, the english history then being studied", the broader emphases found support from authors of handbooks for teachers such as Hasluck (1920).⁵²

A second area in which developments were recommended, though not necessarily illustrative of extra-national vision,⁵³ was imperial history, strongly inspired by Seeley's Expansion of England (1883) and from 1931 by the International Congress of Colonial History. The subject was variously stressed before 1914. Again, however, war gave a stimulus. In 1918, the Historical Association expressed "every sympathy" with imperial studies, and from 1927 the BBC broadcast schools programmes on empire history. The Board of Education also exerted pressure, and in 1924 attempted to press a 24 week course on all upper elementary and secondary schools. Their 1927 Handbook urged that "The story of our kith and kin beyond the seas, of their settlements and struggles ... is an important and integral part of the story of the british peoples as a whole". That apparently racial perspective, however, was seen as assisting broader world understandings, since "when dealing with the history of the british dominions, the teacher will ... bring home to his class that they

cannot learn british history ... (except) as part of a larger whole, and that their sympathy and respect are due to other nations and races".⁵⁴

A third area of study advocated was U.S. history, a demand again clearly influenced by war. A chair of american history was established at London in 1919; anglo-american historical conferences were being promoted by the 1930's; and the odd relevant article began to creep among the overwhelming diet of english history in History. Bellot, for example, asserted (1937) that "we neglect at our peril a phenomenon of such a magnitude. If we would respond intelligently and successfully ... to the behaviour of this newly grown giant, we must know something about its history ... we must put american history into the curriculum of our schools and universities."⁵⁵

A fourth development, one with particular potential significance for the future of world history studies,⁵⁶ (though that was not always in the mind of the advocate) and which enjoyed more attention than that given to any particular area of the world, was contemporary history. A tie-up with 'citizenship' aspirations was also clear in many instances. The subject was nothing new, of course. Since Thucydides, who began writing his Pelopponesian War at the moment war broke out, a tradition of contemporary history had flourished in the West, its philosophy most recently articulated by such as Turner (1891) and Croce (1920).⁵⁷ Again, however, moral impetus was given by the first world war and the following period of international tension, whilst massive documentary support was given by publication of the combatants' diplomatic documents, seen by some as themselves rendering the study of contemporary history imperative.⁵⁸ In 1923, after 37 years' life, the English Historical Review published its first article on recent history, followed by others on the war and the Balkans question.

Related demands for greater attention to contemporary history in school curricula arose from varied quarters. Archer, for example (1916) demanded more contemporary history, with reference not only to Europe, but also to the USA and East Asia. Official support was voiced by the Board of Education and the Hadow Committee. The subject also surfaced sporadically in History. In 1918, for instance, Mantoux specifically linked education for citizenship and democracy with contemporary history. That would necessitate studying the history of civilisation. Significantly, however, the examples

cited were all from european history, and equally limited perspectives were implicit in major pleas for contemporary history by Seton-Watson (1929) and Sykes (1934). Much more telling advocacy in relation to the world history theme came from Ramsay Muir (1938) albeit again betraying eurocentric assumptions. Contemporary history, he argued, must be taught to the young. That history was dominated by a dramatic change in world history, whereby non-european peoples had become overwhelmed by european civilisation. Future hegemony might pass to other parts, but whatever happened, "the world has now a single civilisation".⁵⁹

In the light of such developing perspectives between the wars, some recent observers have expressed sanguine conclusions as to the decline of national historical assumptions and increased interest in world history during that period. Elliott (1975) claims to have detected "an unprecedented reaction against nationalist-based history in general".⁶⁰

Certainly, as has been shown, there was sporadic advocacy of european, imperial, american and contemporary historical studies during the period. Moreover, the later 1930's saw the establishment of new chairs of international relations in three british universities. Nevertheless, evidence for such interest and advocacy being translated into school curricula is thin indeed. In 1921, Wells poured scorn on "the present mischievous narrow teaching of national egotism in schools". If anything, there had been "a narrowing down of the scope of historical teaching. If the reader will look into the sort of history that is taught in schools today ... he will find rather a shrinkage ... than an extension to meet the more extensive needs of a new age. This is a curious result". In 1927, the Board of Education found "little world history" being taught in London schools. In 1935, Jeffreys remarked that those changes which had occurred in school history "for the most part concern method rather than matter"; and surveying experimental applications of his approach in 12 schools, recorded such as the replacement of periods of english political history with lines of development on british trade. From a more recent (1967) survey of inter-war developments, the DES has concluded: "It was still England, often it was scarcely even the British Isles". Moreover, and at variance with the optimism of his earlier conclusions, Elliott (1975) in his valuable research found that of 88 HMI reports on schools

studied only two noted world-based history syllabus, and of professional historians educated in the 1930's, only three per cent recalled any world history teaching in school.⁶¹

Pessimistic conclusions as to what actually transpired have been reinforced by scrutiny during this research of 58 HMI reports on schools in the period up to 1930,* only a handful of which noted any syllabus content going beyond Britain and Europe. In one London secondary school (1929) HMI noted approvingly a mainly english and european syllabus but including "a preliminary sketch of general world history"; in another (1930) a League of Nations course was taught; a third (1930) boasted a new syllabus aspiring "to show the contributions made by the chief branches of the human race to the common fund of civilisation" - but culminating in a study of british constitutional and economic history; in a fourth (1930) "one noteworthy feature of the syllabus is that the study of some portion of world history proceeds pari passu with that of english history throughout the whole school course ... a general survey from ancient to modern times"; and in a Lancashire convent (1930) HMI noted a five-year world history course interestingly terminating in 1904.⁶²

An equally pessimistic picture has emerged from a detailed breakdown of all issues of History between 1913 (1916) and 1939. Only four specific examples of any wider-world history (other than european) being taught in schools were traced. At Berkhamsted (1921) a formidable syllabus covering over 100 topics concentrated almost exclusively upon Britain and Europe, but included the rise of Japan and some mention of "the Turks and the empires they founded in China(sic) India, Asia Minor". At Bedales (1921) the lower school syllabus, though concentrating upon "a careful grounding in english history", offered study of India to "a limited number" of children - though upper school history was exclusively english. At Sherborne (1923) a primarily classical, british and european syllabus included brief mention of the USA and Islam. In a fourth, unnamed, school

* The 50 year closure rule applied to HMI reports prevented study of more recent material.

(1932) the syllabus covered "an outline of world history ... architecture, furniture, dress, music, science and discovery". Other than those few examples, the silence is deafening.^{63*}

Even in the case of european history, although there is some evidence of its spread into schools and university entry examinations,⁶⁴ virtually no material has been unearthed suggesting treatment of Europe per se in schools. Thus, too much should not be read into Elliott's (1975) findings that of 88 HMI reports he studied, 70% noted some european history and that of the professional historians questioned between 79 and 84 per cent recollected some european history.⁶⁵ Only one of the 58 HMI reports on schools (1911-1930) scrutinised during preparation of this thesis suggested that an adequately balanced treatment of european history was being attempted.⁶⁶ Furthermore, there is a quantitative discrepancy, since only 19 of the 58 reports (32.76%) even mentioned or implied any european history:⁶⁷ and even then in the majority of instances it was clearly no more than a background to british history. One school treated european events "incidentally in connection with the period of english history"; another "as and when they influence events in England"; a third only "those parts of european history that are connected with, and throw light on events in Britain"; a fourth only "some reference to european affairs"; and another simply "an occasional brief excursion".⁶⁸ Additionally, in six schools (10.34%) the lack of any european history whatsoever was specifically criticised.⁶⁹ In sum, it is probable that the european history taught in british schools between the wars differed little from that contained in the syllabus of one Northumberland grammar school in 1931. In the first year course on "man from his earliest days to the present", in which, in itself revealing, stress was to be laid upon the history of Europe and England, details particularly highlighted included "such beings as Boadicea's charioteer, the long-bowmen of Crecy and the powder-monkey at Trafalgar". The second year course

* Obviously there were others, but no printed references have been found.

was british history 55 b.c.-1930, in european perspective; the third year british medieval history to 1603, with some european material; the fourth year british political, social and economic history 1603-1930, with stress on the empire; and the fifth to seventh years british and european medieval history, with documents.⁷⁰

A similar impression has been formed with regard to both imperial and american history, though only brief illustration is possible. Of the 58 HMI reports, only four noted any imperial history in school syllabuses.⁷¹ In those few examples of its presence which have been traced from other sources, there is not one piece of evidence that the countries concerned were studied in their own right, but simply as an aspect of british history, overseas.⁷² Evidence of american history in classrooms is even more meagre. Only one of the 58 HMI reports mentioned it; and only three other specific references have been uncovered. The DES (1967) has pointed out that, before the second world war, "it would be most exceptional to find any american history later than the american revolution". Moreover, "it would be still rarer to find any russian history".⁷³

Likewise with contemporary history: few references to its actual development in schools have been traced. The Board of Education noted some developments (1923) as did the Historical Association (1936) and the Norwood Committee (1943).⁷⁴ Otherwise, the only specific references found were in two of the 58 HMI reports previously mentioned: in one case, a course on the League of Nations, in the other, world affairs post-1870.⁷⁵ For the remainder, there was no suggestion of any contemporary treatment. HMI criticised one school's syllabus ending at 1660 and another's lack of treatment beyond the crimean war. Criticisms made of a Northumberland school (1929) probably epitomised the situation in the great majority, namely "the odd circumstance of boys of 16 ... being well acquainted with minutiae of the history of 15th century Florence, while not possessing an equally intimate acquaintance with the causes of the great changes and movements of the last 200 years".⁷⁶ Even in 1932, at a time of dangerous international tension, a London University professor of history could assert that contemporary history was totally ignored in schools. Four years later, an american observer testified similarly.⁷⁷

Passing now to the treatment of chinese history, a similar pattern has been identified to that which has emerged à propos

broader world-historical studies in general, and european, imperial, american and contemporary history in particular: limited advocacy, but only a few faint traces of application, and certainly nothing in school syllabuses to substantiate Hirth's claim (1908) that there was rapidly growing western interest in China in response to political events there. A correspondent to the Times Educational Supplement (1920) probably more accurately summarised the situation, that all the present school generation learned of China was of a "willow-pattern pigtail country where nothing ever changed".⁷⁸

Hirth's point concerning understanding political events was, however, echoed by scholars such as Latourette (1921) who argued that "the problems of China and Japan and their neighbours are much more a matter of concern to the occident than they were ... it is increasingly the duty and privilege of european and american scholars to study the history, both recent and remote, of these peoples, and to familiarise the West with the results. Only thus can there be obtained that intelligent understanding ... which will enable us to behave toward them wisely sympathetically and justly". By the mid-1930's educated occidental opinion, possibly moved by contemporary world affairs, was beginning to take some interest in China, as the american scholars Bishop (1936) and Pearl Buck (1938) observed.⁷⁹

Highly influential in that regard was the London School of Oriental Studies. The school's origins go back to an abortive scheme in 1890, but a charter was not received until 1916 and the first students not admitted until 1918. Its functions were "to extend the study and knowledge of the languages of eastern and african peoples ... and (their) literature, history, religion, law, customs and art",⁸⁰ and that obligation has been discharged with distinction. The School has enjoyed an international reputation since its inception. The first volume of its Bulletin included translations of chinese poetry by Waley. Within a short time, 17 degree courses were in operation, including one on chinese language and another on oriental history (though that initially referred to either India or the near and middle east, not to China). The school was reorganised into eight departments in 1932 (later six) including a Far East department. It became the School of Oriental and African Studies in October 1938.

The impact between the wars of Waley's literary research and publications was considerable. He disproved Creel's assertion (1936) that "chinese poetry does not lend itself to translation".⁸¹ (Brecht has even re-translated his versions of chinese poems into German). His earliest published translations were issued in 1918-19, and before the second war he had brought out several other major translations of important chinese literary, historical and philosophical works. Among other specialists in chinese history and culture active in the period, however, one of the most commonly read by non-specialist schoolteachers was Fitzgerald, especially his China: a short cultural history (1935). Another was the Yale scholar Latourette, whose The Chinese: their history and culture (1934) the first comprehensive yet readable history for non-specialists since the turn of the century, enjoyed two revisions and eight reprints within 15 years. In addition, chinese scholars themselves helped resurrect an image of China's historico - cultural importance. Notable among them were Hu Shih, whose The Chinese Renaissance (1933) identified five historical 'chinese renaissance' periods, with details of a new 20th century renaissance of manifest importance to peoples everywhere, and successfully brought a sympathetic insight into oriental religions to the west; and Lin Yutang, whose My country and my people (1938) effectively stressed the cultural stability of China, the quality of her people's character, their family life and their literary and artistic achievements, thus helping to undermine the hostile stereotypes currently prevalent. Lin suggested to his western readership that maybe "their eyes are not quite so slant as the shilling-shocker covers represent them ... Can these people stab one in the back ?" In 1938, Hu Shih attended the eighth International Historical Congress, which set up its first commission on far eastern history in response.⁸²

It is likely, however, that a much greater contribution to aroused awareness of China was made by journalists and novelists. Among the former, Huston, Mowrer, Smedley and Snow were conspicuous. Snow in particular, a close friend of Mao, had great influence on american liberal intellectuals in the closing years of the period, especially with his Red star over China (1938). Pre-eminent among the latter was Pearl Buck, who had lived 40 years in China. Her great novel, The good earth (1931) sold over two million copies, and her other novels together a further 640,000. When filmed (1937) it

was seen by 23 million Americans and 42 million people elsewhere, including Britain. With its sharply-drawn and humane characterisation of a Chinese peasant family it "almost singlehandedly replaced the fantasy images of China (and) ... accomplished the great feat of providing faces for the faceless mass". Of 181 distinguished Americans questioned in the 1950s as to their earliest impressions of the Chinese, 69 mentioned Pearl Buck as a major source.^{83*}

Influence towards the development of more favourable popular interest in China may have been exercised by non-sinologist historians who ventured into oriental waters. Tawney was the most notable example. His brief account of contemporary social and economic life, Land and Labour in China (1932) with references to China's "mature civilisation ... wealth of ripe experience and fastidious canons of taste and conduct ... profound conviction of the ethical superiority of its own scale of values",⁸⁴ was subsequently widely cited. Nor should the role of publishers such as Trübner, Gollancz and Allen and Unwin be ignored. The latter, for example, published Tawney's Land and Labour, and all Waley's work.^{**}

A significant role was also played by archaeology. It gave general impetus to the acquisition of world-historical perspectives, since its discoveries undermined the view that history began its developmental path in 55 B.C., whilst stimulating popular realisation that other worlds had existed which were distant not only temporally but spatially. In this, the excavation of Anyang after 1928 was a major watershed. That, and the discovery of oracle-bones which preceded it, launched "an entirely new epoch in the understanding of man in the Far East", and had "an importance which can hardly be exaggerated".⁸⁵ Hirth's assertion (1908) that with limited exceptions China could offer only literary evidence as to her antiquity,⁸⁶ was soon disproven. The 3080 exhibits at the Royal Academy's great Chinese Exhibition from 1935 to 1936 simultaneously reflected and

* Pearl Buck also published an important translation of the great Ming novel, Shui-hu chuan (The Water Margin) as All men are Brothers (1933). Her Nobel Prize lecture (1938) was on the Chinese novel.

** Other authors since published by Allen & Unwin have included the Lattimores, Llewellyn, Goodrich and Ch'en.

stimulated the growing interest in chinese history and culture in Britain and the West. Displaying not only medieval porcelain, painting, lacquer, textiles, jades, costume, calligraphy and printed books, but also neolithic pottery, Shang bronzes, Chou and Han artefacts, it was attended by 401,768 visitors.⁸⁷

Reflecting these various influences, perhaps, and in response to world events sometimes spectacularly involving China a few sketchy references have been culled from publications for teachers. As early as 1916, Archer not only recommended Marco Polo as a topic since "without beginning here we risk not impressing our pupils with the narrowness of the medieval world and the importance of civilisations which were unknown to it", but also noted the significance of modern East Asia and recommended the teaching of the sino-japanese war and the chinese revolution.⁸⁸ That, though very brief (three lines on china in 149 pages on the syllabus) and recommended in a framework of Europe's rise to supremacy, was important-the earliest specific recommendation for teaching chinese history in schools traced during this research.

Fragmentary early interest in East Asia has also been discovered in History. A reviewer in 1918 asserted: "The East is an human as the West ... the time has now come for them to be joined". In 1926, History's first review of a book on a chinese topic was published. In 1928, a reviewer urged that "Asiatic states form a family as evidently akin as those of the western world. There is thus strong reason for attempting to study them as a whole". Another review (1935) urged that "the East has gradually become more important in world affairs (sic) ... an understanding of it is a necessity for the educated man of today". Three years later, another review advised readers that chinese resistance to the British in the 19th century displayed "skill and tenacity ... not sufficiently recognised by Western writers", and criticised inadequate attention to chinese documentary sources.⁸⁹ In short, whereas no book on China was reviewed in History from 1916 to 1926,⁹⁰ a slow trickle then began to appear, and in 1932-3 five books on eastern Asia were reviewed, three with special reference to China. A similar pattern is detectable in the case both of south east Asia and of Japan.⁹¹

In the same decades, one - but one only - article in History recommended, albeit briefly, a wider and more developed study of

chinese history by non-sinologists. In 1933, Webster, discussing the international ramifications of economic history, observed that it was "of great importance ... that we should extend the area from which we obtain our evidence of international history, and look at it not only from the point of view of Western Europe ... but from that of the countries of the Near, Middle and Far East ... Young western scholars are learning Chinese in order to ... interpret the contacts between East and West in the 19th century".⁹² Such stress on the imperative study of chinese documentary sources was a significant pointer, perhaps, to the growing realisation of their scope and value.

It should be emphasised, however, that the Webster article, the review items previously noted, and passing references by Archer, King-Hall, Somervell, Power, Muir, and the Board of Education,⁹³ comprise the only specific recommendations for the study of any aspect of chinese history by non-specialists which have emerged from careful sifting of all volumes of History, the Historical Journal and the English Historical Review up to 1939; all official and semi-official published reports on curriculum and/or the teaching of history; all handbooks for history teachers published in the period; and 58 HMI reports on schools prior to 1930.* Furthermore, too much should not be made in respect of teaching about China, of those few recommendations for, or suggested possible influences towards the study of, world history, which have been noted. Wells' Outline and Short History afford good examples. Even at the time, the Outline was criticised for its neglect of China. Wells accepted the criticisms. His justification was that "brief as the space devoted to China .. is, it is better than nothing (sic) and I have given as much as ... the prepossession of Western readers will allow". Even by 1928 Wells still believed the susceptibilities of western readers to preclude increased attention to China. Her entire history up to the third century B.C occupied only 4½ pages of text, as against 22 to the Greeks. The Han dynasty was given four paragraphs: Rome 43 pages. The Sui-T'ang period received one page: Latin Christendom 23. In total, only 10 pages (plus 22 passing references) out of 384 on 'world history', and only 20 events in a 'world history' chronology of 353

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In the same period, only a couple of passing calls for islamic history have been noted, the same for Japan and India, and none with regard to Africa.

items, related to China.⁹⁴ The lack of response in school textbooks to even the marginal attention to China which has been described, will be brought out later. It could perhaps be argued that it is surprising there was any, since in terms of school syllabuses, the response was stark indeed. Throughout this research, printed reference to only four british schools between the wars possibly making use of material on chinese history or contemporary affairs has been detected, and only peripherally.⁹⁵ Careful scrutiny of the wide variety of primary and printed materials listed earlier has yielded a virtual blank. There must have been others, of course, and there may well be as yet uncovered evidence. But, for instance, of 128 school history teachers and L.E.A. history advisers responding to a 1981 questionnaire on their schooling, 30 attended primary school pre-war. Only two recollected hearing anything about chinese history and only one remembered China in any other curriculum area. The evidence is fragmentary, unsatisfactory, and theoretically inconclusive. But the pattern, it is suggested, is clear enough.

Much more noticeable than any pressures towards broader perspectives in the inter-war period, in fact, is the overwhelming evidence of a striking lack of wider world interest. The editors of the English Historical Review, for instance, appeared unaware of the international dimension before, during or immediately after the first world war. The rise of Japan, the military defeat of China and Russia, the collapse of ancient dynasties, war in Europe, the ending of american isolation, the post-war settlements - all passed unnoticed. In 1918-20, of 115 articles, two-thirds scrutinised domestic english history. No awareness of the critical change in world affairs was shown, and only one article touched on the world beyond Europe, though space was found for the Bridgnorth Company of Smiths, and the early history of commissions of sewers. In 1922-3, when statesmen wrestled with far eastern problems, 52 of 75 articles minutely scrutinised english domestic topics. None dealt with the extra-european world, including America. Of 93 articles between 1933 and 1935, only one dealt with the world beyond Europe (early british colonies). There was detailed scrutiny, however, of Winchester College's muniments, Yorkshire manors, Evesham abbots, knights' wages, Patrick's birthplace, and James I's date of birth.⁹⁶

A similar impression of stasis comes from reading through inspectorial reports on schools in the period. Of 58 studied at random, recommendations for change were found in only 12, mainly for

more european or english history. In only three was any 'world history' suggested, and then only for junior classes.⁹⁷ Even where european history was recommended, what was sought was that which was "essential to an intelligent interpretation of english history".⁹⁸

Handbooks for history teachers reinforce the impression. Manchester's professor of education (1904) never once mentioned the extra-european world. His proposed elementary school syllabus comprised 'national heritage' stories; british history; heroes of Europe; the british empire; and local and national citizenship. For grammar schools he urged english, french, german, roman and greek history. Likewise, Archer (1916) was at best ambivalent. Though, as suggested earlier, some broader vision was shown, his suggested syllabus comprised three columns, 'England', 'Europe' and 'foreign matter', the only non-european material in that being 'Mohammedanism', and then only in connection with the crusades. Jarvis, a prominent teacher-educator, offered no suggestions (1917) on non-european history, gave chinese history only as an implied example of futility, and displayed strong national stress throughout. The book was reprinted four times by 1932. Hasluck (1920) despite some wider references, gave no detail on the areas suggested, and undermined much of potential with racial arguments: China was never mentioned. Eileen Power (1921) included in a bibliography for teachers 164 titles on Britain, 90 on Europe and 23 on the rest of the world - in a section subtitled "Special reference to Europe". Of 22 'heroes of peace', all were British and Europeans. 91 books were cited on english social history: three on America. In 'supplementary reading', 20 titles on Britain were listed, 18 on Europe, 11 on the rest of the world and two on China. Similarly (1923) the historical horizons of Findlay, the new professor of education at Manchester, widened only to the european related world: "A few weeks with Abraham ... the Arabs and the Crusades ... Columbus, Cortes and Pizarro". Nor was any broadening of interest shown by similar writers in the 1930's, such as Walker (1935) despite his attack on national bias in history education.⁹⁹

Moreover, despite occasional contrary indications, the Board of Education and official committees failed to display any consistent interest in wider school history curriculum. The Board's 1908 circular suggested only british and european history. There was no mention as such of world history, and no reference to any

extra-european topic save for the american war of independence, Prescott's Conquests, and 'Mohammedanism' (in relation to the crusades). Another Board publication (1923) offered no improvement: the only wider history advocated was european, greco-roman, biblical, and, briefly, american and indian: China was not mentioned. The Hadow report (1926) gave token recognition to world history, but failed to mention any part of the world beyond Europe and the Near East, and gave a traditional view of english history chronology and 'citizenship' education. The 1927 Handbook likewise paid lip-service to world history, but only as a setting for british. Of 14 examples of foreign history suggested, 12 were european. By 1937, the objectives had not changed: world history was only a backcloth to the british drama. Children needed "some idea of the stage in world history at which british history begins ... the peoples that were merged in the english nation ... the development of the national system of government ... the growth of empire".¹⁰⁰

Nor did the Historical Association's interests extend much beyond the national, as its recommended scholarship syllabus (1918) showed. In 1926, the association's council urged that world history syllabuses should give the child "some notion of his own part in the general destiny of mankind ... (and) concentrate on points where their own country is participating, rather than to tell the story of mankind".¹⁰¹

Examples from History reinforce the view that too much should not be read into the 'world history' movement. One correspondent (1920) claimed to teach a 'civilisation' syllabus. Its contents comprised, successively, english social history, the british empire, the Near East and Rome, medieval Europe, modern Europe, british colonisation and commerce, and british constitution. It gave "a comprehensive sketch of world history ... Great Britain is the centre of interest from the 16th century onward". Similarly, Gould (1928) emphasised "the relation of world-history to motherland-history", a simple world outline followed by a study of the "racial centre". Even Ramsay Muir, though striving for a new perspective was shackled by old modes of understanding, asserting in respect of the spread of european power that non-european civilisations could survive only as "variations within a single world-civilisation, the predominating features of which are european".¹⁰²

Moreover, it is clear that in many instances the term 'world' actually meant 'classical', or, at best, 'near eastern' history - an interpretation influenced by such as Lamprecht* (1905) whose vision of a "Wissenschaftlich Weltgeschichte" embracing all the important civilisations was expressed in exclusively european and mediterranean terms.¹⁰³ Thus, when the phrase 'world history' was used by such as Fisher (1923) Hadow (1926) the Board of Education (1932) the Historical Association (1933) or Milliken (1937) close reading suggests in each case that what was meant was much more limited in scope.¹⁰⁴

In sum, it is clear that the optimistic conclusions of such as Hattersley (1932) and Ensor (1937) as to the widening scope of history, the abandonment of narrowly national viewpoints and the growth of 'one-world' convictions¹⁰⁵ did not accurately reflect the true state of english school history syllabuses by the close of the inter-war period. Modern scholars such as Lawrence (1967) McNeill (1970) Lamont (1970) and Elliott (1975) have seen the reality more clearly, that "anti-europeanism and scepticism about one world" were current, that "the teachers remained loyal to Acton", that 'world' ideas "did not insinuate themselves into school curricula, save in rare and exceptional cases", and that "the world history movement remained in its infancy".¹⁰⁶

In the vast majority of schools, history curriculum development implied at best the addition of a limited amount of recent european history** If anything, criticisms of curriculum content by teachers

* Author of a 12 volume history of Germany, he also ran a german cultural centre.

** That in itself represented a perpetuation of already obsolete historical assumptions simultaneously shown in the 'era of illusion' of inter-war diplomacy, whose fatal obsession with european quadrilles has been underlined by Albrecht-Carrié (1958) and Barraclough (1967). It is hardly surprising, then, as Barraclough has written, that when the Japanese began that invasion of China which was ultimately to bring the european empires crashing down, the statesmen and people of Britain and Europe "did not realise that the second world war had begun". (G.R. Barraclough, Introduction to contemporary history, 1967, 27, 8. And see R. Albrecht-Carrié, Diplomatic history of Europe, 1958, 385). Nor, apparently, had some historians realised it 25 years later. (See A.J.P. Taylor, Origins of the 2nd world war, 2nd edition, 1963).

themselves focused upon need for a more specific, narrower syllabus, as witnessed by correspondence in History.¹⁰⁷ In fact, the real story of historical education in british schools before the second world war makes dismal reading: an overwhelming, persistent, seemingly intractable perpetuation and repetition of the learning of british - and even more so, english - national history.

In 1905, the Board of Education urged concentration on "the striking qualities of the central figures of our own history"; and three years later that all english history since 55 B.C. should be studied, stressing successful wars. Likewise, the LCC (1911) saw english history as "the staple". Moreover, despite some contrary influences, previously noted, war appears to have stimulated such emphasis. Archer (1916) wrote of Britain's "intellectual, moral and aesthetic greatness ... elimination of selfishness". She was "sacred ... consecrated by sacrifices" Jarvis (1917) insisted that though history should teach children "that there are also people beyond the mountains", nonetheless general history should be avoided. There was no world culture. The aim was "to trace the development of the nation in order to give the child an understanding of our national life today ... a sound knowledge of the evolution of England as one of the great nations". Any other material studied must aid comprehension of that reality. The next year, the Historical Association's AGM gave further evidence that although lip-service was paid to wider history curriculum, the war had given great impetus to national history and patriotic-moral objectives. In respect of syllabuses, no speaker mentioned world, asian, japanese, chinese or russian history. Toyne, for instance, himself subsequently to exert strong influence over the association's syllabus policy, insisted that the history teacher should be "planting in the hearts of his pupils the seeds of patriotism and imperialism", helping to produce a new generation appreciating "the nation's history, the national character, and the national greatness".¹⁰⁸

Urgent and persistent stress on the teaching of english national history and values recurred over the next two decades, and though war is not seen as its only cause,¹⁰⁹ the memory of alien threat and national triumph was strong. Scott (1926) observed that the war was "the chief instrumentality for teaching national antipathies", inspiring "a very real emphasis on patriotism in british education", with "the glorification of heroic deeds of war", plus "a narrow

nationalism, a biased treatment", in history textbooks, and children being urged to 'think imperially' in geography lessons.¹¹⁰

One source of inspiration ran through official channels. The Hadow committee (1926) advised that "all periods" of british history must be taught, "no large factor" omitted, and "the main work of the course should be general british history, with some idea of its world setting". The Board of Education's Handbooks (1927, 1937) stressed, for instance, 'great lives': all 19 listed were Europeans and 13 were English. The main source for teachers should be "the vast store-house of english literature": not surprisingly, all 16 examples given were from british history. Junior classes should hear stories: all listed were british or european. A recommended syllabus was almost exclusively british history, with some mention of the empire, a bare framework of Europe and a note on the USA - but no mention of world, asian, african or hispanic american history.¹¹¹

Parallel influence came from the Historical Association, whose council (1927) insisted that "the proper subject ... is the history of our own country", pursued a narrow publication policy, held a restricted view of what was, or ought to be, of interest to teachers ('notes and news' in History, 1927-8 listed "preservation of memorial and other documents ... report on parochial records ... Historical MSS commission ... PRO Museum ... new O.S. maps ... regional survey of the S.W.') and unwittingly repeatedly encouraged ethnocentrism (in a 1937 memorandum on textbook illustrations, all the examples cited were british).¹¹²

Pressure came also from books on history teaching. The otherwise enlightened Hasluck (1920) argued that the subject's main purpose was acquisition of "important facts relevant to the development of the human race and of our nation in particular", approved of patriotic teaching, urged that individuals be seen in terms of national influence, and gave 19 pages to an english history syllabus as against one and a half pages for Europe and nothing for the world history also advocated. Further examples may be cited from Firth (1929) who suggested a wider syllabus ending, annually, in 55 B.C., 1066, 1485 and 1603; and Marten (1938) who despite contrary assertions insisted that "the history of our own island" must be "the main road" of study, lamented that "the world history we are exhorted to teach includes all countries from China to Peru", and in 148 pages

of text offered only three passing references beyond Britain and Europe.¹¹³

Marten was influential both as history master at Eton from 1896 and as a prominent member of the Historical Association council. His attitude illustrates the most disturbing aspect of the persistent advocacy of national history: that it appears to have represented teachers' views. History is replete with examples. In 1917, for example, Miss Howard (co-founder of the Historical Association) recommended that when children were "getting tired of english history ... they have done it for years ... it is refreshing to have a simple course of european ... after such a study they came back to their regular course of british ... with fresher minds ... But can the scholarship girls spare one of their five years for european history?" In a subsequent discussion between leading school teachers such as Marten, Toyne and Somervell, it was recommended "that there be three outline periods ... and that the periods be ... 878-1485, 1461-1714, 1714-1901", and that english history should be compulsory in sixth forms even though "it may be presumed that they have been doing english history ... since they first went to school (and) are fairly tired of it". Miss Morse's 'world history' syllabus, centring from the 16th century upon Britain, was criticised on grounds that it could leave a child without adequate knowledge of his own country. Marten (1924) noting that the Board of Education had recently stressed english history with ancillary european material, confessed "most teachers will be grateful for this limitation". He later (1928) urged a 'new' history - local, industrial and architectural: world history was ignored. In 1925-6, correspondence comprised "Italian influences in english history ... the battle in naval war ... the parliamentary representation of Ludlow ... english sorcery ... Lord Howard ... William of Wykeham ... a woman in a frankpledge tithing".¹¹⁴

Evidence of teachers' attitudes may be adduced from the repeated reprinting of traditional national history textbooks. Edwards' Notes on british history (1909) was still in use in schools in the 1960s (six editions, two dozen pressings). Keatinge's First history of England (1909) ran to five editions by 1939. Marten and Carter's Histories (1925) was still in use in the 1950s (two dozen pressings). The House of History series (1931) was still in use in the 1960s, after nearly 30 pressings. Oman's Short History of England (1895) reprinted 10 times by 1903, enjoyed a new edition in 1920.

Further evidence of teachers' views comes from Blake's thesis (1934) on history syllabus. For first to third forms, he suggested a 'personalities' approach restricted to british history, the aim "a rudimentary notion of nationality"; a study of modern Europe; and a citizenship course on current economic problems plus central and local government. All 12 topics suggested were british. World history was mentioned only three times in the thesis, and then for purposes of opposition.¹¹⁵

That appears to have been somewhat radical by comparison with many schools, however. Longden (1972) has usefully analysed Board of Education pamphlets on public school curricula 1907-9. At four major schools, the syllabus was almost exclusively english history. In only one was adequate time given even to european history. No world history was studied.¹¹⁶

In 1923, the Board of Education noted (approvingly) "an unbroken course of english history" in "practically all secondary schools". In 1926, Hadow remarked that "an outline of the history of the English ... forms the main feature in almost every school".¹¹⁷ Less complacent contemporary opinion was also being voiced, however. Power (1921) complained that hitherto history had "dwelt almost exclusively upon the national". Collier (1920s) despaired of the arrogance, "magnificent assumption of virtue and omniscience", and "incomparable self-satisfaction" of british educators, whose "haughty egotism" would "make Alexander, Caesar or Napoleon turn pale" Dymond (1929) noted that the syllabus of the 1870s governed history teaching in many schools. Drummond (1929) deplored the lack of international outlook and contemporary emphasis upon patriotic history. Starr (1929) attacked the "Kipling attitude" in lessons. Russell (1932) complained that "almost all the teaching is of a sort to glorify war". Bailey (1933) described british political and military history as dominating school syllabuses. As late as 1938, Wells was accusing schools of poisoning children's minds through exploitation of "worn-out" national history.¹¹⁸

Evidence comes also from teachers' contributions to History. One preparatory school teacher (1917) asserted: "We want the boys to know the outlines of british history". That was achieved through class-reading of Shakespeare's historical plays and Carter's Outlines; and writing down and learning details of all english monarchs, "wives, children, laws, parliaments, important men and events ... archbishops, prime ministers and justiciars ...

regiments ... famous ships with their owners". Similarly, a public school teacher (1925) described forms one to four studying english history 1066-1485 each year, and five to eight studying England 1485-1800 each year:* he claimed an interest in 'The Rise of Man'. Even in September 1939, when the japanese army had been occupying much of northern China for eight years, a major invasion was 26 months old, and a threat to world order no less than that in Europe prevailed, a teacher in a large secondary school seemed to find acceptable a history syllabus comprising the classical world; Britain and Europe to 1500, emphasising local history; Britain and Europe to 1789; Britain 1714 onwards; 18th century Britain; and Britain and Europe 1783-1914.¹¹⁹

The situation was neatly summed up by the Historical Association in 1933: "English schools teach english history from the roman occupation to the opening of the 20th century. It is becoming usual to preface this ... with an outline of pre and ancient history and to include ... reference to the main movements of european history". Whilst "more enlightened" persons sought some european history, "the general public expects its children to learn the outlines of english history": this was also required by "custom".¹²⁰

Modern scholars have added further details to the pre-war picture. Dobson (1950) detected an attitude "too uncritical in its eulogy of british traditions and institutions". A pre-war teacher and HMI, Strong (1964) recollected "a purely chronological account of the growth of the british state ... dreary annals of national politics ... in almost complete detachment from the european and world setting", which "took no account of the history of other peoples, except where the island nation happened to touch them". Cook (1970) concluded that the "essential framework ... remained ... a study of insular affairs". Elliott (1975) reported that of 88 reports on secondary schools studied, 86 followed outlines of english history, and concluded that "at all levels and in all types of schools the important knowledge was adjudged to be the outlines of english history". Likewise, Longden (1972) asserted that "schools teaching a thorough-going course of world history were notable chiefly by their singularity ... the vast majority of teachers ... were generally quite content to continue with the old, familiar syllabus of british history".¹²¹

* A 'concentric' syllabus.

Study by the writer of HMI reports between 1911 and 1930 on 56 schools of varying types in several counties has added to the evidence in this respect, and merits detailed attention. The reports indicate an overwhelming dominance of english history in school syllabuses between the wars. A military college (1911) required candidates to have studied no history "other than than of England". A London secondary school (1923) studied only english history, plus european events "as and when they influence events in England". A Surrey public school (1922) covered "the whole course of english history" in the first form, followed by english social history, then "the whole story of english history" again. In a Wiltshire public school (1924) boys learned english history only, "the whole story from earliest times to the present day". A Yorkshire secondary school (1926) had a four-year course of which two-thirds was english history, followed by a fifth year devoted to England 1603-1815. A South Shields secondary school (1927) taught four years of english history, plus "an occasional brief excursion into continental affairs". A London public school (1928) offered "a detailed course of english history with the 17th and 18th centuries repeated". In a northern boarding school (1929) no syllabus content other than british history was mentioned. A Northumberland grammar school restricted lower forms to a "general outline of english history". A London independent school's new syllabus (1929) began with world history (probably classical) then gave four years of english history and social studies. A London endowed school's pupils (1929) learned only english history for five years. In a Yorkshire preparatory school (1930) the syllabus covered english history twice-over; in another in London (1930) work was "practically confined to english history". A London public school's syllabus (1930) was over two thirds english history (criticised as insufficient by HMI). A London independent school (1930) taught almost exclusively english history earliest times to 19th century, relieved only by some european or classical for some boys. In a London private school (1930) "no place is found for ancient history, european history nor even british history after 1688". Girls in a London voluntary school (1930) began with english social history and the lives of great Englishmen, then a year of classical history followed by four years in which "the outlines of english history from 410 to the outbreak of the great war are taken in successive periodic divisions", whilst european matter was "treated incidentally". A London endowed school (1930) "provides

abundantly for the history of England, but is clearly deficient in respect of european history". A London GPDST school (1930) claimed to follow an english and european course: its dates were 55 BC-1485 1485-1660, 1660-1914. A Bath boarding school's (1930) syllabus of elementary world and local history, followed by four years of english and european, 1066 onwards, then english plus either european or greek history, pleased HMI. A Jarrow secondary school (1930) offered elementary classical history, then "a consecutive course of british history". A similar situation prevailed in a Newcastle convent. Two Somerset boarding schools (1930) respectively made a four-year study of english history up to 1900, followed by a fifth year of England 1485-1914, "with some reference to european affairs"; and a study of english history 55 B.C.-1485, repeated three times over. A Warwickshire church school (1930) pursued a three-year course in english history followed by english and either european or classical history. A grammar school in the same county, after studying early man, spent three years on Britain to 1921, with a fifth year on british empire history. Finally, in a Blackpool secondary school (1930) the lower school had english and european history (including the investiture contest with 11 year olds) and the uppers studied the period 1485-1660. Appropriately, perhaps, the Head was a Miss Brodie.¹²²

If, then, too much should not be made of developments in this period; and if such developments as there were were almost totally eclipsed by english national history; then it may be pertinent briefly to consider in what ways the study of that national history was modifying. It was, after all, ostensibly a period of expansion, as witnessed by the growth of the Historical Association from 1906 and of its house journal History from 1916 (1913).¹²³ For instance, whilst pupils sitting 'highers' (all subjects) increased from 3183 in 1920 to 12,350 in 1932, those offering history increased from 472 (14.8%) to 4015 (32.5%).¹²⁴

It is suggested, in fact, that the mainstream of development centred upon, not 'world' or 'international' history, but 'history for citizenship' - and that such focus led inexorably to intensified emphasis upon the minutiae of national life. Advocacy may be traced from early years: Steele (1974) has shown its persistence in the decades after 1870.¹²⁵ In 1911, it was stressed by both the Historical Association and the LCC. In 1914, in an article significantly entitled 'History and national life', one teacher

insisted its purpose was "to make good citizens ... for the mass of the nation to make itself competent to judge a candidate". Reinforcement followed war's traumas. Archer (1916) linked history for citizenship with views of history as a pattern of progress and of morality. Firth (1919) saw school history as "to fit boys and girls for the duties of citizenship, by giving them some knowledge of their own country". HMI Hankin (1932) believed syllabuses should be "based on the needs of the future citizen, voter, worker". Newton (1932) saw as an essential feature of citizenship the study of recent domestic political history. Walker (1935) linked citizenship, "high moral purpose", and patriotism. It was also strongly advocated by the Board of Education (1923, 1937) and was regarded as of "supreme importance" by the leaders of the Historical Association in 1938.¹²⁶

It is accepted that 'citizenship' need not, ipso facto, have encouraged the exclusion of 'wider-world' content. Hubback and Simon (1932) urged education for citizenship including "knowledge of the broad ... facts of the modern world": and with such in mind Simon founded the Association for Education in Citizenship (1934). All too often, however, the emphasis was 'British government and constitution': Flavell's secondary level Citizen and the modern world (1937) included 53 pages on english local government. The Historical Association particularly recommended (1926) that secondary school history was "primarily to fit the child for citizenship" through selection of "incidents and materials (giving) understanding of the society in which they live (and) its institutions", thus helping children acquire "strong and educated feeling for, and interest in, the life of the community ... even though fine and beautiful aspects of the world's story are being neglected".¹²⁷

The 'citizenship' aspiration underlay considerable developments in social, economic, local, environmental and 'social studies' history going beyond present concerns, but meriting brief attention as diversions from the need to broaden syllabuses - indeed, as factors reinforcing the existing narrow national emphasis. To Cook (1970) they represented "acceptance of an essentially insular curriculum".¹²⁸ They were also closely related to the rapid increase in study of 'social science' from the later 19th century, inspired by such as Berr (c.1900) who saw history as the first stage of an all-encompassing social science; and the American Social Science Research Council from the 1920's, which saw it as the handmaiden of the social sciences and, by closely associating historians with economists,

sociologists and political scientists, helped promote sharp increase in the study of social and economic history in the USA.¹²⁹

English local history's roots reached back to the establishment of the Society of Antiquaries, 1707, plus the county histories and antiquarian societies between 1700 and 1850. It was given impetus by the 1783 edition of Domesday and the foundation of the British Archaeology Association, 1844. By 1914, every county had at least one local history society, much of the Victoria County History was published, and the Historical Manuscripts Commission's archive had been built up.¹³⁰ From 1900, calls arose for its introduction into school syllabuses. In particular, such as Jarvis (1917) Findley (1923) and Blake (1934) specifically advocated local material to illuminate and enliven national history; whilst the co-founder of the Historical Association, Rachel Reid, clearly saw local history as an aspect of education for citizenship (1934).¹³¹

These recurrent calls paralleled extra-curricular developments. In the USA, between the foundation of the local History Societies Conference in 1904 and the American Society for State and Local History in 1940, over 1,000 societies sprang up. In Britain, the Historical Association's village history committee was formed in 1925*, which by the 1930s was influencing branches nationwide, particularly where there were active university departments, as at Durham, Liverpool, Southampton, Manchester and London.¹³²

Between the wars, then, influenced by universities, the Historical Association, the National Council of Social Service's local history committee and LEAs such as Lancashire and Manchester, the approach began to penetrate schools and adult education.¹³³

As with local history, with which they share a frequently close affinity, both social and economic history have developed strongly in british schools and universities since the 19th century, as shown by the foundation of the London School of Economics (1895) the departments of economic history at Manchester and Nottingham (1910, 1928) the Economic History Society (1927) and the Economic History Review (1934). Cambridge's first chair of economic history was taken by Clapham in 1928, whose 'Economic history as a discipline' was first published in the Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences (1932). Influence in the discipline's spread was exerted by a series of major academic works, whose unyielding concentration on the minutiae of

* Later the local history committee.

domestic socio-economic history is evident.¹³⁴ Pressure for the introduction of social or economic topics into school curricula, seen in 1923 as "one of the most striking recent developments in all classes of schools",¹³⁵ was exerted by Hadow, the Board, the Examinations Council and the Historical Association, besides many individual writers.¹³⁶

In summary, history teaching in schools during the century's first four decades remained obstinately national in content. This reflected moral, developmental and progressive constitutional-political views inherited from 19th century scientism and passed on by the universities, the English Historical Review and other media. Some advocacy of wider syllabus content has been traced but it was limited in scope and even more so in application. Little movement towards world history as such has been discerned, and virtually none towards the history of non-european areas. Even in the case of european history, where there was some interest, especially in conjunction with contemporary history, it was clearly subordinate to national history in the great majority of schools. Some spread of education for citizenship, local history, and socio-economic history has been identified, but they again tended to intensify concentration upon the details of english national history.

That national history, moreover, remained overwhelmingly political, constitutional and consecutive in emphasis, and was taught in such a way as to ensure the memorisation of 'essential' facts.¹³⁷ Elliott's principal research finding (1975) was that the central objective was "simple transmission of knowledge", and that "the subject matter ... was chosen ... because it was considered to be important knowledge ... to assimilate".¹³⁸ The attitude of the Historical Association (1926) that "there should be a definite framework of knowledge in chronological sequence", represented the views and practice of the great majority of teachers. In 1927, the association's only comment on teachers beginning formal consecutive studies with nine-year-olds was that the starting age should be ten. Prominent in the association was Eton's senior history master and influential text book writer, C.H.K. Marten, who insisted (1924) on "more strenuous knowledge both of facts and dates". He trained children to recite the dates of all english monarchs since 1066 in under a minute: the record was 25 seconds.¹³⁹

Chapter Four: The teaching of history in Britain from 1940 to the present day, with special reference to wider-world history.

Any study of history teaching since 1940 must begin with the second world war's impact upon curriculum thinking in general¹ and the teaching of history in particular. During that war and the following period of international tension there developed world-wide a miasmic feeling, that mankind stood on the brink. That sensation induced an atmosphere of "wary disillusionment" among history teachers everywhere, and calls for "an entirely new approach to the problem of the place of history and history teaching in schools".²

One important product was further impetus to the 'citizenship' school. In 1944, for instance, the Historical Association asserted that 'citizenship' should grow from the whole course: if not, it was an educational failure.³

As previously noted,⁴ that approach can lead to excessive domestic history emphasis, and several post-war school-books have viewed 'citizenship' in exclusively national perspectives.⁵ To some, on the other hand, 'citizenship' clearly came to imply wider considerations as a result of war. Brimble and May's Social studies and world citizenship was issued in 1943, whilst the Council for Curriculum Reform, chaired by Lauwerys, insisted (1945) that 'socially relevant' education must offer effective training for world citizenship.⁶ International opinion concurred. One American (1946) urged that citizenship education required "sensitive understanding of far-flung peoples, cultures and places": whilst Europeans (1949-1951) respectively proclaimed that "man is recognising himself as universal in behaviour ... part of a world which is a unified whole"; and that the war had made imperative "a review of history which must also be some sort of self-examination on the part of mankind".⁷

Such arguments reflected a major educational consequence of the world-complexities of the war and post-war periods, namely a rapid growth of awareness of urgency in promoting world understandings, especially through the medium of school history curricula. Distinguished representatives of more traditional historical studies called (1940, 1943) for a broadening of horizons to promote a sense of common humanity.⁸ The Oxford University Press, whose 13 'world problems' pamphlets as late as 1939 betrayed strong eurocentrism, quickly added seven more, including two on the USA and two on East Asia.⁹ By 1953, Hill was claiming international interdependence to

have been "driven into men's minds and hearts by the terrible argument of war".¹⁰

Developing interest in Russia was one manifestation of the growing demand for extra-national historical studies. Having seen need for only three articles on Russia since 1916, History published three more between 1943 and 1948, whilst the Historical Association produced a pamphlet (1947) on teaching russian history.¹¹ Movement towards american history was even more noticeable. A society to promote anglo-american studies was set up in 1941, and the same year saw a Board of Education pamphlet on teaching american history. School books on America became more common, and the Historical Association, though still sensing "little scope" for american history, published two pamphlets in 1942. An article on recent history school-books in March 1942, after the U.S. war declaration, reviewed more titles on North America than on Britain, the empire and Europe together.* Three articles on teaching american history were published in History in the next four years (one noting teachers were being "exhorted upon all sides" to introduce the subject) and an association leaflet in 1947. The British Association for American Studies was founded in 1955. University chairs in american history increased from one in 1945 to six in 1970, by which date every university taught it. U.S. history was offered as an option at both 'O' and 'A' level. In 1978, Central London Polytechnic opened a teachers' resources centre and in 1975 the president of the American Historical Association noted the extent to which american studies, including history, were "increasingly activated in Britain".¹² Nor was interest confined to USA history. A significant, if small-scale awareness of the value of south american history began to grow.¹³

Closely related to wider-world ideas was continued advocacy of contemporary history, again clearly influenced by war and cold war. Even in 1940, one observer claimed traditional history to have been "wiped out", and suggested teaching 12 topics thrown up by the war - one on East Asia.¹⁴ After the war, the pace increased, and advocacy both for academic study and for school syllabuses has been

* All 11 titles reviewed in the previous articles (Sept 1941) were on Britain and Europe.

noted from various quarters, british and american. The NUT believed it "vital",¹⁵ an awareness both reflected and promoted by the Institute of Contemporary History (1964) with its Journal (1966-on); the Association of Contemporary Historians (1967); Reading University's graduate school of contemporary european studies; and, abroad, such as the Hoover Institute, the Institute d'histoire des relations internationales contemporaines, and the Institut fur Zeitgeschichte.

As to development of contemporary history in british schools, the most vigorous prophet since the early 1960s has been Heater. His particular importance, though correctly cautioning against assumptions of synonymity, has been close identification of the ultimate purposes of contemporary and world history,* a call for the subject in schools to strengthen international understandings and repeated condemnation of insular, anglocentric history curriculum - messages disseminated through a variety of publications, particularly his World Studies (1980) and in role as a prominent teacher-educator.¹⁶

Awareness of the importance for historical education of the linkage between world and contemporary history, the product not only of political economic interrelationships on a foundation of technological advance, especially since the 1930s, but also of holistic perceptions of contemporary cultural heritage expressed by such as Benedict (1935) and Campbell (1962, 1965)¹⁷ has not, however, been
^ broadcast by Heater alone. Hales (1966) an HMI and advocate of world history teaching, observed that "20th century history is world history ... if our pupils are to be educated in recent history ... they have to be educated in world history". Lyall (1967) saw contemporary history's popularity as "a yardstick for the prevalence of a world view ... recent events are inseparable from their global setting". HMI (1967) insisted that "it is by way of these new 20th century syllabuses that some pupils are beginning to gain an introduction to world history ... 20th century history is world history ... it appears to be providing the catalyst by which the insularity of our syllabuses may be dissolved".¹⁸

* Unlike the Institute of Contemporary History, founded specially to promote research into 20th century Europe (See J. Contemporary Hist., 1, 1966, preface).

Perhaps the most influential articulation came from the German history specialist Barraclough, whose Introduction to contemporary history (1964) enjoyed five reprints and a paperback edition in a decade. "We live today in a world different in almost all its basic preconditions from the world in which Bismarck lived and died ... contemporary history is ... world history and ... the forces shaping it cannot be understood unless we are prepared to accept world-wide perspectives". Such history must begin with study of scientific, technological and industrial change, through which the world had become closely interlocked. Political consequences, namely imperialism, had been world-wide and had provoked the century's dominant theme, the Revolt Against the West, inspired by Russia and Japan, but most evidently manifested by the political and cultural renaissance of China. Thus the key dates in contemporary world history were not 1914, 1919, 1939 and 1945, but 1895, 1917, 1941 and 1949.¹⁹

The impact upon school curricula of the contemporary history argument was shown by the development of appropriate examination syllabuses²⁰ and the publication of several textbook series including Muller's Awakening World (1966-7) which opened with Macartney in Peking, and Faber's 21-volume World outlook (later 1960s)²¹ written by such as Henderson²² and King-Hall. Opinions as to the success of the contemporary history drive have been noted from a range of observers.²³

But interest in contemporary world history represented one face of a world-wide movement towards 'international' interests and activities, in which British statesmen, scholars and teachers have been prominent.

The war accelerated international cooperation through such as Unesco, Unicef, UNRWA, the FAO and other organisations. Thus, whereas between 1840-49 an annual average of one international congress was held and only 1413 between 1815 and 1899, with 100 per annum 1900-9, by 1961 the annual total was 5166. In 1906, 169 non-governmental organisations had international links (all countries). Sixty years later, there were 200 governmental and over 1500 non-governmental international organisations, at least 150 of which (over 100 in Britain) consciously promoted education for international understanding.²⁴

More Catholic perspectives were encouraged by the establishment of international schools and colleges from 1924, but particularly after the second war. One of three history syllabuses for their

baccalaureat (1963-on) constituted an important small step towards world-historical studies, comprising a two-year study of contemporary world history, one of its eight sections dealing with the Far East (China 3% of the total) preceded by a presentation of western cultures in counterpoint to afro-asian, including China (5% of the total).²⁵

Not only in international schools, however, but across the educational spectrum, examples could be cited, world-wide, of growing commitment to broader perspectives: 40 courses involving 3,000 teachers held in Denmark in 1963 on teaching about the orient; a german teachers' union consulting with asian educators on how to develop asian history in german schools, declaring itself "eager to do everything to acquaint german teachers with the historical and cultural aspects of asian life"; 16 television and radio programmes on world history and culture broadcast in Japan in 1964; belgian teachers asking that "non-european civilisations ... should be regularly dealt with in lessons ... in a broadly universal, international and human spirit"; and many others.²⁶

Developments in the USA were particularly significant. States such as Ohio and Nebraska declared direct interest in education for a world society; Philadelphia concentrated on East-West education for teachers; * Los Angeles sponsored scores of intercultural conferences; a National Education Association film on international understanding was used by 100,000 U.S. teachers (1958)²⁷. In 1966, an International Education Act was passed. Interest in Asia was noticeably lively. Wilson (1946) observed in respect of that continent that "there can no longer be argument over the necessity of (pupils) being well informed"; whilst Arndt and Everett (1951) called for studies embracing "the great peoples of the world, with special emphasis on ... Russia, China and India". Dean (1956) insisted "A program of non-western studies ... is not a luxury: it is a necessity". This should bring out "the rich contribution to world civilisation" of India and China.²⁸ Similarly, though generally conservative, occasional articles in the influential American Historical Review drew attention to the need for broader appreciations.²⁹ Holborn (1968) prophesied that "ultimately all historical study will have to

* Directed by Pearl Buck.

be related to the understanding of universal history from which it will receive its sense of final direction"; and Van Kley (1971) strongly supported a perspective "that embraces the entire human community and ... transcends national, religious, and cultural boundaries".³⁰ Certain textbooks must also have had influence. A survey of 306 american social studies textbooks (1977) found that, although ethnocentricity was widespread, 97 of the books displayed an 'asian-centred' attitude, presenting asian culture within its own value-system and historical context. In 57 it was dominant, and in 18, exclusive. Such attitudes, seen as enabling the child "to get beyond the alien and exotic",³¹ cannot have passed unnoticed by teachers. Whatever the influence, however, the product, in terms of american school curricula, has been noted by numerous observers.³²

The influence overseas of american school and academic developments is unquantifiable, but was undoubtedly exerted, and by three means in particular: the attraction of american research funds for foreign, including british, scholars; the tendency for simultaneous publication not only of academic but of school textbooks in America and London; and the role played by U.S. educators in international educational organisations. They have included the U.S. - based World Council of Organizations of the Teaching Profession, whose activities have reflected a constitution ordaining the promotion of international understanding,³³ and the World Council for Curriculum and Instruction, which claimed branches in over 70 countries, including Britain, by 1980.

Much more influential in Britain, however, has been the Council of Europe, through which the world-historical vision of Dance has been commissioned and produced on the widest possible stage.

European governments having agreed to foster study of one another's civilisation and history, and an International Schoolbook Institute having been set up,^{*} six conferences were held, 1953 to 1958, when 900 history textbooks were analysed and findings published in eight languages. That emphasis, continuing through to the present, produced attempts at improvement of cultural and ethnic attitudes in text books throughout Europe, including Britain.³⁴ In addition, the Council helped establish the International Commission for the Teaching of History, its aims to promote better understandings through "reintegrat(ing) events and personalities into the general

* Following an earlier Historical Association proposal (Infra,p.112).

framework of european and world history ... (and emphasising) the original contribution made by each nation to ... civilisation".³⁵ Major Council of Europe/ICTH conferences (1965,1969) urged history be compulsory throughout school, concentrating more on unifying themes, and seeking balance and integration between local, national, european and world history, thus deepening knowledge and understanding of "the most valuable things in the past of mankind - not merely of our own country or continent, but of all mankind".^{36*}

Rapporteur to the 1965 conference was the british schoolteacher Dance, whose contribution to the development of world history studies merits individual attention. His own textbooks date from 1932, when he appears to have held views anticipating those of the New History of recent years,³⁷ showing little commitment to world history.³⁸ War seems to have changed his opinions, and at the Historical Association's 1942 council meeting, he criticised the lack of response in Britain to League of Nations resolutions against textbook bias. Subsequently it was resolved that an international body should be established for "the correction and control of national bias in history textbooks".³⁹ That was the germ of the Brunswick Institute.

After the war, Dance's influence expanded. In 1951, the Council of Christians and Jews organised scrutiny of 100 british textbooks which revealed several positive and negative biases, including eurocentrism.⁴⁰ Those findings inspired the CCJ to draw up and publicise a world history syllabus for secondary schools. Dance was commissioned to write the report. The resultant History without bias? (1954) helped extend the reputation as a leading 'world history' advocate which his important school textbooks published in the 1940s had already secured.⁴¹ Other influential works harnessed to the activities of the Council of Europe, the Brunswick Institute and Unesco, including an important revision (1965) of an earlier inadequate schoolbook, followed.⁴²

Dance increasingly saw that the mutual incomprehension of West and East was "the most serious of all the group antagonisms", in which the West was much the greater culprit. "How many of us ...

* Council of Europe interest is ongoing. In 1980 they published O'Connor's World Studies in the european classroom. In 1982-3 they promoted courses on teaching about East Asia and Islam.

could give even a summary outline of the history of India or China or Indonesia ... when we do glance at asian history we look at it through western spectacles ... our pupils ... do not read about the great achievements of China in art and literature and ethics ... (or) the leading part played by the Chinese in applied science ... there must be something wrong when (they) leave school ... knowing ... nothing of the fundamental contributions of China to the history of human culture".^{43*} In 1971, he advanced a further powerful critique of history curriculum content in Britain - "History with the Chinese (Indians, Africans, Americans and so on) left out" - and stressed those world areas generally ignored by schools. Challenging british teachers now to omit traditional blocks of british and european history to make room for a study of such areas - and not merely contemporary history - Dance concluded: "The time has come for a complete reorientation of our basic attitudes to the whole content of world history ... There is need for revolution: and it needs to be really revolutionary".⁴⁴ In that, China must be given a major role.^{**} One reviewer (1971) believed the book demanded "serious consideration from anyone responsible for planning a history syllabus".⁴⁵

Dance has been one individual articulating the call for world history towards international understanding, with strong emphasis on greater appreciation of eastern civilisations. Similar, though more world-wide influence has been exercised by Unesco, which in 1964 urged teachers to emphasise that human civilisation had been built by all peoples, that different ways of life represented valid historical traditions, and that there existed a common historical heritage based on moral/ethical, intellectual/artistic and technological/scientific progress.⁴⁶ By 1981, Unesco was linked with 1400 schools in 80 countries.

From its foundation Unesco's central aim was to promote peace by using education to further knowledge of the history and scientific/cultural traditions of other peoples, whereby pupils in any one area of the world would learn more of people in other areas,

* The earliest advocacy at any length of teaching chinese history in schools which has been unearthed (1958).

** He devoted 43½ of the book's 269 pages to chinese detail (pp.20-2, 38-52, 54-63, 85-7, 90-3, 97-8, 100-1, 114-15, 157-62, 212-17).

so that deeper understanding of the common qualities of mankind might emerge. Its constitution asserted: "Ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a common cause ... of that suspicion and mistrust between the peoples ... through which their differences have all too often broken into war".⁴⁷

Between 1947 and 1952, seminars for teachers clearly enunciated that what was needed was not only fuller knowledge of other people in their lands, but also the development of more benevolent attitudes towards them; and recognised a fundamental need to improve textbooks and teaching resources. This went beyond merely eliminating bias, but involved inculcation of positive attitudes centring on a recognition of history as the evolution of all mankind.⁴⁸ The reports and working papers subsequently formed a 12-booklet series, Towards world understanding (1947-53) which included Lauwerys' History textbooks and international understanding (1953) and Hill's Suggestions on the teaching of history (1953). The latter argued that children "must grow up to know that there are other types of human communities than their own ... (but) that throughout the ages moral, intellectual and technical progress has gradually grown to constitute a common heritage for all mankind". Children must be shown "that races and nations have never really lived in complete isolation", and that "examples can be found in all national histories". National history per se was, however, too preponderant. A new approach was needed, "stressing the extent to which the culture of every nation is drawn from many sources". Thus, the secondary teacher must "find time to teach about peoples who have transmitted important elements of civilisation", through courses "giving some idea of the main centres ... through the ages, and of the way in which these centres have influenced one another". In particular, such courses must underline the relationships between the civilisations of West and ancient East.⁴⁹

In pursuit of such objectives, Unesco has sponsored a number of major projects. Arising in the later 1940's, the Tensions Project called for "inquiries into the distinctive character of the various national cultures, ideals, and legal systems", and into "the conceptions which the people of one nation entertain of their own and other nations". Some years later, adult re-education in that respect was attempted through the publication of 14 pamphlets stressing that world cultural diversity was due, not to racial differences, but to varying geographical, historical and sociological factors.⁵⁰ In 1953,

the Associated Schools Project was launched, its purpose "to develop better understanding of other peoples and cultures", and an awareness that human common features transcend differentiating characteristics. By 1982 over 600 schools and teachers' colleges in 60 countries were involved, the number of children involved running well into six figures. Activities have included swiss children studying Thailand, 'deux races, une amitie'; Thais studying Denmark; Germans the Near East; Filipinos Japan; Norwegians and Poles Africa; and Egyptians East-West relations, producing booklets on China and Japan. Similar programmes germinated in some british schools.⁵¹

Little interest in China appears to have been engendered by the Associated Schools Project. That was more a feature of Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values, approved for a ten-year period from 1956. A Brussels seminar (1950) had demanded that every european child must be awakened to the early origins of civilisation in other regions, and in particular that east asian civilisations were both older than that of Europe and its equal in achievement. In 1951, a Delhi seminar on East-West philosophies insisted that religious and philosophical ideas were shared and went on to demand much more extensive study in the West, both in schools and universities, of the ethical and religious beliefs, the literature, art, science and history, of the East. A subsequent publication argued that "the crisis of our times is a crisis of cultures as well as of economics and politics". Thus there was "urgent need of increasing attention to and study of the cultures of the world and of their interrelations". In this, a study of the chinese cultural tradition was imperative.⁵²

Despite such seminars and related publications, however, further demands arose that Unesco should initiate a stronger reversal of the modern West-to-East cultural push by making the riches of the traditional asian cultures more readily available, comprehended and appreciated in the West. In response to such pressure, the above-mentioned project was launched, its aims to help establish in the minds of children and adults, in both East and West, that "cultural values ... are not the exclusive property of any one people or culture". Besides a range of academic activities and conferences, the reformulation of school curricula to facilitate studies with such wider-world emphases was urgently impressed. Teacher-fellowships were funded, and major conferences called on the treatment of East and West in school textbooks.⁵³

That project's investigation of the treatment of Asia in the West, strongly supported by WCOTP, and in which E. H. Dance was again involved, was particularly important. Involving close examination of textbooks in 22 western countries, it brought out clearly that "western books do not contain many untruths about the East: they contain next to nothing about it ... nothing about the native glories of Hans or T'angs or Sungs. The activities of a few western missionaries can attract more attention ... than all the teachings of Lao Tse and Confucius and the Buddha and the Bhagavadgita put together". The committee's report, which included suggestions for asian history in syllabuses, plus notes on problems in dealing with China, underlined the inadequacy of current provision in higher education. That must be rectified, since it was "of the greatest importance to extend and improve the teaching in western schools about asian peoples". It was "essential to appreciate" how western developments had been "influenced ... or ... paralleled by developments in Asia", with "objective treatment of cultural contact", and "encouragement of tolerance and unprejudiced understanding and respect". Thus, "the curricula (and notably the history syllabus) should be reformed so as to give more importance to Asia". This must include a place for "great asian figures" such as Shih Huang-ti. Pupils must be taught about the early civilisations of China and India. In short, it was especially important that asian history was not presented as merely "an adjunct to national history". Teachers must "give information about areas not directly concerned with the history of their own country", and "impress upon children the unity and continuity of world civilisation through the ages".⁵⁴ Dance (1957) summed up: "Our approach is fundamentally wrong. We show no interest in the pulsating history of the East unless it happens to cross our own ... few european history teachers could read this report without receiving a shock. Few of us could fail to find our teaching (and our history) improved by the experience".⁵⁵

The project was widely publicised. Its bulletin, Orient Occident, published the whole programme in 1959, stressing the need for world history programmes including east asian material not only in secondary but in primary schools, "since some of the worst mistakes are ... at the level of the simplest ideas conveyed to impressionable young readers". In the same year, Unesco's curriculum committee attacked the world-wide "alarming relative ignorance" of other cultures, demanding "urgent remedy through a more balanced

programme of education and ... greater concentration in the schools of each side on sympathetic study of the life and culture of the other". Fradier (1959) asserting that western ignorance of Asia "can no longer be tolerated", went further, and more pointedly, urging study of history and culture not just with universal or even regional perspectives, but of specific countries such as China - and through the eyes of their own historians and chroniclers.⁵⁶

Unesco's role has not been merely investigation and advocacy. Practical suggestions for teaching for world-understanding, and about Asia, came out in 1959 and 1961.⁵⁷ One author was himself supervisor of the Associated Schools Project in Britain and many of its participating schools subsequently became involved in the East-West project. Teachers and others then came together in a major conference (1962) which urged that british school history courses be completely re-cast, particularly in favour of learning about Asia, that asian languages, including Chinese, be taught, and that authorities, universities and publishers must give a lead. Other practical Unesco initiatives, if academic in content, have been the 'Collection of Representative Works' series, including chinese philosophy and literature,⁵⁸ plus the beginnings of a scientific and cultural world history series.^{59*}

One scholar in Britain closely associated with the drive towards history for world understanding was Lauwerys, who chaired both the Brussels seminar on textbook revision (1950) and the Council of Christians and Jews textbook conferences (1951-3) and was prominent in work for the Parliamentary Group for World Government.⁶⁰ Two publications for educators merit close attention. A follow-up to Brussels, History textbooks and international understanding (1953) argued that school history lessons should bring out "the contribution to the common pool of civilisation made by all the nations ... Egyptians ... Hindus ... Chinese". Western educators "should make certain that their courses and textbooks do justice to the religions and cultures of the East": even from the earliest years they must "lay the ground for understanding the fact that all peoples and nations depend upon ... learn from .. and help one another as do members of a family ... encourage respect for other people and their

* Unesco's emphasis on intercultural studies was further intensified after the first World Conference on Cultural Policies in 1970.

work ... (and) foster a feeling for the community of mankind".⁶¹ Lauwerys exercised similar influence through the Yearbook of education whose 1964 issue's 493 pages were given over to education and international life, brimming with support for "the One-World ideal", world citizenship, and the need for teachers to "throw open the casements overlooking the thrilling world outside".⁶² More specific to history, it urged that children "must know something of world history and geography ... that history is the subject which has the most significant contribution to make ... (but) ... there must be a complete re-thinking of syllabuses ... national history must be seen in the regional ... and in the world setting". The director of the Brunswick Institute went further: "History can no longer be interpreted exclusively from the national or regional point of view ... the history of western civilisation must be supplemented by further study ... of the peoples and cultures of Africa, America, the Orient, India, China". Lauwerys himself pointed to the value of "understanding to some degree another society or culture ... say that of China or India ... (its) ... geography and history ... (and) something about art forms, occupations, habits ... to show that people ... deserve respect as human beings who meet common needs in ways different from our own".⁶³

Another contributor was Henderson, whose article pointed to the need for "the elucidation by means of examples from history and personality of three fundamental human relationships; to origins, to nature and neighbours, and to ultimates". Such knowledge was "an essential educational requirement". Further studies should draw out "the law of three-fold development ... licence, through order, to liberty"; comparative nationalism; world problems; the global validity of all great art; and "the ultimate values which the occupants of this planet hold in common ... considered in their historical, and then their contemporary forms".⁶⁴

That article epitomised the radical analysis offered by a scholar who has shown himself perhaps "the most eloquent advocate of the theme that the age of one world must give some introduction to awareness of the 'timeless cultural deposits of other civilisations'", and "has encouraged succeeding generations of students to consider how mankind can be turned ... towards friendly cooperation ... (in a way) wise, optimistic and humane".⁶⁵ By the 1960s he was publishing at the London Institute of Education a quarterly bulletin on world studies: whilst over the last two decades

he has constantly returned to the theme of world history as a vital contribution towards universal human understanding, in a succession of important books for adults and for children.⁶⁶ Those publications, moreover, have been practical in emphasis. One (1968) for example, considered ways in which education for world understanding might be opened up in schools, universities, further and adult education, with syllabuses for children aged six to 15 years containing a great deal of historical matter.⁶⁷

The impression of practicality has been reinforced by review articles for historians and history teachers⁶⁸ and by his attempt to bridge the gap between scholarship and the classroom needs of children through such as his editorship of the multi-volume World-Wide series (1971)⁶⁹ and his World Cooperation (1968). In the latter, he directly urged upon secondary children the need "to make the oneness of the world a reality". There were three 'world laws', whose core, other than political and economic arrangements, was that people must realise "that there is a value which is held in common by the whole of mankind and that we need to identify it, love it and obey it if we are to act as one united species". History, and in particular the history of ideas, was the mirror in which that value could be discerned.⁷⁰

Closely associated with the influence of both Lauwerys and Henderson has been the New Education Fellowship and its journal The New Era. During wartime, the NEF continued its work in Britain, urging (1941) that a world outlook centring on each country's contribution to humanity should be taught in all schools. It also survived in the USA, where an international conference (1941) inspired by Dewey called for fresh educational directions. Lauwerys, as deputy international chairman, was influential. In 1945, british membership was 1130, some of whom helped inspire the birth of Unesco, whose first assembly was reminiscent of an NEF conference. Subsequently the NEF served Unesco as an advisory organisation and actively supported its projects. It also organised numerous international conferences, one of which (1945) anticipated the East-West project with its call for mutual cultural studies, whilst others urged the building of bridges through study of science and religion (1946);^{*} called for children to be educated towards 'world'

* Addressed by Lauwerys.

thinking (1947); and studied the progress of the tensions project.⁷¹ Henderson, a long-time activist, became international secretary in 1963. Lauwerys was already chairman. When NEF became WEF^{*} in 1966, Henderson was joint honorary advisor and Lauwerys retained the chairmanship. Henderson became chairman in 1970 (by which time he was also chairman of New Era's editorial board) and remained so until 1978. Lauwerys was vice-chairman until his death in 1981.

The New Era had long been influential in disseminating knowledge of Unesco's^{**} activities. Henderson, however, gave fresh impetus to the 'world-mindedness' goal, persuasively arguing, in a series of 20 prominent articles (1963-4) that war must be prevented by human understanding, that an awareness of the common cultural heritage of all peoples was fundamental to that aspiration, and that inculcation of such awareness should be an integral feature of school curricula. Those articles were republished (1965) as a booklet, and thus brought before a wider audience. Moreover, their genuinely global and profoundly humanistic approach has remained prominent in The New Era to the present, an emphasis even more sharply increased following the incorporation of Henderson's World Studies Education Quarterly Bulletin from 1970. One recent issue, for instance (1979) looked at in-service education in respect both of education for international understanding and of world studies in general. Another (1980) was entirely given over to the World Studies Project.⁷²

The influence of Lauwerys and Henderson on the development of the world studies movement throughout the english educational system, and abroad, was the greater for their respective positions at the London University Institute of Education. Associated with their work was the institute's director, Elvin, who attended, with Lauwerys, the 1950 Brussels seminar; served on the editorial board of the Yearbook of Education and as an advisor to World Studies Bulletin; was for a time director of Unesco's department of education; and later became president of the English NEF (as had been Jeffery, his predecessor as institute director). In influential books Elvin powerfully developed the argument for world-mindedness through education (1959) and emphasised the need for a more comprehensive study of other world cultures (1965).⁷³

* World Education Fellowship

** From whom it received financial aid.

In addition to those organisations already discussed, several others, including the Parliamentary Group for World Government, the Council for Education in World Citizenship, the Commonwealth Institute (whose director followed Henderson as WEF chairman in 1978) the Educational Exchange Council, International Scholastic Correspondence, Oxfam, the United Nations Association, Unicef, and the British Council, have helped promote concepts of world mindedness, as detailed in Smith's important doctoral thesis (1966).⁷⁴ Of those, the PGWG and the CEWC demand closer attention.

Founded by the League of Nations Union in 1939, and later establishing links with the United Nations Association, the CEWC, representing all british educational organisations of note, subsequently affiliated 1,300 schools and colleges. Aiming to further international sympathies through the infusion of world studies into school curricula, it has from the first worked closely with the NEF and Unesco.* In respect of the East-West project, the Council published a bibliography on Asia for schools, organised 151 school conferences on Asia in 1958-9, plus a conference for teachers, and devoted its 1959 national conference to the subject. Tracing CEWC's influence on school curricula nationally, such as its day conference work with Edinburgh LEA from 1958 to help schools organise topics and exhibitions on a variety of countries, including China (1959) Asia and the Commonwealth (1960) and India (1982)⁷⁵ would be a major study in its own right. Smith found its information service of considerable value to schools, and concluded that it had "helped to stretch the sympathies of pupils towards humanity in a larger world".⁷⁶ The direct impact of its succession of Christmas conferences, each attended by over 2,000 children, such as that in 1958 on the East-West project or in 1975 on the theme 'Beyond the nation state', cannot be quantified but must have been considerable.

The Parliamentary Group for World Government has been demonstrably important in spreading world history into school curricula. An all-party organisation, founded 1947 (though with earlier roots) it promoted a 1959 conference to urge the development of 'world-mindedness' in children, through the development of new history syllabuses. Aided by the NEF, a group was set up under

* It convened the conference of allied education ministers which led to the creation of Unesco.

Lauwerys which subsequently pressurised LEAs, teacher education colleges, further education colleges, universities, ministry of education, GCE boards, unions and media. Conferences for teacher educators and teachers were held. The group triggered an ATCDE survey of college syllabuses in 1961, carried out a survey of GCE history syllabuses (1960) which revealed sad neglect of such as the USA and China, organised a world history syllabus competition, inspired world history 'O' level syllabuses at Oxford, London and Reading, put pressure on CSE working parties to develop such syllabuses, publicised new syllabuses as they materialised* and published a guide for teachers on world-mindedness education (1961).⁷⁷ Its depressing survey (1962,1967) of syllabuses in Britain and other countries was particularly important, accompanied by Lauwerys and Boyle's powerful argument that all history syllabuses must help children understand world history, explain world problems and promote world community. Teachers must "view their profession in an international context ... foster in their pupils an awareness of supranational loyalties ... balancing national loyalty with ... conscious loyalty to the human race ... in all its diversity".⁷⁸ The NEF trademark was clear.

Reversion to a more ecumenical view of historical education has been directly demanded by many philosophical and historical leaders in Europe, Britain and America. For example, Huizinga (1940) saw national bias "straining and convulsing the world organism like a fever". Flugel (1945) urged, "much that is useful can ... be learned from the history of ... the U.S., China and other great political units". Huxley (1946) wrote, "the development of culture in the various regions of the orient must receive equal attention to that paid to western growth". Russell (1951) declared a need for young people to become, through education, "intimate with people of other countries ... their ways of thought and behaviour". Gallie (1964) stressed broad-minded humanity and imaginative understanding and the world-historical purpose of philosophy of history. If the past had a one-ness, it demanded of the historian not to be "tied to received national or tribal or religious legends ... although his prime concern is with the past of his own group ... he must combine this ... with a constant struggle against parochial (ism)".⁷⁹

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Via the CEWC newsletters.

Among historians, the french academician Grousset (1951) clearly established the world-historical significance of asian cultures, especially those of India and China. Pulleyblank (1955) stressed the need to study world history and the central role in that of chinese history: "China cannot be regarded as outside the mainstream of human history and is an object of study both worthy in itself and important for our understanding of our own past". The american scholar McNeill (1971) attacked developmental history and urged study of "the process through which the world's greatest civilisations achieved their classical definition" and "their interaction until modern times". Important advocacy similarly not confined to contemporary events came from Butterfield (1971). We must "strive for a global point of view ... the overall development of one single world civilisation". Barraclough's vision (1956, 1962) also extended from the contemporary to the whole historical panorama. Western minds should be freed from myopic history, which hardened prejudices and fortified assumptions of superiority. Historical study needed "writing anew with another set of values in a new world". Even the supposedly conservative Elton (1969,1970) underlined the validity of world history. "It takes a thoroughly illiberal mind to suggest that history should ... prefer domestic problems to global involvement". The spread of historical interest to new areas had "manifest virtues". The student should be encouraged to look beyond the parochial: "It is right to offer him Asia, Africa and South America". Over-emphasis upon western achievements such as industrialisation was harmful and indoctrinated students against more liberal views of other civilisations. It was "very important that ... (school) students should be introduced to the quite serious study of societies and places so very different from their own that a very real effort of the imagination is required ... I should like to see studies ... of Han China or the Incas ... my main concern would be to introduce children to the range of man's historical experience".^{80*}

* Elton's was the only contribution to Ballard's New movements in the study and teaching of history (1970) recommending teaching about China, though McNeill's chapter implied the same. Critics of Elton such as Hopkins (History, 54, 1969, 337) Chaffer and Taylor, History and history teacher, 1975, 27-8, or Steele, Developments in history teaching, 1976, 4, have been so critical of his unenthusiasm for the New History that they have missed his important contribution to the world history argument.

The most radical arguments have been advanced by Toynbee, whose influence between the wars was noted earlier. Early in the post-war period (1946) and in his Reith lectures (1953) he expounded a world-view, of Christianity having abdicated its role as the unifier of mankind and unable to rediscover it save by fusion with other religious revelations. Thus, the world's salvation would emerge from the East, from Buddhism and China. "The peoples of the West now have to adapt ... to a changed position ... We need a historical outlook wider not merely than the national ... but wider also than the western ... The civilisations of China, India and Islam will be just as much a part of the historical heritage of the new world society as the civilisation of the West, and they too must be studied and taught".⁸¹

Toynbee's syncretism, stressing ancient eastern wisdom, was provocative and likely to prove incorrect. It may be that the future will unfold more along the materialistic lines envisaged by Brinton (1963). But that is beside the point. Toynbee's importance lies essentially in popularisation of the world-historical idea. Nor, moreover, would it be safe to support Sturley (1969) that his work "may not survive as anything more than a monumental curiosity". In 1953, the literary editor of Figaro advanced clearly toynbean arguments, whilst through diverse channels Toynbee's ideas have been synthesised for teachers in schools. The reissue of an opulent new one-volume edition of his Study of History (1972) and publication of an equally lavish narrative account of world history (1976) suggest undiminished appeal and consequent influence.⁸²

In addition to the voices of philosophers and historians of international standing, advocacy of world-historical education by lesser-known educators has been uncovered. In 1945, some teachers were demanding compulsory world history, emphasising common scientific-technological heritage, and a special college to train world history teachers. A teacher-educator (1949) condemned courses failing to place european civilisation in its world setting. In 1962, the Times Educational Supplement reminded teachers that "we should see ourselves in perspective ... (and) realise ... that there are numerous other peoples around the globe whose experiences, while different from ours, are of concern to us. It is ... this sense of ... diversity ... that schools should try to induce".⁸³

From the mid-1960s both the frequency and urgency of such calls noticeably increased - stimulated, according to Heater (1980) by the

multicultural society. In 1965, Bryant wrote that "Even european or imperial history cannot now satisfy the demand for a world outlook ... the study ... must include the USA, the USSR, and China". The next year, two important articles were published by Hales, an influential former staff inspector.* In the one, he argued for world history in schools on grounds that, due to the 'global village' syndrome, it told the child "something that he needs to know about". Thus, "some background of american, african and asian history is really important". The second article may well have reached more teachers. Moreover it may have stilled the qualms some felt concerning world history. Our predecessors, he pointed out, had taught the history which seemed to them of contemporary importance. Thus, when modern teachers, because of the integration of world affairs, turned to world history, especially to the history of the major countries today, they were not acting in any revolutionary manner.⁸⁴

Similar pressure recurred throughout the 1970's with world history arguments being advanced in a few articles and books. Chaffer and Taylor (1975) criticised schools' emphasis on british history, called for less concentration on the growth of the nation-state, suggested a british standpoint was "of peripheral importance", insisted that a world framework was "essential" to heritage studies, and concluded with five world history syllabuses in which chinese material was suggested at seven points.⁸⁵

Limited research interest across the range of world history and education for international understanding has also emerged. Dobson (1950) detected some decline in national bias, but largely favourable national attitudes prevailed. Feakes (1953) concluded that stereotypes of the Chinese could be favourably modified in the classroom. Against that, Hamer (1954) found that teaching for 'world understanding' produced no significant attitude changes. In 1966, following detailed study of developments in social science curricula in 100 secondary schools, Smith concluded it essential that school curricula provide "an understanding of the origins of man, his history and common heritage, the interaction of civilisations and the

* A third article from 1966 is considered below, p.135.

mutual indebtedness of nations to each other". History "must no longer be aimed at ... an exclusive nationalism", but should "show young people ... the direction of human development, man's common hopes and aspirations", encouraging "tolerance for people of other races, religions and ideologies", with "both a national and a world perspective". In 1967, Lawrence exposed distorted views and national stereotypes in popular school history books, findings subsequently published in a handbook for history teachers. In 1972, Longden's survey of the world history movement^{*} identified some build-up of interest but strongly criticised the almost exclusive concentration upon political and contemporary material. Doncaster's study (1973) of the use of primary sources in teaching non-european history strongly argued that there was "good reason for tackling one by one the non-western civilisations which have hitherto been ignored ... world history should include a study of non-western peoples". The thesis significantly showed world history's potential for documentary studies in schools, and offered detailed suggestions concerning chinese sources for use. In 1975, Glendenning concluded from a study of british and french textbook attitudes to nine subject peoples that "inevitably their history is seen through european eyes and largely through a study of european secondary sources ... the sum total being ... an expression of european superiority over subject people of other races ... racial stereotypes have been reinforced by schoolbook writers". There had been "an almost universal tendency to select events ... which present the colonising power in the most favourable light". Most recently, Habtai (1981) from analysis of current textbooks, examination syllabuses and school curricula, reached highly critical conclusions on the treatment of Africa in british history teaching.⁸⁶

Some interest has also been traced in a variety of semi-official and official organisations and bodies. The Council for Curriculum Reform (1945) called for "systematic studies of those countries with whom we shall be intimately concerned for the future planning of the world ... the U.S., Soviet Russia, and China". Its chairman was Lauwerys. The Newsom report (1963) advised teachers to "choose contemporary themes which will help ... pupils to understand the

* The first such study in Britain other than Smith's work on international understanding.

world ... English boys and girls need ... to understand the problems of India and China ... Asia is a continent of old and proud cultures". But 'official' awareness of world perspectives received clearest expression in the DES's Towards world history (1967) which advocated looking at the british experience in a 'world' light and concentrating on topics transcending national boundaries and serving the aim of international understanding. That involved less the politics of national government, and more the ways in which peoples had lived and the great movements which had affected civilisations. More specifically, there were 14 references to China (more than to any country save Britain) emphasising that in any world history syllabus both earlier and modern chinese history demanded attention, and criticising "monocular" eurocentrism which ignored "matters of much greater global significance, such as the rise of ... China".⁸⁷

Similar attitudes began to be expressed more strongly by local authorities and groups. Teachers in Bristol and Hampshire published world history ideas in 1967 and 1968 respectively. More important were developments in London, inspired by ILEA's staff inspector. Courses (1969 and 1970) influenced by Henderson were followed by teachers' resource workshops and a report. Resulting teaching materials,^{*} emphasising social perspectives through case studies were gradually introduced into London school syllabuses in the earlier 1970s. They comprised 20 T.V. programmes, five each on Africa, Hispanic America, India and China. Those on China covered the Han, Sung and Ch'ing, Europeans in China, and modern China, and drew upon a wide range of resources. Each programme was supported by a source-collection. Subsequent developments included courses for teachers and the production of a parallel series on comparative social change in China, India and USA.⁸⁸

Influence has also been exerted by the broadcasting media. It is excessive to suggest that the BBC is "the sole organisation ... that has aimed to develop world understanding in its historical dimension": but its "pioneering" influence has been noted even by americans.⁸⁹ Broadcasts were received in 28,000 schools by 1960, by which time schools T.V. had begun (1959). Radio series included Stories from world history (1950-73) in which, though british and commonwealth history were the core, juniors heard stories from other

* Under the aegis of Islay Doncaster.

lands, including China. For seniors, History II (1945-57) gave one of three terms to modern world history, though mainly european in emphasis; Modern history (1957-63) gave two of six terms to 20th century world relationships; The modern world (1963-7) included programmes on China and the Arabs; and World Powers in the 20th century (1978-9) comprised 26 programmes, including six on China. Current affairs programmes for secondary students displaying cultural/scientific emphasis, and including material on China, were also popular. On television, Modern History (1959) set british events in world (largely european) perspective; a series on american history was transmitted in 1963; and History 1918-65 (1965) attempted contemporary world perspective. History 1917-67 (subsequently brought up-to-date, e.g. History 1917-71) covered five world topics, one being China. A further major development, 20th century history, including programmes on China, Japan and India, was seen in 1977. Nor was initiative shown solely by the BBC, as shown by Granada T.V.'s Fifty years series (1968-on) and especially the radical Rediffusion T.V. One world series (1965-on) which sought, though comparative studies of life in Britain and abroad, including China, the reduction of stereotypes in children.⁹⁰

Publishers, too, were involved. In nine of a 44 article History review series on school history books (1957-79) over 20% of titles cited covered 'wider world' topics. Moreover, the annual percentage of such titles showed some increase. The first 20 articles (1957-67) each contained less than 20%. Even in the nine mentioned, steadily increasing world history attention may be detected.* Of 516 books noted in them, 142 (27.52%) were on wider-world topics, and 11 (2.13%) on China.⁹¹

The Schools Council also merits attention, focusing since 1964 on curriculum and examination reform through 15 subject committees. The History 13-16 project (1972-on) advocated a 'discontinuous' five-term syllabus, one-third to be spent on modern world studies, any two of four named topics including modern China. For the latter, a teachers' guide, filmstrip, tape and book were published (1977).⁹²

That project, though formally disbanded in 1977, had considerable impact on school and examination syllabuses. By 1981,

* 21.5%; 23.8%; 26.9%; 21.2%; 22.9%; 23.9%; 53.6%; 31%; and 28.5%.

there were 9108 CSE candidates from 277 schools, and 12567 GCE candidates from 418 schools.^{93*} No less important, however, was the brunerian Integrated Studies 11-14 project (1971-on) centring on basic social themes, one illustrated in part by work on imperial China. That material concentrated upon "questions about excellence in human societies", in historical perspective. It aimed "to stress the continuity of the chinese pattern of life" and "to give a sense of immediacy and reality".⁹⁴ Its influence may be seen in the World Studies 8-13 pilot project (1980-on) involving 40 LEAs by 1981, whose objectives include through study of "cultures and countries other than one's own, and the ways they are different from, and similar to, one's own", and encouragement of "a world perspective which emphasises the interdependence of all humanity".⁹⁵

Some enterprise has also been shown by examining boards. What history was examined in the earlier years^{**} was exclusively national and classical, and even after world war, the School Certificate (1917-on) was no improvement and attracted severe criticism (though not specifically for the fact that all seven boards offered english history, six european, only one american and none any wider-world history).⁹⁶ The GCE examination was similarly open to criticism. Of 57 schools surveyed in 1963, only 19 taught any 20th century history; and a 1967 survey showed overwhelmingly british and european syllabus content, only two offering U.S. history, and only four any world syllabuses.⁹⁷

Most boards, however, had syllabuses with some 'world' emphasis by 1970. 'World affairs, 1919 to the present', arising from school initiatives, was accepted by London, who examined the first 764 candidates (36 schools) in 1967. By 1973, there were 5200 candidates, and by 1980, 8,000.⁹⁸ Even earlier initiative had been taken by the Associated Board in the 1950's with 'Britain and world affairs', but, attracting only 116 candidates in 1960 (one-tenth of the numbers for any british option) it was withdrawn. Resurrected, it drew 221 in 1966, 1910 in 1971, and, renamed 'World affairs since 1914', 11406 in 1981. From 1972, the AEB also ran 'World powers and world events in the twentieth century', which by 1981 had increased from 378 to 833 candidates; and from 1979, 'World powers in the 20th

* Impact is currently (1983) ongoing. Additional Schools Council financial support was extended to 1982.

** The London board started 1838, Oxford and Cambridge locals 1858, the Oxbridge joint board 1874.

century', giving much greater attention to China, with 437 by 1981. The Joint Matriculation Board, too, had introduced its 'Great powers 1870-1939' paper in 1964, with 2327 candidates. That developed into 'Europe and the modern world' from 1969, with 10014 candidates, and by 1980, 20,108 (691 centres). In addition, a new A/O syllabus, 'China, Japan and India in modern times,' took its first candidates in 1981. Similarly, the Southern Board (1968-on) the Oxford and Cambridge locals (1970-on) and the Oxford and Cambridge Board (mid 1960's) all introduced world history syllabuses by 1970, the Cambridge locals allowing partial specialisation in contemporary China.

At 'A' level, four boards offered syllabuses including world history by the early 1970's though one (Cambridge locals) had originated in 1943, with its five candidates free to choose questions on the Far East, India, South America and other world regions. That mutated (1946) into the 'World Affairs' syllabus, with 204 candidates in 1980. No less significant, however, was London's 'Great powers in the Far East' (1970-on).⁹⁹

Criticism of GCE boards of concentrating almost exclusively on British and European history has been too sweeping.¹⁰⁰ On the other hand, the CSE undoubtedly gave much needed impetus.¹⁰¹ Set up in 1965, it owed its origins to the search for a more relevant curriculum following comprehensivisation, and thus offered evident opportunities for new curriculum content. All 14 boards offered '20th century world' options, and though most candidates preferred domestic choices, the new examination was straightway seen as "encouraging more detailed study of extra-British history".¹⁰² By the early 1970's CSE history examined more candidates than GCE, and though only a minority offered 'world' options, subsequent growth was striking. Candidates for East Anglia's four world history syllabuses rose to 8193 by 1981; those for the South Eastern board's syllabus from 811 in 1965 to 4815 by 1980; for the Lancashire board from 105 (1966) to 1506 (1980); for the Yorkshire board from 151 to 2506 (1981); for the West Yorks and Lindsey board to 805 (1981); and for the North Western board's paper from 394 (1966) to 5284 (1981). Even by 1972, Longden was concluding that CSE had given "very considerable boost to the development and expansion of world history teaching", not least because it broke "the vicious circle of there being little because there were few world history textbooks ... A vast new examinations market was being created and teachers ... could be reasonably certain

that publishers would be keen to exploit it".¹⁰³ Subsequent impetus was given by the Schools Council 13-16 project. From 1972, 2,000 children in 60 schools followed it, taking the first examinations in 1976, by which time the growing commitment in schools was evident. In 1981, of the East Anglian board's 8193 candidates for its four 'world' syllabuses, 2211 entered for SCP History (joint).¹⁰⁴

In more recent years, an active part has also been played by higher education.* Little evidence has been unearthed from the 1950's and one writer (1950) regretted the lack of university interest in international relations by comparison with the USA.¹⁰⁵ The importance in the 1960's of the London University Institute of Education has already been suggested, however, and was further demonstrated by a chair in the teaching of international relations (1960) and teachers' conferences on world history curricula (1962-3). In 1977, the institute offered 10 world history courses.¹⁰⁶ By the same decade, 'world'-focussed activities were taking place in teacher-education institutions including the Cambridge and Keele institutes of education, Westminster College Oxford, Leicester and North Staffs polytechnics, St. Martins Lancaster, Jordanhill, Plymouth,, Didsbury, Edge Hill, Wall Hall, Coventry and Winchester colleges. By the late 1970s, Oxford Polytechnic could host a conference on international education in higher education institutions (1979) and it was thought worthwhile setting up a World Studies Teacher-Education Network. In the same period, a resources centre opened at Newman College, Birmingham, to assist teachers interested in Africa, Japan and China; a similar venture began at Southampton with Unesco support; and a third at Groby College, Leicester, publishing its quarterly World Studies Journal, which from 1981 also included WSTEN materials.

Closely involved with these has been the One World Trust, founded in 1952 to help children achieve "a world perspective ... an understanding and a tolerance ... for the innumerable traditions and patterns of behaviour found throughout the world ... an awareness of supranational loyalties as the necessary condition for the legitimate fulfilment of national ones".¹⁰⁷ In 1973 the trust launched its World Studies Project to promote curriculum innovation. Over the next seven years, with DES** support, the project published

* For SOAS, see infra, pp.138-9.

** And Leverhulme Trust.

materials for classroom use,¹⁰⁸ was involved in 250 in-service courses, and, through its World Studies Bulletin, took over 14 issues of New Era.¹⁰⁹ In 1980, in conjunction with the Lancaster Centre for Peace Studies, a curriculum project, World Studies 8-13 was set up as a Schools Council pilot project.* The Schools Council's director of studies became WEF's british chairman from 1982. The joint chairman of the WSP steering group from 1973 was Henderson. The editor of New Era, the ILEA staff inspector for history, and such as Heater and Doncaster were also involved. The One World Trust was itself founded by the PGWG. The network effect is again apparent.

Closer scrutiny of post-war growth of interest in chinese history and culture among british educators is now appropriate. Growth of interest there undoubtedly has been.¹¹⁰ In 1963 a new department at Leeds supplemented those at Cambridge, Durham, London and Oxford.¹¹¹ In 1966, an "upsurge of interest" in asian history was detected, going "far beyond the immediate objective of explaining ... the asian revolution", and considering Asia "in relation to its own inheritance" though study of literary, scientific, technological and social achievement.¹¹² Two years later, a growing number of social scientists wishing to specialise in China was reported. Particularly in respect of the language, study of the Times Educational Supplement throughout the 1960s suggests quickening of interest, with correspondence advocating Chinese in schools; announcement of a Chinese course supported by work on history, culture and contemporary affairs at Abingdon, with co-operation from the Cambridge examining board; developments in over a dozen further education colleges with Schools Council support; the first western conference on chinese literature; Chinese lessons on radio; and even discussion in parliament.¹¹³

That surge of interest cannot be considered without reference to the chinese communist revolution, which "forced historians and others to reconsider their basic presuppositions about Asia and Asia's place in the World", since "it was soon found that the attempt to understand ... led back into the distant past ... that much about the new China was deeply rooted in the old".¹¹⁴ However, it is important to stress that, as in the pre-war period, growth of interest in China in british educational institutions must be seen against a backcloth of broadening concern for historical studies of more global vision,

* Part funded by Rowntree Trust

which, though influence from christian or humanistic conviction should not be discounted, has itself been galvanised by world political events.

In respect of historical studies on China, some influential voices have already been mentioned, not least Unesco, Barraclough, Dance and Toynbee.¹¹⁵ As with world history, the position of Toynbee is evident, his work accepting both the past and future centrality of China in the metahistorical pattern. In 1948 he produced a powerful plea for world history through chinese examples.* The world lay in the hands of the "notoriously race-conscious ... English-speaking peoples", but return eastwards of the human fulcrum was inevitable. The chinese empire had been "the oldest, most successful and most beneficent of ... political institutions", its people intelligent, broadminded and statesmanlike. Other nations' "parish pump politics", "unedifying anarchy" and audacious pretensions stood in sharp contrast. Nonetheless, Britain's "international crime" had initiated a period of western supremacy. That had forced the East to re-think, whilst by contrast the West was stuck in "archaic mud", a "local civilisation", hugging "smug and slovenly" illusions. Westerners must now readjust their historical outlooks and accept that "the past histories of our ... living contemporaries - Chinese, Japanese, Hindus and Muslims - are going to become a part of our western past history in a future world which will inherit all cultures". Our children would grow to be "heirs of Confucius and Lao-tse as well as Socrates, Plato and Plotinus".¹¹⁶

Toynbee's insistence on the study of chinese history was thrown into sharper relief, however, by its rarity. Only five other items of substance directly advocating the study of chinese history at any level have been found in popular journals. In History, a 14-year blank followed the Toynbee article. Support then came from the apparently unlikely figure of Butterfield (1962) who urged western historians to investigate in particular chinese historiography, to enrich appreciation of their own tradition. The West needed a better understanding of the East. Historical study could give insight into "just the things which are most profound and ... most assuredly permanent". That required intensified study of chinese historiography by non-specialists, to capitalise upon the advances already achieved.

* The first material of any substance on China in History since 1916.

Moreover, danger of superficiality in history in universities and schools must be tackled by digging deep into the history of the East.¹¹⁷

In another journal, a second writer (1968) briefly described attempts to teach chinese history in a liberal studies programme, cautioned against ethnocentricity and argued both for studying modern China in world perspective and for earlier chinese history as part of education for world understanding.¹¹⁸

A third writer (1972) attempted to establish the value of teaching chinese history in schools, both to further an understanding of China in the modern world and also because of its intrinsic interest.¹¹⁹ The same author in subsequent articles (1974, 1975) brought together extensive lists of resources - text books, novels and other materials - and asserted that the only significant obstacle to teaching about China in schools was the lack of cultural background.^{120*}

A few other brief references in journals likely to be read by teachers have been discovered. Contributors to History, for instance, have sporadically pointed to the need for "China, or some other neglected topic" (1942); recommended beginning asian geography with Marco Polo (1944); observed that "the last great war began in Manchuria" (1947); perceived chinese history as a topic "about which we shall all in the future need to know much more"; asserted that her earlier history had "not been adequately covered for children" (1962); and insisted that in schools there was "now no reason for the history of China ... being treated with less intellectual precision ... than the history of France" (1976).¹²¹ Teachers going on to read academic reviews in the same journal may have been given further food for thought by occasional references to the potential fascination and world importance of chinese topics, including the first-ever reminder in a popular british journal (1964) that chinese events should be studied in the context of chinese history.¹²² In more recent years, moreover, the growing number of reviews may have made some teachers ponder: six pages of reviews on chinese history in 1975, five in 1977.¹²³

* He failed to take into account obstacles related to racial and ethnic stereotyping in adults and children (See supra, pp.28-34; infra, pp.85-90, 303-13).

A small number of recommendations have been traced in other journals. An important Times Literary Supplement article in 1966 suggested that cultural, social, religious and economic aspects of asian, especially chinese, history could open up more universalist and comparative historical perspectives for westerners. An equally important New Era article in 1971 made strong use of chinese examples in advocacy of world history. Our teaching betrayed a preoccupation with western european history, especially "futile" national entities. Chinese inventions, for instance, should comprise a "major subject of discussion", yet enjoyed "hardly any mention". History syllabuses must be reassessed to bring out the "mutual indebtedness" of world areas. "Chinese, African and Indian history ... are integrated parts of our modern consciousness ... we must be concerned with (these) other civilisations".¹²⁴

In addition, teachers cannot have overlooked some references to chinese history as supportive of the language study advocated in some issues of the Times Educational Supplement. There were none before a letter in 1961 calling for "rapid increase in the number of those able to read chinese sources in the original", adding that study of the historical and cultural background would be "essential". Correspondence followed, suggesting that oriental departments establish links with schools. The following year a special feature on learning Chinese was accompanied by the paper's first front page comment on the subject. Knowledge of China's ways was imperative: "A great number of people with detailed knowledge of chinese language, history, thought and customs" was needed. There was "matter here for everyone ... historian and sociologist, art student and political scientist".^{125*}

Influences upon any aspect of school curriculum development can not be surveyed without reference to specialist scholarship. As previously noted,¹²⁶ the period saw rapid advances, in which american research schools such as the Harvard East Asian Center were prominent. The Far Eastern Quarterly was launched in 1941,^{**} and the Association for Asian Studies in 1948. In 1968 the president of the

* Regrettably, the newspaper failed to pursue the subject, save for occasional letters and notes and a brief article in 1972 (E. O'Connor, in TES 25/8/1972,4) advocating work on chinese civilisation as part of an area studies approach.

** J. of Asian Studies 1956-on.

American Historical Association noted "a flow of new work in chinese studies", and claimed that the "unprecedented attention" currently given by the AHA to Asia indicated a new "sense of global balance".¹²⁷ The next year, the American Historical Review, after 80 years of relative neglect,¹²⁸ printed three articles on China and two on other east asian topics. Meanwhile, the fruits of U.S. scholarship were being synthesised for teachers by the Service Center for Asian Studies, set up in 1971 to advise on the best available materials.

Likewise in Britain, published scholarship increased greatly.* Much was written for specialists, but a growing number of university scholars bridged the gap between minutiae and general readability, brought the world significance of chinese history more clearly than before to public attention, and made rich resources, largely from indigenous textual or archaeological evidence, available for use by enterprising teachers. They included Waley, offering westerners their first real insight into chinese views of the opium war; Needham, revolutionising western perceptions of world science and technology; and a dozen others.¹²⁹ In 1962 the Cambridge scholar Purcell produced a pamphlet representing a turning-point in the study and teaching of chinese history in Britain. Only the second Historical Association publication on China in 56 years,** it clearly showed teachers the "ineluctable facts" of the continuity of chinese civilisation and its importance to the world. In addition, it conveyed to the non-specialist, probably for the first time in most cases, knowledge of Needham's findings concerning China's scientific and technological influence on the West throughout history.¹³⁰

Needham's place in the true understanding of world cultural evolution may be compared to Darwin's in biological studies. Like Darwin he has destroyed the shibboleths of generations. His work, seen as having "brought us closer to the point at which a genuine dialogue can take place between the ancient East and the modern West",¹³¹ demands closer scrutiny in any study of world-historical perspectives in british education.

A research biochemist, Needham worked closely with chinese scientists before and during the war, when he developed his

* Though not in the mainstream historical journals. (See infra, pp.150-1, 258-60).

** See also J.T. Pratt, China and Japan, 1944.

conviction "that chinese civilisation had played a role of hitherto unrecognised amplitude in the history of science and technology".¹³² He later lectured internationally for Unesco on the unity of science, in particular the chinese contribution, and became in turn FRS, master of Gonville and Caius and foreign member of Academia Sinica.

In 1954, when prominent U.S. scholars were lamenting that "the native roots of science and technology in China have not yet been thoroughly examined",¹³³ the first of seven planned volumes of Science and Civilisation in China was published. It claimed chinese civilisation to be "essentially autochthonous". Medieval China had maintained levels of scientific knowledge "unapproached in the West". Nonetheless, China had been "greatly misunderstood", and westerners had completely overlooked a "long succession" of technical discoveries taken over from her over a period of 13 centuries.¹³⁴

Needham's reviewer (1956) believed the work "of the highest importance. Until now, even by those who know vaguely that the Chinese had printing or gunpowder or paper money centuries before the West, such scraps of information have generally been looked upon as isolated curiosities with no real bearing on the course of human history ... Needham's work promises ... to make this attitude for evermore impossible".¹³⁵ Regrettably, its closely detailed volumes have probably been rarely read in full. However, a good part of Needham's published work was subsequently distilled into four more-manageable books (1969, 1970, 1975, 1981).¹³⁶ In one (1969) claiming that "an overall picture of the world's indebtedness to East Asia, especially China, is emerging very clearly", he insisted that it would be "better to admit that men of the asian cultures also helped to lay the foundations of maths and all the sciences ... (and) to give more attention to the history and values of the non-european civilisations ... no less exalted and inspiring than our own ... let us give up that intellectual pride which boasts that 'We are the people and wisdom was born with us'". In another (1970) pointing out that "few have any idea of the extent to which medieval european technology was indebted to the Far East", he painted formidably universalist landscapes. Modern science included "contributions from all the peoples of the old world, and each ... has flowed continuously into it, whether from greek and roman antiquity .. the arabic world or ... the cultures of China and of India".¹³⁷

No teacher reading any of the four, and genuinely seeking to show children interactional patterns in world history, could have

justified failure radically to restructure history syllabuses and in particular to give China much greater prominence. Certainly, there could no longer be any excuse for perpetuation in schools of Hearnshaw's image (1924) of "the somewhat segregated civilisations of China and India", in which "above all, China went on its lonely way isolated from ... the advancing world".^{138*}

Besides individual scholars, a number of English-language magazines¹³⁹ (some Peking-based) specialist journals¹⁴⁰ and sympathetic organisations¹⁴¹ have disseminated knowledge about contemporary and historic China to a widening public. Of organisations, the most influential educationally has been the Society for Anglo-Chinese Understanding (1965-on) which, besides conferences and cultural exhibitions, has offered a speakers service to schools and colleges, and has published several resource packs on china for teachers, an irregular series, China In the News, and a popular magazine, China Now. Two issues of the latter (1978,1983) have been devoted to teaching about China.^{142**}

SACU's founder-president was Needham, but support has also been given by staff of the London School of Oriental and African Studies, which, through direct teacher-contacts, has undoubtedly been most vigorous of all english universities in supporting world perspectives in schools, not least in respect of China. Its growth was stimulated by war, then by the Scarborough report (1946) which condemned british neglect of oriental, slavonic and african studies as "unworthy of our country and people" and urged university leadership, especially at SOAS. Further impetus came from the Hayter report (1961) the Robbins report (1963) and large-scale funded research. The history department became Britain's largest historical research school and five new research centres included one on far eastern studies.¹⁴³ By 1979 there were 220 academic staff, including 24 specialists on chinese history and society; the library held 500,000 books, including 1200 early works on China; the Percival David Foundation was recognised as one of the world's leading collections of chinese art; and the Contemporary China Institute, publishing its China Quarterly, was a leading world centre for research. Overall, SOAS was the world's

* Needham's impact was complemented by the exhibition of traditional chinese medicine at the Wellcome Museum,1966.

** The 1978 attempt was disappointingly superficial, with an inadequate list of recommended books for schools.

largest afro-asian studies school, offering 68 degree courses including Chinese, plus options including history, east asian history, and chinese-japanese history. Chinese law, art and geography could also be taken as degree components.¹⁴⁴

One distinctive contribution has been in the relatively neglected ¹⁴⁵ field of chinese historiography. Conferences in the 1950s culminated in a major publication on asian historical writings (1961) including one volume on China and Japan. That work induced a sharper realisation among european and british history specialists, including Butterfield (1962) of the importance of China's cultural tradition.¹⁴⁶

Even more important to the present study has been SOAS's close interest in schools. The first TES letter (1961) urging chinese language and history in schools and the first TES article (1972) advocating chinese history were penned by a professor of chinese and an extramural studies director.¹⁴⁷ The extramural division started in 1952. Many teachers' courses on world and chinese history were promoted (45 conferences and 100 lectures 1978-9) besides sixth-form conferences (ten, 1978-9, attended by over 1,000).¹⁴⁸ A teacher-fellowship scheme started 1964, its 105 fellows by 1980 comprising an important network. Subsequently, a resources centre was established, producing curriculum and resources handbooks and drawing upon fellowship programmes in the process.¹⁴⁹

Lastly, more 'popular' stimuli to chinese history in schools demand consideration. History Today contained from 1951 a number of relevant articles. Striking examples included vignettes (1951,1953) of the fall of Loyang ("a turning-point in history") and the Han period's great urban centres; a suggestion (1954) that China's printing of her classics was more important to world civilisation than the fall of Constantinople; insistence (1955) that "the modern world is still in debt to China"; an illustrated introduction to chinese history since 1644 (1962); and sketches (1974, 1975, 1977) of T'ang court life, Cheng Ho's voyages and Ricci in China.¹⁵⁰ In 1980, two SOAS scholars joined the editorial board. The December 1980 issue contained three articles on China and Tibet.

Even more 'popular' influences on teachers' attitudes to China's past and present included writers such as Han Suyin, whose A many-splendoured thing (1952) was successfully filmed; Buck; Smedley; van Gulik; Snow; Myrdal; Hinton; and Greene.¹⁵¹ The latter's TV series (1972) aroused interest, as did Harris's radio programmes

(1973) on China's traditional/modern interface and Ivens' TV films on contemporary China (1982).¹⁵² Newspapers and magazine articles probably stimulated interest also.¹⁵³ The most notable popular influence, however, was London's great Chinese Exhibition (1973-4). Its 380 artefacts evidenced to 771,466 visitors "a marvellously versatile aesthetic culture" of "magisterial continuity", and demonstrated that the chinese genius extended "much further back through history than many westerners imagine".¹⁵⁴ Its impact upon teachers' thinking must have been considerable, especially if followed-up by visits to the permanent exhibitions in London and the provinces.¹⁵⁵

Clearly, there has been sustained pressure from certain quarters for teachers to give greater attention to world, in some cases chinese history with children. Furthermore, that pressure has not lacked effect. As early as 1950, history teaching was noted to be "less burdened with national prejudice ... broader in its scope and human sympathies"; whilst in 1953 "an increasingly important place" for other peoples' history, heroes and culture in school curricula was detected.¹⁵⁶ The frequency of such references later increased. One scholar (1964) reported "a move away from anglocentric, and even from eurocentric history" in schools; whilst HMI (1967) applauded schools' introduction of world history for international understanding, with study of past and present civilisations in their own right.¹⁵⁷

The pace further quickened in the 1970s. A trend away from "restricted insularity that concentrated ... on the history of England" was noted in 1972; Teaching History (1977) observed non-european history to be "well-established in many british schools ... a trend which is likely to continue"; and by 1979 a leading advocate felt world history to be "coming of age".¹⁵⁸ Moreover, there were occasional references to world history teaching to lower secondary forms by the 1970s.¹⁵⁹

Nonetheless, as with the pre-war period,¹⁶⁰ any success of the advocacy described must not be over-estimated. Serious neglect of world history has persisted throughout british education to the present day. The sanguine opinions of such as Campbell (1960) or Needham (1970) did not reflect the attitudes of most post-war british educators.¹⁶¹ It can safely be asserted that even by the 1980s, world history - and in particular the history of non-european areas

such as China - was largely absent from the education of a majority of british children.

Evidence can only be selectively quoted. In 1949 it was observed that history teaching suffered from "narrowness and incompleteness ... it fails to place european civilisation in a world setting". In 1956 it was "possible ... to listen to a history lesson which has learnt nothing since 1906". In 1962, school textbooks revealed "the arrogance of our imperial past" and created stereotypes of non-Europeans. In 1964, secondary school history seemed "largely the story of national and class conflicts". In 1966 it was "doubtful whether ... Latin America, the Middle East, the Soviet Union and China have been awarded a place ... commensurate with their significance". In 1967, the DES noted that "the only attention given to any history outside that of Europe is paid to certain parts of the British Commonwealth ... in a substantial proportion of cases, not even this brief excursion is made ... the attention paid to world history in our own country is small".¹⁶² A particularly damning picture was painted by the former HMI Hales (1966). World history was "very far from having won the day". There was a preoccupation with England, severely restricting european material and almost excluding the rest of the world. Interest in the USA was "rare", in Russia "rarer", and in South America or China "almost completely non-existent". A large body of opinion believed that english political and social history must remain the core. That opinion was strongest in the universities, whose emphasis was "even more evidently upon english history, with all that this implies for the intending school teacher".¹⁶³

Nor have such observations died away in the last decade. The staff inspector for history (1971) admitted it was "foolish not to recognise how much traditional teaching, both in content and method, still goes on". Longden's research (1972) showed world history making "few inroads ... below fourth form level ... british history still seems to predominate. Many clearly regard this as fit and proper". Developments with upper forms reflected, not positive teacher-interest, but mere pragmatism, so that most syllabuses were "firmly entrenched in the present century", their content "predominantly political".* Doncaster (1973) found "little

* His investigation of 211 'world history' books published 1964-70 showed only 15 covering earlier periods (R Longden, 'History and validity of teaching world history in England', MA, 1972, 222).

attention" to non-western pre-modern history. Most schools were slow to produce new syllabuses for lower classes, even in ILEA. Wright (1974) noted "a vicious circle of poverty" in teaching about the non-european world. Tames (1974) perceived the british child's world-view relegating Latin America, South East Asia and Japan "to the periphery". Steele (1976) complained: "the great majority ... still take examinations that are traditional ... outline british or european history". A college lecturer (1976) maintained that "only too frequently" ignorance about the non-western world was found in school leavers. Inglis (1979) found "most striking neglect" of non-western societies and cultures in GCE papers. Even in 1981, school history was represented as implying "that no non-european civilisation has made a contribution". In most schools the curriculum appeared "a white one that implies that Asians, West Indians and Africans are not worthy of mention ... rarely does the curriculum mention the artistic, literary and intellectual achievements of Asia and Africa". That same year, Habtai concluded the scope for improvement, due to the priorities of the schools, to be "limited".¹⁶⁴

The evidence of lack of interest is diverse, and a few random examples must suffice. In 1961, 9,000 leaflets were issued for a 'one-world' syllabus competition: 39 entries were received. A local authority course (1969) entitled 'History: Why? What? How?' showed no awareness of the wider world. A researcher (1973) contrasted what he saw as less and more desirable syllabuses. The one was largely british, the other european: virtually no 'world' interest was displayed. Of 12 history series broadcast by ITV in 1974-5, none showed any wider purposes. Of six popular school syllabuses cited by the Schools Council history project director (1975) five centred on Britain. A college of education/schoolteachers curriculum working group (1975) showed strong anglocentrism. Of six prizewinners in the Teaching History essay competition in 1978, four wrote on England, the others on Europe and Jerusalem. Even a progressive organisation of school history teachers in Cambridge has shown negligible interest: of 52 meetings between 1966 and 1976, only three or four studied the wider world, and not one its non-european regions.¹⁶⁵

More scientifically valid evidence may be cited from Smith's research findings (1966). In 85% of schools, the core of lower school history was Britain. Only 21% taught about Europe, 6% America and 28% world affairs. CEWC and Unesco publications reached a minority of

schools, and few teachers had read them. Most had no recollection of 'history and international understanding' ever being discussed. Only 35% favoured teaching recent world history. Only 40% of heads of history felt one objective should be world understanding. Only 10% of principals could evidence staff awareness, and only 15% had any related personal philosophy. One believed Heraclitus and Aristotle more valuable than world education. Another dismissed it as an "educational frill".¹⁶⁶

A similar impression has arisen from a questionnaire (1981) to 200 teachers in three LEAs, plus 100 LEA history advisers. Of 128 respondents, who all experienced secondary and tertiary education between 1939 and 1978, whilst 100% recollected learning about european history, only 85.94% recollected north american history, 82.81% russian, 50% islamic, 43.75% world themes, 39.06% south asian, 23.44% african, 21.87% east asian, excluding China, and only 20.31% south american. Comments included: My fundamental criticism ... is that it was appallingly eurocentric (1936-1955); and "I was taught history consistently from an empire loyalist point of view with christian undertones" (1939-1955).¹⁶⁷

Even when world history has found its way into school and external examination syllabuses or textbooks, such developments should be viewed cautiously, since, as several scholars have observed, the reality has often been "Western civilisation ... with an afro-asian fig-leaf".¹⁶⁸ In 1944, for instance, one writer thought "a reasonable course of world history" to consist of prehistory, the mediterranean and classical worlds, the middle ages, the age of discovery, 18th century colonies and revolutions, and modern british and european history. Brimble and May's (1950) call for world-wide scope was followed by a syllabus evincing little interest in non-Europeans. Hill's 'world history' suggestions for Unesco (1953) were european both in content and attitude. A college of education's view of 'universal history' (1965) was completely euro-centrist, stressing "the civilisations and movements which have contributed most to our own inheritance". Otherwise admirable school books published in the 1970's were all "firmly rooted in the tradition of the european nation-state".¹⁶⁹

The unpalatable truth is, that narrow horizons, shallow human empathy and indifference to any genuine world-historical studies have persisted to the present. In 1981, for instance, 200 heads of history in secondary schools in three LEAs and 100 history advisers

were asked to envisage history courses taught by area approaches, and, bearing in mind both theoretical and practical constraints on curriculum planning in history, to rank 14 given areas.* Among only 128 respondents, world history was placed first by 25%, but placed last by 9.37%. Its average scale placing was 4.84/14. Against that, 37.5% placed british history first, only 4.69% eighth or below, and its average position was 2.60. Likewise, 26.56% ranked english history first, and 15.62% local history, and whilst only 7.81% placed Europe first, a further 56% made it second or third, and only 6.25% sixth or below (none below ninth) its average placing 2.95. By contrast, only 7.8%, 9.37%, 1.56% and 3.12% placed Africa, East Asia excluding China, Hispanic America and the Near/Middle East respectively in the first five (31.25% ranking Hispanic America 13th or 14th) with average placings of 9.17, 9.61, 11.17 and 9.93. Indian history was placed in the first five by only 1.56%, the first eight by 10.93%, and the last four by 50%, with an average ranking of 10.92. Even North America ranked in the first three for only 10.93%, Russia for 14.06% and the British Commonwealth for 6.25%, with average placings respectively of 5.80, 5.99 and 8.82. Those figures contrasted sharply with local history's placing in the first three by 43.75%, the first five by 75%, the last six by 7.81% and with an average scale position of 4.36.**

Such attitudes are hardly surprising when those betrayed by a variety of influential bodies, publications and individuals are considered. When the Norwood committee (1943) asked teachers to consider the value of specified additions to the history syllabus, it made no mention of world history. In 1947, official opinion was that children should study relationships between Britain, her empire and

* Africa, North America, Hispanic America, Asia, Britain, British Commonwealth, China, England, Europe, India, local history, Near and Middle East, Russia, world history. (The exercise makes no claim to any scientific validity. Clearly, formulating such a preference is something many teachers would not consciously do. Yet it is evident that such judgements are continually being made by teachers and others. The exercise gives a guide, no more, to the way a random group of educators see the world in relation to history teaching).

** It should be noted that these figures are to be treated with caution, due to some respondents bracketing areas. This has favoured the less popular areas, since a few respondents bracketed all after the first half dozen together, which raised the average score on the 1-14 scale of Africa, Hispanic America, East Asia, the British Commonwealth, India and the Near/Middle East.

UNO. World and non-european history were ignored. In 1948, an official publication on world society at no point advised the teaching of world history. The oft-cited Teaching history (1952) gave 20 lines to world history (seven to Asia) in 91 pages. Virtually all examples given of possible teaching material referred to England, especially local history, with strong stress on history for moral example.¹⁷¹

'Official' attitudes showed little change almost two decades later. The Plowden committee (1967) though arguing that immigrant culture could enrich the curriculum, exemplified only english events and ignored anything beyond Europe. They did stress, however, historical stories for "moral development", to offer children a "habitual vision of greatness": all examples were drawn from England and Europe. Three years later, two indicative articles were published by the staff inspector for history. The first concentrated on historical method: the second, 'new approaches to history teaching' on the centrality of family and environmental history. Neither made more than passing reference to wider-world syllabus content.¹⁷²

A study of post-war books on the study and teaching of history has revealed a similar picture. The Historical Association (1944) heavily emphasised british and european political history, with moral-ethical overtones, and made only 11 one-word references to non-european countries in 26 pages.* A further association publication (1946) despite supporting cultural history to encourage respect for alien peoples, suggested syllabus centred upon the classical world, Europe and especially Britain, with few references to non-european lands, and recommended 58 books for teacher-use including 38 on Britain. The same year, Rowse, though "led to mention world history ... in which english historians have not much ambition to shine", gave only one of 247 pages to it and then only a quote from Wells plus a list of universal histories, including Ranke's Weltgeschichte: "I have not read it".¹⁷³

Examples are also found in publications (1950-1958) by Strong,** a director of education and former teacher and inspector. History in the primary school (1950) though admitting that "history comprehends the whole field of the endeavours of mankind", argued for british

* Longden's favourable interpretation of it was quite incorrect (R. Longden, op cit, 1971, 165).

** Despite his own advocacy of broader perspectives in Teaching for international understanding (1952) written for Unesco.

history emphasis, included examples mainly of british topics, and nowhere mentioned world history. Enjoying five reprints in 14 years, it paralleled Strong's New Primary Histories (1951) which presented a euro-centrist world view direct to children. History in the secondary school (1958, 1964) again stressed the broader perspective and the need "to imbue children with a spirit of sympathy and tolerance towards peoples different from themselves and societies unlike their own". Strong then argued that history's basic role was education for citizenship, and advanced an anglo and euro-centrist syllabus whose first year, after "some reference" to civilisations including China and Islam, focused on Europe and ended with 1066; whose second year, after references to non-Europeans and "recapitulation of chinese civilisation", was exclusively european and ended with the industrial revolution; whose third year was even more narrow, with brief mention of the "awakening" (sic) of Japan, and the dismemberment of China; and whose fourth year, following recapitulation of world civilisations, including China, studied in detail modern western social developments. Not surprisingly, Strong's own secondary textbooks (1933-64) are open to serious criticism.¹⁷⁴

Neglect may be found much more recently, however. Ballard's edition of essays (1970) on 'new movements' in history averred that "history teaching must break out of the narrow nationalistic strait-jacket in which it has lived for so long", but gave only 10 of 234 pages to world history. Lamont (1972) and contributors clearly believed that the 'realities' of teaching history lay not in curriculum content but in process of inquiry and showed no awareness of any need for world history. Jones (1973) and contributors showed little recognition of necessity for change in syllabus content, save for Chaffer's condemnation of british history emphases. Jones himself, in respect of 'A' level work, suggested improvements involving no more than the replacement of one english topic by another ("problems that could be investigated from both national and local sources") or a european topic, his interest focusing not upon the content, but upon the methodology of the New History. Likewise, Steele (1976) though noting "good reasons" for world history in schools, gave only three of 125 pages to it. Of his contributors, only one gave any extra-european exemplification, and then only a five-line reference. G. Jones and Ward's attack (1978) on the 'process' approach failed to mention world history in its 156 pages.

Most recently, Blyth (1982) despite contrary avowals, argued that primary school history should be national, offered largely local and environmental suggestions, sketched five syllabuses of which three were exclusively national and in an 'English and world history' syllabus gave 6 out of 10 topics to England.¹⁷⁵

Most influential, perhaps, has been Burston, interpreter of Collingwood's philosophy of history for teachers. Collingwood, himself influenced by Dilthey and others, insisted upon history as a non-scientific mode of experience lacking absolute importance or relevance save to the extent that it is re-enacted in the imagination. He thus rejected concepts of general historical progress. The better or worse aspects of history were those which the imagination could or could not penetrate.¹⁷⁶

These influential ideas¹⁷⁷ ought to have opened up an attack upon scientism and related assumptions, and in some ways Burston's interpretation of them did exert progressive leverage upon a generation of history teachers.¹⁷⁸ But in important articles (1950-51) he advanced a conservative view of syllabus content, only mentioning world history, Russia and America once each (and then disparagingly) excluding any recognition of the non-european world and asserting: "It is an advantage ... to limit the outline to ... english history ... (though) later ... an attempt should be made to widen the horizon by starting with an outline of the history of Europe, and still later, of western civilisation". Again, Principles of history teaching (1963-1972) paid little attention to questions of curriculum content and thus contributed little to the world history argument. Where subject content was approached, all quoted examples referred to english history. "English history should form the core ... it is more relevant to the needs of the citizen (promoting) a critical awareness of the problems which are our most direct concern". Probably most influential, however, was Burston's Handbook for History Teachers. The 1962 edition's main sections were local history, sources, buildings, museums, social studies and civics. There was no section on world history. Of 716 pages, 17 covered Asia. A chapter on syllabuses only mentioned world history once and suggested an exclusively british and european secondary syllabus. Even in the 1972 edition, only nine pages were given to world history.¹⁷⁸

No less influential have been the major historical journals. The English Historical Review clearly shows that movements towards

world history ought not to be overstressed. Between 1939 and 1943, for instance, of 133 articles, 106 (79.70%) were on England. No awareness was shown of America, China, Japan or Russia, though the embryology of the Saxon Chronicle and 12th century livestock prices received attention.¹⁷⁹ Stress on early english domestic history prevailed until 1972, when emphasis switched to modern history.* Even then, however, concentration on England remained. Of 191 articles between 1972 and 1979, 112 were on England (58.64%) as against 12 (6.28%) on South America, India, Africa and the islamic world combined. There were no articles on North America, none on East Asia, and none with world-historical perspectives.¹⁸⁰

Equally disturbing tendencies have been shown in other journals. One university launched a new journal in 1947, with world war fresh in the memory: yet all articles in the first issue looked at british, european or local history.¹⁸¹ History Today came out in 1951. Between 1951 and 1980, of 2656 articles, 1036 (39.01%) concentrated on Britain, 757 (28.5%) on Europe and 253 (9.52%) on North America. The rest of the world was represented by 546 articles (20.56%). Those included 95 on Russia (3.58%) 79 on India (2.97%) 76 on Africa (2.86%) 94 on the Near and Middle East (3.54%) 49 on Hispanic America (1.84%) 39 on the Antipodes, the Pacific and Indian oceans (1.47%) 103 on East Asia (3.88%) and 11 on global history (0.41%). In September 1979, all items were on Britain.¹⁸² The Journal of Contemporary History first appeared in 1966.** Between then and 1977, of 480 articles, only 57 (11.87%) covered the world outside Europe and America and 32 of those (6.66%) scrutinised the Near and Middle East. Fourteen (2.92%) dealt with South and East Asia.¹⁸³ Most surprising of all has been Past and Present, especially in view of its first-issue editorial promise (1952) to "make special efforts to bring to non-specialist readers knowledge of indian, chinese, arab, african or latin american history"; and its auspicious launch with an article on China. Such promise has not been fulfilled. The first 85 issues (1952-79) contained 553 articles on european and british history (89.34%) and 66 on the rest of the world (10.66%) of which 12 (1.92%) covered South and East Asia.¹⁸⁴

* Reflecting the involvement of J.M. Roberts in editorial policy.

** Jointly in Britain and America.

Most serious of all, in terms of influence upon teachers, have been the Historical Association's journals, History and Teaching History. Their contents will be scrutinised in a later chapter.¹⁸⁵

Practicality precludes detailed attention to british education's treatment of specific countries other than China. There would appear to be a prima facie case, however, for further research along the lines followed by Habtai (1981) in respect of Africa. From a study of recent history textbooks, 'O' level papers and 53 schools' curricula, he noted scant interest in african history and limited teacher-knowledge. No increase in interest was detected between 1969 and 1979. A majority of books evaluated Africans unfavourably, from 'british colonial' viewpoints. Full of "stereotypes originating from dubious half-truths and questionable sources", and "extraordinary ignorance", they reflected "ethno-centric, anglo-centric or euro-centric biases", which "blur or impede a proper understanding of african events, values and conditions".^{186*} Likewise as regards America, the picture even by the 1970s was "depressing", lower secondary children being "very badly served". One university's plan to catalogue materials for teachers was abandoned due to schools' lack of interest, and in school textbooks the treatment of american topics was "minimal" and of poor quality.¹⁸⁷ Neglect of Japan was equally conspicuous. Some recent interest has been noted, including (1974) the first british article advocating japanese history in schools and (1978) a handbook of source materials for teachers.¹⁸⁸ Nonetheless, Tames (1974) detected "a persistent tendency for the West to underestimate or ignore Japan", whilst as late as 1981 a questionnaire to 100 schools concluded that "images of Japan may be based on information which is slender, outdated or distorted, owing more to cheap war comics than to any systematic study of history, culture and economy," and that "the teenagers in half our secondary schools receive no instruction on Japan".^{189**}

However, caution against over-estimation of any developments is particularly necessary in the case of China. It should first be understood that there has been so little attention given to chinese

* Significantly, History 1913-79 published only one article on Africa.

** Some developments may be expected to follow the Council of Europe seminar (1981) on teaching about Japan.

history in schools that in searching out references danger of sketching a fragmentary pattern has arisen, with attention drawn more to the fragments than the voids. Nonetheless, a diversity of evidence may be drawn upon to correct that impression, and to show that Chinese history and civilisation have suffered overwhelming neglect by British educators, paralleling that of world history, the history of other non-European areas, and history with 'international' goals.

Handbooks for teachers offer striking evidence. Reid and Toyne's syllabus recommendations (1944) ignored China. Madeley (1946) used the word only twice, and among 58 books for teachers included none on China. Burston (1950-1963) failed to mention China. An official pamphlet (1952) gave only three one-word references. Strong (1950) apparently considered China not worth mentioning even with regard to Marco Polo; and (1958, 1964) in 10 peripheral references excluded any recognition of China in the second world war, implying that Japanese war-involvement followed 1941. Thomson (1969) mentioned China twice in 112 pages. Ballard and contributors (1970) made only three brief recommendations for the study of Chinese material, and only 11 mentions of any sort: even Heater sketched a world history framework without any reference to China. Lamont (1972) and contributors ignored China in 200 pages on the 'realities' of teaching history. R.B. Jones' associates (1973) made only four references in 300 pages on 'new' history: even Chaffer's support for 'world' perspectives allowed her only a footnote. Steele (1976) ignored Chinese history in his study of developments in history teaching, as did G. Jones and Ward (1978). Even handbooks devoted to world visions have shown little interest. Lauwerys' Yearbook of Education (1964) mentioned China only 23 times in 37 articles over 493 pages, all less than one line.¹⁹⁰ Similarly, Unesco's International Understanding at school (1967) spoke of China only once in 109 pages.*

Journals and periodicals read by teachers furnish similar evidence. The English Historical Review ignored China between 1939 and 1943; included only three articles on her out of 718 between 1949 and 1970 (0.42%) all dealing with Anglo-Chinese contacts; and has

* Even D.C. Smith's major Ph.D (1966) on education for international understanding only mentioned China 6 times in 781 pages and only (indirectly) recommended her study once (p.538).

published nothing on the chinese revolution. History Today ran 51 articles on China between 1951 and 1980, namely 1.92% of 2656. The Journal of Contemporary History published 480 articles 1966 to 1977, two (0.41%) on China. Past and Present published 619 articles 1952 to 1979, two (0.32%) on China.¹⁹¹ The contents of History, Teaching History and the Times Educational Supplement will be scrutinised elsewhere.¹⁹²

Nor should adequate attention to China in books claiming 'world' perspective be assumed. Langer's world history encyclopaedia, for instance (1968) gave 104 index entries to Germany, 67 to Britain but only 51 to China. Serbia had 38. Churchill had 30 entries, Mussolini 16, Chiang 9 and Mao 7. Of other great personalities, Alexander the Great had 13 entries, Wu Ti none; Julius Caesar 8, Shih Huang-ti 2, and Tai Tsung one; Pio Nono 7, Lao-tse 3 and Confucius 2; Columbus 4, Cheng Ho 2; Louis 14th seventeen, Frederick the Great 9, George 3rd five and Ch'ien-lung one. In the arts, Scott and Austen had four lines each: Li Po one. Williams' modern world chronology (1975) reinforces that picture. The number of index references to Germany was 100: to China 30. That equalled the number for british sports or the BBC, and was much less than those for british administrations (62) or royal commissions (45). Again, there were 55 entries for Churchill, 22 for Mussolini, only 14 for Chiang and only four each for Sun and Mao. Chaplin, on the other hand, received 13 and Mary Pickford three.¹⁹³

As regards technological history, too much should not be made of the influence of Needham. An article (1956) on the mariners' compass failed to mention China. More serious in respect of schools was Tasker's pamphlet (1980). Despite suggesting that study of the western debt to China might counter ethnocentricity, it mentioned her only 14 times in 47 pages, roughly three-quarters of a page in total, and proposed a syllabus which not only ignored indian science and pre-columbian technology, and gave only peripheral acknowledgements to arab achievement, but in addition completely overlooked the world-historical importance of chinese sericulture, hydrotechnology, military invention, porcelain, medicine, alchemy and space flight. Its publisher was the Historical Association.¹⁹⁴

Where reference has been made, interest has frequently been not in China per se, but in contemporary political concepts which have been manifested or applied in China. Lister, for instance (1964) argued for the discarding of much of the traditional syllabus and

concentration upon major topics of world history, including the rise of China: but the only aspect of chinese history (and other areas) recommended was that which explained contemporary affairs. Likewise, Milne (1973) listing Mao among 19 possible 'O' level projects (the only chinese topic) was clearly interested not so much in an aspect of chinese and world history as in analysis of general political concepts.¹⁹⁵

Again, it is necessary not to exaggerate developments in teaching the language in school. Abingdon's course (1963) was only the second in any british school. By the mid-1960s, Education remained "largely unimpressed"; discouraging replies were given to parliamentary questions; an experienced teacher/interpreter complained (1968) "no school or technical college appears to be interested in what I have to offer"; the Schools Council was unenthusiastic; and a SOAS survey (1971) found that in those schools which had not already discontinued Chinese, it was taught to small numbers as a minority study. There have been no references in TES since 1972.¹⁹⁶

It is against this backcloth of general neglect and uninterest that classroom developments should be viewed. Even here, written evidence is fragmentary, in that interest has been so slight that even the extent of neglect has aroused little comment. The great majority of reviews in History and Teaching History have never questioned the comparative neglect of China. Brooks (1964) for instance made no comment on the fact that of the eight (out of 35) books reviewed which treated the world beyond Britain and Europe, none was on China or any part of Asia. Similarly, Fines made no reference to the fact that of history teaching research which he surveyed in 1969, none displayed any interest in the wider world, including China; or that (1971) of 84 items he listed on history teaching, only four referred, directly or indirectly, to wider-world history, and not one to China.¹⁹⁷

Some sparse comment has been traced. Dance (1956) lamented that most history courses neglected eastern cultures. What coverage there was highlighted the bizarre. Eastern cultures were rarely considered per se: "They get into our history books only when they are in contact with the West. We glance at medieval chinese history only because Marco Polo visited Kublai Khan: we glance at modern China only because the Chinese refused to smoke our opium, or murdered our missionaries. About the glories of the greater chinese dynasties our

pupils know nothing at all". Smith (1966) found though 55% of schools taught ancient history, "rarely were the ancient civilisations of China and India even mentioned". HMI (1967) noted secondary syllabuses contained little on Canada, India, Africa or Hispanic America and "scarcely ever anything on China". In primary schools, too, Newman (1972) remarked, "India and China have not usually been studied". Even in London, as Doncaster (1973) noted, the Victoria and Albert Museum's indian, islamic and chinese galleries were visited "hardly at all" by schools, whilst the British Museum's classical and egyptian galleries were used "far more extensively".^{198*}

Those few published comments accurately reflect the situation even up to recent years. Innovation there has been, but not extending to chinese history. Sirett (1966) noted six syllabuses of special innovative interest: not one mentioned China. Even in the world history syllabuses developing in London by the 1970s, inadequate attention was given to China: of six quoted by Doncaster (1973) though some topics might lead to studies of China, specific chinese content comprised only five of 95 items, whereas, even excluding classical, russian or american content, plus euro-focused themes, 20 referred directly to Europe and nine to Britain.¹⁹⁹

Similarly sketchy attention to China is seen in CSE and GCE world history syllabuses. In only five syllabuses in 1967 was China other than peripheral: in others it comprised, variously, half of one of nine topics; half of one of seven; one of eleven; one of 13; part of one of 13; one-fifth of two sections in a 16-section option; part of one of four options comprising one-fifteenth of a syllabus; or an aspect of U.S. foreign policy. Some failed to mention China at all. In 1967, HMI, quoting a CSE 'world' syllabus including China in only two of 50 topics, condemned the "monocular" situation whereby Mussolini was given equal attention to "matters of much greater global significance" such as the chinese revolution. In a GCE/CSE

* Similar comments in respect of higher education were made by Pulleybank (1955). Scholars' impact was "not anything ... like it ought to be". China was seen in stereotypes, "not worthy of serious attention", arousing "amusement and facetious comment". She was seen as "external and irrelevant" to world history, only of interest as "the object of western politics". On such as political thought, banking, etc., some were "content to assume that such things did not exist east of the Mediterranean". (E.C. Pulleybank, Chinese history and world history 1955, 5, 5, 6, 7).

handbook for teachers (1973) of 150 objective tests on topics "found in a world history syllabus designed for candidates taking CSE or GCE", only seven related to China, and only 11 others used Chinese material: 23 dealt solely with Britain, 36 with Europe. The same year, in an article on modes of assessment (35 pages) the only reference to China concerned maltreatment of British citizens by Chinese.^{200*}

Little improvement was noticeable by the 1980s, save for the new AEB 'O' syllabus (1979-on) and the new JMB A/O (1981-on).²⁰¹ Among CSE boards, the SERB syllabus listed 19 topics: nine on Europe, three the USA, three Africa and the Middle East, and four the Far East and Australasia, including one on China. Three of the EMEB syllabuses were on Britain and the fourth gave five of 12 topics to Europe, one each to the USA, USSR and China, and four to 'world' questions. The ALSEB syllabus stressed "the declining importance of Europe in relation to the rest of the world", but gave little attention to the non-European world other than the USA and USSR. WYLEB offered syllabuses on Britain, Britain and Europe, and world history, but four of the latter's nine topics focused on Europe, with only one each on the USA, USSR, China, the Middle East and the third world, and the second world war was described exclusively in European terms. The NWEB similarly offered three: of the 'world' syllabus's 19 topics, only two referred to China, the war was again perceived in European terms, and among the 1980 examination's 25 questions, six dealt with Europe, three on world affairs, two each on Britain, Russia and the USA, four on the first world war and the peace (in Europe) and one each on other areas of the world, including China. The WMEB offered no world history syllabus. The Welsh Board offered five syllabuses on Britain, one USA, one world history: but the latter concentrated on Europe, USA and USSR, failed to mention China, and gave only one of 14 examination questions (1980) to her. Of that board's 'O' level syllabuses, five were on England and Wales, one Europe, one the modern world, but in the latter's examination (1980) 11 of 22 questions related to Britain and Europe, one to China. All their 'A' level syllabuses were on Britain and Europe.²⁰²

Recollections of 128 history teachers and LEA history advisers (1981) who all experienced secondary and tertiary education in the post-war period, reinforce the pessimistic picture. Only 30 (23.44%)

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The author a constructive GCE board secretary.

remembered any chinese history at secondary school, only 32 (25%) in tertiary education, six during teacher-training. In only 15 cases was the chinese material part of a world history syllabus. Twelve remembered it as an isolated topic or related to british and european studies. Only two (1.56%) recollected work on ancient China, only five (3.91%) medieval China, only seven (5.47%) cultural history. Moreover, only 14 (10.49%) remembered China in any other aspect of primary curriculum, 29 (22.66%) in other secondary subjects, and six (4.69%) at tertiary level. Only 14 (10.94%) remembered any response to political events. Forty (31.25%) left school with stereotyped views of China. Only four (3.12%) had balanced views.

On their own teaching, the replies of the 82 heads of history were equally discouraging. Although 60 (73.17%) had taught chinese history, only 18 (21.9%) had done so in the lower school. Six (7.32%) were members of societies for chinese or world studies; 19 (23.17%) had attended courses; 14 (17.07%) had connections with any relevant university (12 in London); 30 (36.58%) knew of such universities . As regards materials for use in school, 44 (53.66%) could recommend nothing. Seventeen (20.73%) could recommend books (eight titles in total); 12 (4.63%, all in London) any resource packs; and 20 (24.39%) any Schools Council materials. Only one mentioned the 8-13 pack on traditional China.²⁰³

A questionnaire on chinese history completed by 80 Durham University students aged between 19 and 24 in 1981 gives further grounds for pessimism. Only 29 (36.25%) had heard of Li Po, 15 (18.75%) of Lao-tse, 10 (12.50%) of Cheng Ho, six (7.5%) of Chien-lung, five (6.25%) of Shih Huang-ti, and three (3.75%) of Wu Ti. Twenty-six (32.5%) had heard of the Taiping rebellion, 22 (27.5%) of the Mukden incident, 19 (23.75%) of the Mandate of Heaven, 13 (16.25%) of Chungking, nine (11.25%) of Sian, seven (8.75%) of the Diamond Sūtra, six (7.50%) of the Three People's Principles, and six of the River Talas battle. Moreover, though 33 (41.25%) had heard of the Han dynasty, only eight (10%) thought they knew anything about it. Similar results were seen in respect of the T'ang (58 recognised the name but only 9 claimed to know anything more) Taoism (57 and 21) Kublai Khan (64 and 29) the Ming (69 and 21) the Manchu (50 and 12) Tzu Hsi (33 and 13) the Boxers (60 and 28) Sun Yat-sen (31 and 15) the K.M.T. (28 and 12) and Teng Hsiao-ping (33 and 17). Only with Confucius (77 and 51) the great wall (78 and 52) Mao (79 and 65) the long march (55 and 42) the cultural revolution (76 and 54) the red

army (67 and 35) and Chiang (52 and 40) did at least 50% claim to know other than the name. That only 18.75%, 50%, 63.75% and 81.25% of a large group of university students knew anything about Sun, Chiang, Confucius and Mao respectively, and only 10%, 11.25% and 15% anything about the Han, T'ang and Manchu dynasties raises questions as to the teaching of history in british schools.^{204*}

Such findings are hardly surprising since direct references in print or research to the implementation in schools of what limited advocacy has occurred are scarce. Among researchers, Smith (1966) from 100 schools recorded only some treatment of contemporary China in general studies. Sirett (1966) reported 'world religions' and 'modern world' courses making reference to China in one school, and some comparison of medieval England and China in another. In print, Newman (1972) described a new 'ancient civilisations' course giving about three weeks to China, and Richardson (1973) reported slight attention to ancient China (one of five options) in her secondary syllabus. One reference (TES, 1965) has been found to a course in chinese history and civilisation offered over a full year in a northern grammar school.^{**} Hannam (1970) remarked that where world history was taught, there was "mention even (sic) of India, China, Japan and pre-columbian America". Additionally, one reference to a further education course has been discovered.²⁰⁵

Of course, there must have been others. Much goes unrecorded - the author's own teaching in the 1960s on Han and T'ang China was never documented. That cannot have been unique. In 1981, for instance, 14 of Essex's 117 secondary schools taught chinese history (four to seven weeks, mainly 20th century) in the lower school.²⁰⁶ Thousands must have been taught about modern China during CSE/GCE work since the 1960s, particularly when related to the Schools Council project. Nine of the 14 Essex schools and 13 of the 29 ILEA schools following that syllabus by the early 1980's chose the chinese

* No scientific validity is claimed for this test. The results are noted merely as adding to a pattern already established from other sources. Clearly it should be viewed with caution, since 7.50% claimed to know a fictitious siege (named after Mao's wife) 11.25% of a fictitious pagoda, 15% of a fictitious temple, and 25% of a fictitious dynasty. Moreover, two respondents felt they knew something more about the 'Lin' dynasty, and two others about the 'Temple of a Thousand Flowers'.

** Given by a Durham University lecturer, 6th-form.

communism option.²⁰⁷ No other printed references have come to light, however. Moreover, an advertisement (1981) inviting correspondence from persons teaching chinese history brought only four replies: one from a school teaching the 13-16 project; one from one of the schools mentioned; one from a college of education; one from Tanzania.^{208*} Despite the inadequacy of the evidence, the picture is clear enough: and despite the developments detailed earlier, and optimistic observations from time to time,²⁰⁹ it is a picture bleak in detail and shallow in empathetic understanding.

The typical english school history syllabus has remained obstinately anglo - and euro-centred.²¹⁰ Not even interest in Europe should be too optimistically described, however. Despite support from HMI, DES, some universities, the Historical Association and some examining boards,²¹¹ research investigation of the nature and extent of european history in british curricula might produce disturbing findings. As late as 1972, Johnson was lamenting that the British should "try to see what the Europeans have in common, rather than what the British have in particular"; whilst in 1974 Batho was pointing to "many gaps in the coverage of european history" in textbooks.²¹²

It is more accurate to assert, in fact, that syllabuses have remained strongly anglo-centric and national in emphasis. This partly reflected a war-inspired recrudescence of nationalist and imperialistic sentiment. In 1946 Toynbee could detect "no danger of under-emphasising national history". In 1940 a professor of history attacked pre-war belittling of national achievement, "the valour by which our empire has been won ... the courage and blood of our ancestors". Imperial history was urged by the Historical Association, whose AGM, 1947, focused on empire, and which brought out teachers' notes on the subject (1950); and by the Ministry of Education (1961,1966).²¹³

Advocacy of british national history has been widespread. The Norwood Committee (1943) insisted that "the history of Britain must remain the core ... (to which) the history of other peoples must be organically related". Toyne, influential in the Historical Association, strongly approved (1944). Rowse (1946) emphasised

* The TES and Education Guardian failed to publish a similar letter inviting correspondence, despite a carefully reasoned request.

english racial qualities , urged the value of patriotic british stories to foster appreciation of virtue (no foreigners were mentioned) underlined the value of family history, english local history, place-names, and british military and naval history, offered a solely british and european bibliography, and listed nine great historians of whom four were classical and five British. The average man "does not enter intimately or in any significant way into the languages and cultures of others. The history of his own country ... has a central importance". Probably much more influential on schools, however, was Strong. Topics for junior school should be "mainly ... selected from british history". After two years of classical, biblical and british legend, plus lives of brave people (of 18 named, 17 were 'White European' stock and eight English) the next two years should comprise medieval and modern history (the perspective was almost exclusively english). He recommended 18 books for school use: 16 on England.²¹⁴

Not surprisingly, british national history has retained a prominent position in schools. Price (1949) described an infant school biographical syllabus of whose 25 subjects 19 were British, the others Europeans or judaeo-classical. Dobson (1950) detected "a patriotic ... orthodoxy in the teaching of history ... (which) ... condition(s) the attitude of young people towards british history and institutions, and ... may be a factor contributing to the formation of national prejudice". HMI (1952) noted that british political history was still the norm, and that "the traditional idea of history as an evolution, as bestowing a heritage, is ... implicit in the syllabus". All 12 secondary school syllabuses studied by Jones (1955) followed a chronological pattern of british-dominated political history. Two-thirds did virtually no european history before year six, only four tackled 'world history' and then only in year one (the respective terminal dates being the fall of Rome, 1042, 1066, and the reformation) only one mentioned the USA, and none Russia, China or any non-european country.²¹⁵

Since the 1950s, direct advocacy of national history has died down. What has not died away, however, has been its perpetuation in schools. Burston (1963) observed that often only british history was taught (and in 1972 saw no need to alter that assertion). Dwyer (1964) quoted strongly anglocentrist syllabuses with some local content. A. Smith (1965) noted that "one overall view ... of the past" was given, which was based upon the traditional approach,

seeing history as essential information, based largely on Britain. There was "no reason to suppose" that much change had occurred since pre-1900: it was still substantially suffused with 'history as a moral example' and 'history as the bestowing of a national heritage'. The IAAM portrayed secondary history (1965) as still national, with "a cursory glance" at Europe.²¹⁶

Important evidence in respect of London came from Sirett (1966). Only five of 34 secondary schools had discarded chronology. In 74 of 90 year-syllabuses cited, the governing dates were english. Younger children studied other countries only "where it is believed that (they) influenced ... Britain".* In year three concentration was "usually placed on the constitutional development of England".** Only four offered world history perspectives. Twenty-two taught only Britain for 'O' level, and though some taught 'world history' one confessed that meant Britain and Europe, plus America and Russia, "but not so far China, Japan and the Far East, except insofar as those areas impinge upon european development". At 'A' level, all taught Britain and Europe. Most heads of department were satisfied with their syllabuses, and only four sought more world history. Sirett detected "an element of self delusion".²¹⁷

Similar evidence has been found elsewhere. Of Booth's (1967) five Southampton schools, all retained a british history spine. A Bristol publication (1967) gave no hint that secondary teachers there favoured other than a chronological lower-school syllabus centring on Britain. Investigations in Liverpool (1969,1970) revealed strong english history emphasis. Junior schools strongly emphasised the Tudors and Stuarts, and in secondary schools the outlook was "insular and parochial". In the Cambridge area, 77% of secondary schools (1970) taught a british chronological syllabus.²¹⁸

More generalised comment has come from numerous pens. Price (1968) insisted that the typical syllabus remained "basically and obstinately" british. Roberts (1970) complained that "the vast majority of schools taught "almost exclusively english history": of her F.E. college class, none had previously studied world history.

* One first form syllabus was 'William I, Stephen, Henry II, John, Edward I, Edward III and others'.

** One school's 'reformation' syllabus omitted Luther, Calvin and the Council of Trent.

They showed "unbelievable" ignorance of major recent world events. Cook (1970) averred that "a clear majority of primary schools taught british chronology, whilst secondary schools laid "overwhelming emphasis" on Britain. Ballard (1970) believed that "ten times as many pupil hours in british schools are spent on ... 1066, than on ... 1917 in Russia". HMI Collister (1972) argued that "the syllabus still follows a traditional pattern ... a fairly narrow regime of chronological english history, with Europe, America and Asia only touched upon as they dared to impinge upon the story of Britain". Bolam (1973) contended that "the majority of history teachers" supported the memorisation of a core of chronological british history. Batho (1974) lampooned curricula in which "the world is divided into two species, mankind and the British". History teachers had been "slow to adopt world history". Edgington (1977) noted that for most children "world history begins with the 'discovery' of the rest of the world by the Europeans and is seen from a british point of view".²¹⁹

Book publication, presumably in response to school syllabuses, gives further evidence. Calcott's Little Arthur's History, with sales of over 800,000 since 1835, was reissued in 1975. Meikljohn's Short History (1890) enjoyed an edition in 1957 (noted without adverse comment in History).²²⁰ Carter and Mears' History of Britain (1937) was reissued in 1960 (1116 pages, third edition). Penguin's attempt to break into schools was spearheaded by their five-volume History of Britain (1966) which evidenced "the conservatism of history teachers ... the slant throughout is truly British".²²¹ OUP's confidence in british history in schools was reflected in their six-volume Society and Industry (1968) as was Evans' strongly national New English History (1969) and Arnolds' four-volume British History for secondary schools (1969). In the 1970s, Batsford published 71 titles in their Past into Present series on british social and economic history. Even by 1981-2, close scrutiny of 13 educational publishers' catalogues revealed that of 1,244 historical titles listed, nine covered China, 23 the rest of Asia, 21 Russia, 27 America, 70 the rest of the world outside Europe, 30 world history as such, 435 Europe and the classical world, and 629 Britain.²²²

Quantitative analysis of book reviews adds to the evidence. One issue of Teaching History (1977) received no books on Africa, China, India or Russia, two on 'world' topics, five on America, 29 on Europe, and 83 on Britain. Two series on school-books, published in

History over a long period, are instructive. Eight of 13 titles reviewed in 1946 were on Britain; 37 of 67 in 1950; 34 of 47 in 1952; 24 of 37 in 1954. Of 56 reviewed in 1956, 40 were on Britain as were 40 of 55 books noted in three review articles in 1957. Half the 98 in four articles in 1958-9 were on Britain, and in the next (1960) it was 17 out of 28. (By that point, no book on Asia had been noted in the series). Some adjustment occurred in the 1960s. Nevertheless, of 52 in two articles in 1961, 27 were on Britain; 67 of 91 in three articles in 1963; 98 of 167 in three articles in 1966-7; 50 of 71 in one review (1969); 35 of 75 in another (1970); 51 of 84 in another (1972); 72 of 129 in two articles in 1973; and even as late as 1977, 32 of 51 were on Britain. None of the latter three mentioned any book on Asia.²²³ Moreover, most reviewers made no comment on the imbalance.²²⁴

It is in this perspective that other developments in history teaching must be considered. It is suggested elsewhere that the real thrust in history teaching in recent decades has centred upon what is known as the New History, whose development has held back the growth of world history.²²⁵ Certainly, by its welcome emphasis on understanding concepts through acquisition of skills in using evidence, particularly documentary sources - which by their nature are more easily available in respect of the locality - the New History is closely affiliated to the recent upsurge of local history. Douch (1970) noted of local history that it was "concerned with the appraisal of evidence ... leading to an understanding of historical method"; Lamont (1970) saw local history kits as crucial to a brunerian New History; and local history teachers claimed (1974) "are we not all converts to Bruner now"?²²⁶

Strong influence upon the continued development of local history teaching after the war was exercised by scholars such as Rowse (1946); the Ministry of Education (1947,1952); the National Council for Social Service's Standing Conference for Local History (1947); Leicester University's department of english local history which (1947-on) demonstrated the value of local evidence to national history; new societies and journals; and particularly by the Historical Association.²²⁷

From the later 1950s much more insistent and varied advocacy reflected social scientific local history developments in Europe and the USA,²²⁸ and paralleled the New History boom. The argument was put by such as Schofield (1967). Neighbourhood resources should suggest

the selection of topics. Moreover, such work was more relevant to children than world studies. Dearden (1968) stressed social and industrial history but ignored wider-world understandings. Weston (1971) urged local history in teacher-training and showed the link-up between local archives and the New History. Gunning and Wilson (1981) urged study of children's "friendships, family, school and neighbourhood groups", based around "concept-objectives".²²⁹

The argument was given weight by local history/archives initiatives at institutions including Bristol, Liverpool, Newcastle, Cambridge and Sheffield universities; Wall Hall, Dudley and Edge Hill colleges; and Manchester and Teesside polytechnics. A spate of local history societies and publications was notable from the later 1960s.²³⁰ LEA activities were frequent, with such as the Suffolk project (later 1970s) the Leeds study group publications, the Manchester sound archive unit (1973) and local archive units compiled at 64 teachers' centres by 1974, whose work was "overwhelmingly concerned with local history."²³¹ Strong advocacy emerged from official committees, and heavy DES support came through the short and long course programme.²³² Publishers actively complemented the semi-official reference works.²³³ Seven books were published on London alone in 1970, stretching to subjects such as longbowstring makers,²³⁴ whilst a torrent of local archive material was evident.²³⁵ Weight lent by the Historical Association was of crucial importance. It organised an 'archives for schools' conference (1969) and opened its house-journals to extensive coverage of local history matters, with 13 articles in three numbers (1969-70) of its new Teaching History and 24 on such as probate inventories in a History series (1962-71) besides a pamphlet on urban history in schools.²³⁶ Branches became "increasingly engaged in ... local history research".²³⁷ Bristol, for instance, published 40 local pamphlets 1960-1977, and Coventry six from 1967-73.

It is difficult, therefore, to accept that "world history has replaced local history as the aspect of studies most frequently recommended".²³⁸ Local history has been strongly on the rise.²³⁹ This, as Mathias (1970) showed, was related to the continued thrust of socio-economic studies, seen by Rees (1949) as the aspect which had most affected the modern conception of history,²⁴⁰ and witnessed to by a host of publications; HMI comments; and examining-board returns. Social and economic papers were prominent from the start in the CSE. GCE candidates increased ten-fold 1955 to 1967. The

Cambridge locals socio-economic history paper was taken by 4,439 candidates in 1979: 3,534 sat 'world affairs'. Nor were primary schools excluded.²⁴¹ Local history interest was also closely related to the surge of demographic and family history in schools, strongly encouraged by a variety of publications and courses and again given particular prominence in the Historical Association's pedagogical journal.²⁴²

One such article was by a leading New History advocate. Indeed, one common feature of the developments in local, family, social and economic history, besides innovations such as gaming and simulation, again prominent in Teaching History,²⁴³ was emphasis upon training the child in the process of inquiry of the social scientist and historian by detailed concentration upon the interpretation of evidence. Lamont (1972) was incorrect in his assertion that recent change had focused more on content than on method. In any case, it is difficult to understand his ambivalence towards reform of content.²⁴⁴ The imperative necessity for movement towards wider-world perspectives in history curriculum to counteract traditional subject-content's perpetuation of ethnocentrist, national and at times racial assumptions and stereotypes has been demonstrated earlier and will be reiterated.²⁴⁵ The New History, through its local and socio-economic emphases, has proved a serious obstacle to that development of 'world-mindedness' in history curriculum content so often called for but so profoundly neglected throughout the century even to the present day.²⁴⁶

SECTION THREE: ANALYTICAL

Chapter Five: Quantitative analysis of school history books published between the later 19th. century and 1949.

The conclusions reached in the previous two chapters have been powerfully reinforced by quantitative analysis* of a sample of history and social studies books used in british schools between the later 19th. century and the 1980s.** From a variety of sources,*** some 926 books whose principal titles suggest the possibility of wider-world historical interest**** have been studied for content on China.¹ The resultant picture is very clear. Some authors, led by

* "A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication ... primarily concerned with the extent analytic categories appear in the context, that is, the relative emphases or omissions". (B. Berelson, Content analysis in communication research, 1952, 18, 17).

** Mainly school text and topic books, but also including a limited number of other books likely to have been used in sixth forms. The books were almost all published in Britain: a small number originated in the USA but were distributed in the U.K.

*** The principal source has been the Historical Association national textbook collection presently housed in the Durham University School of Education, approximately 3,000 books. It has been supplemented by the Historical Association collection of current schoolbooks kept in London, approximately 1500 books. The libraries of the London Institute of Education, the London School of Oriental and African Studies (extramural department) the Durham University School of Education, the Newcastle University School of Education, the ILEA History and Social Studies Teachers' Centre, and Teesside, Sunderland and Newcastle Polytechnics have also been searched. Other books have been obtained through the British Library, and a few from individual schools and schoolteachers. The total number of books considered is approximately 5,500.

**** i.e, titles including words such as 'world', 'man', 'people', 'heritage', plus titles referring generally to such as the history of technology, ships, travel, cities, warfare. Books whose principal titles specifically mention England, Britain, Europe, or any other country. e.g., A history of England; or clearly imply such focus, have not been included unless there is a possibility of wider focus, e.g. Britain in the modern world; Europe and beyond. A limited number on the british empire have been included. Books whose main title would appear likely to suggest to children that they covered all of history, or what is of central importance in history have been included even if a sub-title inside the book, or a note in the preface or foreword, admits to concentration on Britain or Europe. Books wholly or substantially on China have been excluded.

such as E. H. Dance, have attempted a wider perspective which has sometimes included material on China. That treatment has been at times highly favourable. Moreover, not only has the number of books giving attention to China increased, particularly in recent decades, but also so has the average number of pages they have contained on China. On the other hand, too much should not be made of such developments: there are few grounds for satisfaction. If the overall period is divided into four, namely 1870 to 1931, 1932 to 1949, 1950 to 1971, and 1972 to the present, although some progress is noticeable in each, particularly the latter, nonetheless a substantial number of books in each whose titles suggest broader perspectives have either totally excluded China or given it only peripheral attention. By contrast, an overwhelming number of such books in all four sub-periods have concentrated upon the details of british national history, mainly political and constitutional narrative at first but with increasing attention to social and economic topics, or upon european history. The first two of those sub-periods will be considered in detail in the remainder of this chapter.*

A. 1875 to 1931.

Even in this earliest of four sub-periods, China could not be said to have been wholly ignored. An interesting illustration is Hannah's chapter in Kirkpatrick's Lectures on the history of the 19th. century (1904)** which gave attention to chinese history per se, perhaps the first such view presented to young students in Britain. The Chinese were portrayed as 'Empire-builders', 'Diplomatists' and 'Merchants and Artisans'. The Han empire had been larger than its western contemporary. Its predecessors had been "venerable before Rome was founded ... a centre of light and learning ... during the darkest days of the West". The chinese empire employed "purely moral" sanctions. Its emperor, revered by all eastern peoples, could be compared with the pope. In particular, the Chinese

* Lack of space precludes a review of techniques employed to evaluate textbook content (as attempted by A. Habtai, 'Images of Africa in british secondary education', D. Phil., 1981, 96-111).

** In this and the following chapter book titles are given (as against the practice in other chapters) since the title has been the chief criterion for selection. Thus, only page numbers will be given in the notes.

stressed the arts of peace and commerce: "As traders, bankers and artisans the Chinese are in no way inferior".²

Similarly, Niver's Ancient peoples and their heroes and Modern nations and their famous men (both c. 1920)* introduced some points of interest to the school-child. The former contained 13 pages on India and 8½ on China which stressed "reverence for the past and adherence to established order" and included detail on Peking's magnificence, chinese culture ("gifted scholars and most skilful artists and workers") and Confucius, including a list of his major works and a summary of his teaching.³ The latter pointed to the impetus of the 1911-12 revolutions towards westernisation of China "on modern lines" and made one of the earliest references to Sun Yat-sen in any schoolbook.⁴

Bartholomew's School economic atlas (1921) falls in the same category. On world maps China was indicated as a centre of manufacturing and agriculture, two of her religions, a score of major cities and her trade routes (only those relevant to Europe) were shown, her major products were itemised, and a map of east asian economics detailed over 300 centres of economic activity in China.⁵

Smith's Main currents in world history (1922) contained highly favourable scrutiny of China, stressing her antiquity, historical continuity, material culture and moral philosophy, her importance in securing "the peaceful industry of a large portion of the human race", and her contacts with the West; and asserting that her contempt for foreigners was "born of 5,000 years of civilisation", and that western actions since 1839 had been "highly discreditable".⁶

Other brief but favourable descriptions have been traced in Isaacson's House of History: First storey (1930) which portrayed the Chinese as "one of the oldest civilised peoples of the world ... peace-loving, clever and industrious";⁷ Housman and Marten's Histories Book 3 (1931) which saw Yuan China as "more civilized than Europe";⁸ Bellis's The trail-breakers (1931); Ikin's The modern age (1931) which emphasised the antiquity of chinese civilisation, the unequalled quality of her national culture, her technological inventiveness, her civil engineering achievements and her dislike of western 'barbarian' tendencies; and Douglas-Smith's The world of the ancients (1931) which detailed earlier dynasties, referred to several chinese personalities, including explorers, inventors and

* Not appreciated by all teachers, but certainly in use in schools by the later 1920s. (See History, 13, Oct. 1928, 244)

philosophers, pointed to "a strong and age-old tradition of orderliness and self-restraint", and questioned the european image of China as "somewhat sleepy ... showing no great desire for progress".⁹ In particular, Douglas-Smith attacked "the present craze for representing Chinamen as the villains of 'crook' dramas and detective fiction", due to "the very vague notions of their land and history possessed by the average westerner", and significantly averred that "Chinese history and civilisation have been too much ignored by the West ... the Chinese are an extremely intellectual race ... in their country from the earliest times learned men have been valued more highly, and soldiers less, than anywhere else in the world".¹⁰

Of all authors in this first period, however, Helen Corke stands out as providing the most evident bridge between the anglo and eurocentrist imbalance of so many contemporaries and increasing awareness of extra-european history, offering children, almost for the first time, both an embryonic world perspective and an appreciation of China as worthy of study per se. Mankind the conqueror (1930) contained a reasonably detailed study of earlier China, in particular an enthusiastic vignette of the T'ang period, "a summertime of fruitful centuries", with reference to chinese religions, cities and welfare and her "splendid record of art and poetry".¹¹ A book of ancient peoples (1931) highlighted the confucian maxims' importance to social order, noted some similarities between the ideas of Lao-tse, Buddha and Jesus, and gave a brief glimpse of Han China, the great wall, and Ssu-ma Ch'ien. A book of modern peoples, not published until 1933, is more appropriately considered here in view of its affinity to Corke's other work. It strongly implied acceptance of chinese history as worthy of study in its own right. Fa-hsien's visit to India was described, followed by a favourable portrait of T'ang China, "furnished with public museums, schools, parks and places of entertainment". Mongol China was even more favourably represented, with stress on its "huge, industrious, peaceful population"; the "wonder" of its civilisation; the "beauty", "refinement", "profound scholarship" and "exquisite manners"; the importance of education, high culture, craftwork, domestic and military technology and printing; and the religious toleration, public works and economic development of the period. Moreover, sources other than Marco Polo were drawn upon, including Monte Corvino.¹²

Nevertheless, such favourable sketches of Chinese history should not be overstressed. Hannah's account began and ended on a strongly eurocentrist tack, and used highly pejorative language in respect of "gigantic but shiftless" China and her people, "a laughing-stock among the nations, a byword for corruption and folly", with "not a shred of patriotism". China was seen as threatening the West: "Europe may laugh at the idea of new invasions of locust Mongol hordes, but the yellow peril for all that may be not the less dangerous".¹³ Niver's books gave, respectively, 4.62 and 0.49% to China.¹⁴ The one gave 117 of 184 pages to Greeks, Romans and Hebrews and implied a streak of infantilism and cruelty in the Chinese: the other excluded all aspects of Chinese culture save for opium, pigtailed and deformed feet. Bartholomew, like most other atlases,¹⁵ contained no map of China per se, as against, for instance, 10 of Britain and 11 of Australasia. Smith's study was both eurocentrist and racist, its theme "the development and expansion of modern western civilisation", its focus "the history of the white race".^{16*} Only 0.46% of a book on 'main currents' of world history was allocated to China (Ireland took up 1.17%). Moreover, though the narrative extended to 1920 there was no reference to Sun Yat-sen. Isaacson's 'house of history' was only 1.1% Chinese, the remainder almost exclusively British. Housman and Marten's seven pages was the only reference to China in a four-volume series totalling 626 pages. Bellis gave 4% to China. Ikin gave eight chapters to Britain (printing 'Jerusalem' in full) and only one on 'The modern world', including 3½ pages (1%) on China. Douglas-Smith allocated 122 pages to Greece and Rome (41.2%) as against five pages (1.69%) to China. Even Corke's three books gave, respectively, only 3.55%, 2.32% and 4.64% to China. The first ignored China in chapters on early trade, poetry, laws and education, and included only one Chinese among the 26 leading world poets and philosophers, one among 41 discoverers and inventors, and two among 49 rulers and warriors. The third made only sketchy reference to Ming and Manchu China, and omitted mention of Sun Yat-sen.

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Though emphasising that "foreign nations do not exist merely to exemplify England's wickedness or England's valour", and adding "because I make the history of the White Race the central point of my book, it must not be taken for granted that I assume ... that the expansion and prosperity of the white race are synonymous with Progress and Good". (ix).

Moreover, the books quoted are few by comparison with the overwhelming majority making only peripheral reference to China. Indeed, more than half of all books studied from the period demonstrate no recognition of her existence. Creasy's Decisive battles (1877) saw none of importance from Chinese history. Lee's Biographical history reader (1905) treated 22 subjects - all British. Burke's The shining East (1915) considered only Egypt and western Asia. Wilson's progress of history: peeps into old books (1916) traced the development of writing only in Egypt, Babylon and Greece, and implied that printing was invented in Europe. Manning's four volume New world history (c.1920) hung around the dates 1485, 1688 and 1815, and mentioned China only in a four-line reference to the capture of Tsing-tao. Van Loon's Ancient man (1923) covered only the Near East. Polkinghorne's People of long ago (1928) scrutinised British topics in a European setting.* Total neglect has been found also in such as Cory's four-volume Story of Man (1930) and in popular school textbook series such as volumes two and three of Masfield's House of history (1931) and Firth's four-volume History junior course (1931).**

In addition, many books, whilst not totally excluding Chinese history, have displayed serious imbalance of treatment. Ploetz's Epitome of history (1884) allowed China 1.21% of its space. In ancient history, for instance, China was given two pages: the Celts 5½. Confucius occupied six lines: Greek mythology 53. The T'ang and Mongol dynasties enjoyed half a page each, and the Ming eight lines, as against nine pages on the Anglo-Saxons and four on the Swiss confederacy. Modern China was given 3½ pages: early modern Germany 17 and the French revolution 37.

Sanderson's Outlines of the world's history (1890) proposed "a brief history of the nations of the world (with) an account of the contributions made by the chief peoples ... to the common stock of civilisation".¹⁷ The Chinese contribution merited 0.75%. Moreover, a hostile caricature was penned. They were strange, with "an apparent incapacity for vital progress", suffering "insanity and self-conceit", and universally indifferent to religion. Their government was despotic, "a grotesque mixture of reason and absurdity", with

* It was reprinted 14 times by 1953.

** Reprinted 23 times by 1966, renamed History first series.

absurdity", with "all-pervading corruption", their emperors "a succession of pedantic Solomons". Technologically, they were "ingenious and precocious children". Chinese science was "a collection of ill-arranged facts and beliefs ... pursued without regard to intellectual ends, and hindered in progress to what is higher (sic) by a curious, cumbersome and clumsy language". Under the heading 'Chinese want of progress', Sanderson asserted: "Europe and true civilisation (sic) have nothing to gain, and have gained nothing, in the way of culture, from a country where 400 million ... are treated like children; where there is no originality and no free-will; where no progress ... is possible ... the paltry result of a pretentious, antiquated and inherently unprogressive order of civilisation".¹⁸

Other early examples of imbalance include Tappan's Heroes of the middles ages (1911) which, even in a chapter on Marco Polo, told the child little about China; Nixon and Steel's Ancient history (1913) which noted that "the great rivers of India and China were all seats of early civilisation", then proceeded to exclude them from the narrative, even in a chapter on 'The beginnings of written history'; and West's More stories of the men of very long ago (c.1920) which ignored China in chapters on the origins of bronzes, pottery and agriculture and gave only one line to chinese writing, "queer-looking marks".¹⁹

A more important example is found in Webster's three lengthy books, suitable possibly for upper secondary classes or as teacher-reference material. A history of the ancient world (1915) gave 0.26% of its pages to China, stressing her seclusion from "the progress of our western world", a "land of mystery",²⁰ and allowing her only five lines in a lengthy chapter on oriental religion, literature, arts, sciences and education. Medieval and modern history (1919) covered China in 4½ pages (0.57%). Much of that was used verbatim in Webster's World History (1921) whose eurocentrism was shown in that it was an abbreviation of two other titles, Modern european history and Early european history.^{*} It covered China in five of its 759 pages (0.66%). Not surprisingly, the treatment was superficial, scanning in one section China's geography, people, religions, culture, western penetration, the Boxers, and the 1911-12 revolution. Chinese culture was given eight lines. Westernisation was

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These two excluded from the quantitative analysis.

imperative, as the "more quick-witted and receptive" Japanese had realised.²¹

A similar attitude was displayed in Robinson's Medieval and modern times (1916).^{*} China occupied 0.71% of its pages, and then only under 'The expansion of Europe in the 19th. century', and a later chapter on Japanese expansionism. Both the opium war and the German base at Kiaochow were justified. No reference was made to any intrinsically interesting features of Chinese life or culture.

Wetherill's The world and its discovery: Asia (1916) allowed only 5 pages (5.56%) to Asia's largest country. Of 12 pages on Marco Polo, four dealt with China. An account of Huc's travels in Mongolia and Tibet said little about the Chinese, save for their rudeness and corruption. An eight page description on Asia's physical features and climate made only three references to China. On a map of China, six surrounding countries were named: China was not.

An even more conspicuous example is Short's Introduction to world history (1920). The foreword averred that the purpose of history was "knowledge of the world and (one's) fellow-men".²² That perspective was somewhat blurred, however. Whilst knowledge of China was supplied in 1.25 pages in total (and of India in 2½) 47 pages were given to Greece and Rome, 15 to early Britain, 37 to renaissance and reformation and 21 to 19th. century Britain, including 5 to the painter G.F. Watts. Thus, in a book on world history a minor British artist enjoyed four times the coverage of the entire history and civilisation of China. True, Short insisted that her history "must never be forgotten". That was not, however, due to any intrinsic considerations, but because of the memory of the Mongols. What had happened before could happen again: "the world ... knows the threat as 'The Yellow Peril'".²³

Short then justified his brief treatment of China in that she lay "outside the main current of human endeavour which went to the making of 'European civilisation', the object of our prime study". Moreover, "the history of China was that of such river-valley civilisations as Babylonia and Egypt", and "river valley civilisations can best be studied in Egypt and Babylonia (because their history) is more closely intertwined with that of Western Europe". Thus they would be studied solely on grounds of relevance to

* Robinson's and Webster's books were first published in the USA., then in Britain.

Europe, and "not because (they) are of greater importance or deeper interest than ... China and India".²⁴

Short's book was for secondary children. In the same year, a similarly blurred perspective was offered to the younger child in Binyon's Paths of Peace. It was claimed to comprise "stories of the quiet 'growing up' of the world".²⁵ China's part in that world growing-up was contained in 24 lines (0.29%) on her discovery of printing. All else was ignored. In contrast, Caxton alone merited 6½ pages (3.8%).

A further example is two books by Newman. The beginner's ancient history (1921) was mainly concerned with Egypt, Greece and Rome. China's "very ancient" civilisation was covered in 6 lines (0.07%). It had not spread to other regions: the Near East was ignorant of it. That clearly justified its omission, since for overtly racist reasons Newman was concentrating on Europe and the Mediterranean: "It is the Caucasian race that has come to dominate most of the world; and among this family it is the Aryan group that has exercised the most profound influence on civilisation ... Thus the people with whom we shall have most to do are the Aryans".^{26*} The beginner's history of the world (1921) is no less open to criticism. Despite an avowed aim to encourage study of world history,²⁷ less than one of its 177 pages surveyed China. The first part was based upon his Ancient history. The second part, modern history, began with the fall of Rome (again, eurocentrist) and extended to the great war, entered by Japan, "also China and various lesser states". The few lines on China stressed her lack of progress. She "slumbered on ... and resisted the efforts of the energetic and adventurous countries which sought to trade". Any advances made were due to the acceptance of western ideas: one specific illustration given was higher education.²⁸ Sun Yat-sen was not mentioned.^{**}

Newman was not alone, however, in correlating world history with Europe. Keatinge and Frazer's Introduction to world history (1922) showed no improvement since the first edition in 1913. Its 306 pages

* Newman's ignorance of world cultures was further revealed by his rejection of the negro peoples: "Of this branch of mankind we shall say very little". (p.18)

** Both books were revised in 1927. No changes were made in the sections on China, however.

included only 25 lines (0.2%) on China, located in a four-page chapter on 'The Far East'. Two-thirds of the 25 lines looked at the mongol conquest. The book did, however, include 60 pages on Rome and nine on european cities. World history was seen as the history of Europe.* Similarly, van Loon's Episodes from the story of mankind (1921) conveyed to younger children a view of 'mankind' as synonymous with 'european man'. Despite claiming to offer "a fairly continuous narrative of world history",²⁹ he succinctly summarised China's contributions in three lines (0.04%). On the other hand, Moses merited four pages, Charlemagne seven, the renaissance 16, the french revolution and Rome 21 each, and the Greeks 34. Another popular book,** West's Story of the ages (1929) claimed to give "a simple introduction to world history":³⁰ China merited 3.5 of its 323 pages (1.08%). In the same vein, Cory's Story of man: The world of the middle ages (1930) conveyed an image of man dominated by british history, and even in a chapter on Marco Polo said nothing about China save for the misleading assertion that the Polos went there "to teach the people";³¹ Smith and Dickinson's Introductory history (1930) claimed to offer "wide views of general history",³² but included only one word on China in 268 pages, whilst covering all rulers of Britain in chronological order from Caesar to George 5th; and Wort's Empires of long ago (1930) whilst intending to "let the child see what the various peoples of the ancient world achieved", encapsulated China's role in four lines: Greece needed 54 pages (30.68%) and Rome 36 (20.45%). Only after the Mongols did China become one of the "cradles of civilisation".³³ Even Joad fell into the eurocentrist error. The story of civilisation (1931) opened with a glance at oriental religious leaders, including Lao-tse and Confucius and stressed the importance of chinese civilisation. The image was spoiled, however, by an assertion that little could be said about China because little was known about her, "so that in any event there is not much to say".³⁴ Subsequently, the only recognition of China was in stereotypical references to tea, paper, foot-binding, junks and the

* Keatinge was an early inspirer of the New History (See supra, pp.66,161-3, infra.pp.262-73).

** Five editions in six years.

collapse of chinese civilisation. There was no reference in chapters on 'The making of beautiful things' (mainly greek art); 'Finding things out' (three pages on Darwin); 'How science has changed our lives' (two pages on Pasteur); 'The spreading of knowledge'; or 'The sharing of money'. In total, China's share of world civilisation came to 1.6%.

In addition, several books published in the sub-period focused in particular on modern history, but showed little interest in affairs beyond Europe. Kennedy's Century of revolution, 1789-1920 (1922) ignored Sun Yat-sen and the chinese revolution. The only interest in China was in the conflict between german and japanese interests, comprising 0.04% of the book. Hammond's Rise of modern industry (1925) nowhere explicitly declared a special interest in Britain and Europe, yet allowed only 19 lines (0.18%) to chinese industry, and only 10% of that to her modern industry. Even worse was the single line on japanese industry, and only in a context of european trade. Ketelby's History of modern times (1929) gave 26 pages (4.17%) to China, but only foreign penetration and conflict with Japan. Internal developments were ignored. Birnie's Early 19th. century to the present (1929) was almost exclusively about Britain: China was given nine lines (0.09%). Equally misleading titles were Oliver's Modern Times (1930) and McHaffie's March of history: End of the 17th. century to the present (1931). The former included one page on China (0.57%) but the only modern detail was that "even China has been touched by the universal change and restlessness; and a revolution recently overthrew the empire". The author confessed his aim in the preface (not in the title) to be "the inclusion of only the outstanding personalities and events of our own history in all its aspects". Thus, almost all his 'modern times' referred to Britain.³⁵ McHaffie similarly admitted only in a preface that the focus was Britain, and gave only two paragraphs (0.16%) to the march of chinese history.

A final set of evidence relating to the prevalence of eurocentrist assumptions and lack of interest in non-european countries per se in this earliest sub-period has been drawn from historical atlases used in schools. Johnston's Historical atlas (1917) is a revealing example. It was claimed "to meet the needs of students and teachers of history, as history is nowadays conceived".³⁶ It contained 18 maps of Europe or european countries,

14 of which included Britain, and 18 maps of Britain in whole or in part. There were, by contrast, four of the Americas; three of India; one of trade routes showing no further east than Calicut; and three world maps. China was shown on two of the latter, and named on one. There was no map of Africa, East Asia, or China per se. In addition, a chronological table listed 791 events in British and foreign history: 673 were British, and 118 foreign, of which only six related to the non-European and Anglo-Saxon world. The only reference to China was the British acquisition of Hong Kong. There was, however, a full page of detail on the growth of English parliamentary representation.

Johnston's was not the only such atlas, however. Darbishire's Concise historical atlas (1920) contained 51 maps of Europe and European states. There were also eight world maps. The first, which opened the book, showed the world as a star with Britain at the centre, her imperial arms embracing the world. Five world political maps showed European expansion and empires: the only Chinese details were places under European control. A world vegetation map showed China uncultivated except on the south coast. A commercial map suggested China's only product was tea (incorrectly located in central China). The book's European emphasis was stated only in a foreword. Similarly, Black's historical atlas (post-1920) gave 28 of its 65 maps to Europe and 21 to Britain. There were six world maps, on four of which China was not identified. There was no separate map of East Asia, nor of China. Lastly, Muir and Philip's New school atlas of universal history (10th edn., 1928) included, despite its title, 65 maps of Europe and European states (excluding maps of European cities and battles); 22 of Britain; 12 of America; and eight of Africa and India, all showing European influence. China was identified on six of 11 world maps (but detail was shown on only three) and on two maps of Asia. The Han empire was shown on a map of 'The realms of civilisation': but 'The cradles of civilisation' were defined as all lying in the Near East and Hellenistic world.* The

* Three decades and 11 editions later (1961) the situation was no better. The Han map was deleted and British maps increased to 26. The only change affecting China was a new map of post-war Asia. (Not in quantitative analysis).

assumptions of eurocentrism could hardly have been more clearly articulated.

B. 1932 to 1949.

Clearly, despite the glimmerings of interest, sympathy and understanding evinced by writers such as Niver, Smith, Douglas-Smith and Corke, much more was needed in bringing to children a view of China and chinese history in proper perspective, balance and detail, free from ethno and eurocentrist attitudes; and during the years before and after the second world war, when China was so much in the news as a flashpoint in world affairs, an improvement, both in quantitative and qualitative terms, gradually occurred. There can be little doubt that that improvement to a substantial degree reflected contemporary political events in East Asia.

Significant influence was exerted in that respect by the left-wing publisher Gollancz and two of his authors, Horrabin and Jackson, whose books may have been used in the upper forms of secondary schools. Horrabin's Atlas of current affairs (1934) devoted six of its 74 maps to China. The far eastern problem was seen as "the problem of China", and maps and descriptions were given of the powers' interests in China, routes into the country, japanese interests in the north, and the area of nationalist China, and, of particular interest, the "extensive areas controlled by peasants and workers" - an early recognition of communist importance, antedating the long march.³⁷ Jackson's Post-war world (1935) gave 36 of its 520 pages to China, and though pro-communistic and anti-Chiang bias was noticeable, a sympathetic view clearly emerged, with consideration of China for its own sake, and not solely in a perspective of international affairs and the rise of Japan. Jackson began by attacking the morality of extra-territoriality, plus "the contemptuous attitude adopted by foreigners toward the Chinese whose 2,000-year-old civilisation they were unable to appreciate". Then followed a detailed analysis of Sun Yat-sen's political philosophy, a summary of the rise of Chiang, a very early consideration of communism in China, far-sightedly observing that "it is not improbable that in a form of communism modulated to the chinese tradition China will find a way out of her present anarchy", and an

account of the Japanese in Manchuria stressing the courage of Chinese resistance. Political narrative was accompanied by substantial analysis of the Chinese revolution, the social reformation (reminding the reader that pigtailed and foot-binding were no longer de rigeur) and the literary renaissance (quoting Tawney that "most Chinese would as little dream of succumbing to the philosophy of the West ... as the European of exchanging his life for that of a bushman").³⁸ The book, in short, offered the most detailed and most favourable view of modern China yet available to the upper and post-secondary student.

Increasing interest in contemporary China went beyond Gollancz books, however. Pooley's Who's who and what's what in some world affairs (1938) gave a factual 18-page account of events in China, including one of the earliest references to the long march. Happold's This modern age (1938) conveyed a favourable view of China's "wonderful art and literature", analysed the ideas of Sun, and noted the significance of communism. Theobald's A contemporary history (1937) gave an account of events 1911 to 1937, highlighting the "great" leaders Sun and Chiang.³⁹ Mainwaring's Evolution of the modern world (1942) included a favourable 11-page analysis of modern China, whose art and poetry revealed "calm dignity ... patient courage ... deep feeling, and (a) sense of superior forcefulness ... characteristic of a civilisation so much older than our own". Her modern history was a tragedy. The European scramble for territory had "done ... much to destroy European prestige in the East".⁴⁰ Reynolds' Four modern statesmen (1944) included the first biography of Chiang for use in schools (clearly inspired by the 1943 Cairo conference) and portrayed both Chiang and Sun in a favourable light. Western penetration had been "far from pleasant". Sun's ideas were "something to marvel over". The 1911 revolution was described in detail. The importance of communism was suggested, and details given of the Red Army, Chu Teh (first schoolbook reference), and the long march, "one of those episodes which give one an increased admiration for the spirit of man". Chiang was particularly favourably assessed: "Thoroughly Chinese ... more the appearance of the scholar than the man of war ... quiet, soft-spoken ... a reflective manner ... undoubtedly sincere ... his dignity and personal imperturbability have something almost severe in quality". The move to Chungking had been "a remarkable achievement", since when China had "grimly held on".⁴¹

Other books on modern and contemporary events, less overtly enthusiastic, but conveying nonetheless a favourable impression to secondary school children, included Spaul's The world since you were born (1935) which stressed the cleverness of the people, her "very remarkable" leader Sun Yat-sen, and the importance of soviet China, "about as large as Great Britain, but with a much bigger population";⁴² Horrabin's 12-volume Atlas history of the second great war (1940-5) which gave adequate detail of events in China, emphasised that their war began in 1937, underlined their sufferings and sacrifices, and pointed to their "heroic resistance", "indomitable courage", counter-attacks, and "decisive(ly) smashing" of the japanese assault on Chungking;⁴³ and Chambers' Post 1914 history (1949) which gave 12.25 pages to China, noted that she declared war on Germany in the first war (very rare) portrayed Sun as "remarkable",⁴⁴ and treated in detail the anti-japanese war and the nationalist and communist guerilla resistance despite terrible losses.

Clearly, and whatever our present view of their political appraisals, these various books were beginning to communicate to british children a favourable and humanising view of China, her leaders and people sharply differentiated from the hostile or ethereal stereotypes found in some earlier publications. Moreover, their coverage was more substantial and more fully detailed. But increasing interest and sympathy is found not only in books on contemporary history. Firth's Pioneers in religion and science (1932) conveyed understanding of Confucianism's central tenets to the secondary child. Fraser's Life in later days (1933) advised juniors that the Chinese "knew how to make fire and beautiful buildings (and) good roads ... They knew about gunpowder ... They used to burn coal ... Many useful things came from China to the countries of Europe". China was "the most wonderful land of all".⁴⁵ Underwood's From the renaissance to the united nations (1934) showed secondary pupils, with examples such as the invention of paper and printing, that China not only enjoyed "the most artistic civilisation and the longest history in the world", but was "always centuries ahead of Europe in the arts and crafts", and ironically commented on the suppression of the Boxers that "to prove the superior civilisation of the West, the imperial palace ... was looted and the city given over to

pillage".^{46*} The first two volumes of Turnbull's junior-level Living history (1937) also conveyed an impression of interest in China per se. The first traced Chinese civilisation back to pre-Shang times, portrayed Confucius as a "great teacher" who particularly influenced rulers' attitudes to their subjects, and represented Han period life as "smooth and civilised". There was also a 12-page playlet on the Han. The second included a shorter playlet on Marco Polo, in which Kublai Khan was advised, by sages, "We of the East are wise and cunning"; and "The men of the East are the bravest of the brave. When they fight, they conquer!"⁴⁷ Similarly, West's Here, there and everywhere (c.1939) suggested to infants that the Chinese "long ago ... could read and write ... had fine houses, and gardens gay"; that they invented silk, "one of the many good things which other people learned from China"; and all this whilst Britons "still wore skins of animals ... and lived in caves and used rough tools" -⁴⁸ one of the earliest instances of direct contrasts favourable to China being drawn in school-books. Other pre-war books conveying impressions of intrinsic interest included Burr's Quest and conquest (1937) which stressed the Chinese origin of two basic human inventions and gave rare early detail both of Stein's discoveries at Tun-huang and of the discovery of Peking man, "in our direct line of ancestry";⁴⁹ Davies's The changing world, 1066-1689 (1937) which explained that all three inventions which helped end the middle ages came from China, and besides the more commonly quoted details of Kublai Khan's China itemised for the first time in a schoolbook other features including royal corn distribution, tree-lined roads, and coal-mining.

Perhaps of greatest importance in the pre-war years was McAuliffe's Making of the modern world (1938) which included two chapters on China, "proud empire of the Sons of Heaven". This stressed the origins of Chinese civilisation "almost from the beginning of history ... a powerful state when the Egyptians were building their pyramids";^{**} analysed Chinese philosophy, which "gave the Chinese a calm genius for compromise unknown to the West, and a unity with nature which ... found expression in fine painting,

* These details have not been discovered in any earlier school-book.

** Too kind to China. The first Egyptian pyramid dates from 4750 B.C., and three pyramids at Giza were built between 4700 and 4550 B.C.

delicate porcelain, and fragile sculpture"; pointed to her discovery of printing and explosives before Europe; represented the great wall as "a marvellous engineering feat"; summed up the Ming period as "a chinese renaissance comparable with that of Western Europe"; described the looting of the summer palace as a "disgrace"; insisted that "extremes of any kind are not in keeping with the chinese tradition"; noted the rise of red China; and made general comparisons unfavourable to the West.⁵⁰

The wartime and post-war decade saw the publication of a further succession of schoolbooks containing interesting detail and giving an increasingly weighted and favourable portrayal of earlier China to both primary and secondary age children.

Madeley's The finds of man (1939) gave two pages on silk-making, described chinese porcelain as "finer than anything you could get in Europe ... more beautiful than anything people over here had seen since the days of the Greeks and Romans",⁵¹ detailed the spread of tea-drinking from China to India and England, and instructively asked pupils to write about things the English owed to China.

The first book of Mainwaring's Man and his world: The evolution of the old world (1940) conveyed a highly favourable impression. T'ang civilisation was "one of the most tolerant and cultured the world has ever known ... a wonderful civilisation and culture, a delightful art, a beautiful style of poetry ... a freedom from worldly ambitions, an infinite friendliness, and a love of nature's storehouse of beauty. Europe ... presented as yet a sorry contrast ... a rigid creed which demanded nothing but obedience ... grim castles". Paper-making had spread from China to Europe, via the Arabs, in that period. Similar comparisons were implicit in Mainwaring's references to the Mongol period. Hangchow was "one of the world's wonder-cities". Soochow boasted "the same vast population in proportion to its size, and the same developed civilisation". The Chinese played "flutes of jade and guitars of jasper and scented wood, to which they sang songs ... which ... are beautiful and delightfully modern in thought", whilst their technological inventions "were destined to astonish Christendom". The results of Polo's sojourn were that european merchants became attracted to China, a luxury trade with Venice built up, and through that chinese technology filtered into Europe, revolutionising both warfare and scholarship.⁵²

Published the same year, and of comparable significance, was Hanson's Man: an introduction to history. Early China "contained millions of people whose lives were as far removed from barbarism as those of the Italians or Greeks". Her early development of agriculture, irrigation, reclamation, animal domestication, metals, writing and paper were stressed. Confucianism was analysed and equated in importance with Buddhism. The mandarin state and related social system, Shih Huang-ti, the great wall, trade with Rome, and peaceful cultural advance were all dwelt upon. The period from Han to Ming was surveyed. Under the T'ang, civilisation had "reached its height of excellence". Simultaneously, Europe was "as backward as China was progressive". Whilst Europe fought, China enjoyed "profound peace". Whilst European agriculture and industry were backward, the Chinese mastered irrigation, silk manufacture, gunpowder, printing, fine arts, literature and the compass. Whilst Europe practised religious persecution, China tolerated Islam and Christianity. Moreover, Hanson detailed not only Marco Polo's exploits, but also Hsüang-tsang's travels in India.⁵³

Unquestionably the most important author of school history books during the war-time and early post-war years, however, certainly from the point of view of counterbalancing the ethno and eurocentrist attitudes still all too prevalent,⁵⁴ was Dance,⁵⁵ especially in his trilogy Christendom and beyond: british and foreign history (1940-41) whose preface criticised "insularity in history teaching" and claimed "the main theme, therefore, is the history of the world".⁵⁶ Book two, New Europe and the new world, contained 4½ pages on Ming and Manchu China, linked with a similar section on India, and offering interesting detail on China per se not previously printed in a British schoolbook. Ming China had been "very civilised", with a "strong government", a capital "bigger than most cities of the West", and people thinking themselves "the most civilised ... in the world".⁵⁷ From Manchu times, K'ang-hsi's achievements in the field of scholarship and education were highlighted. Book three, The modern world, traced events in China from 1793 to 1937, and included a Chinese cartoon depicting distaste for things European, an extract from Ch'ien-lung's famous letter and a wry observation that "the British could never understand that the Chinese looked upon them as savages".⁵⁸ Book one of the series, The middle ages, proved particularly significant. Its content on China was unambitious, no

more than the by then common enough token sketch of Marco Polo, though enthusiastically written and asking children to consider "Why is Kublai Khan considered to have been one of the greatest rulers of the middle ages?" and "In what ways was China more civilised than Europe in the middle ages?"⁵⁹ In 1947, however, it was reissued with a new title, Europe and the old world, and including a new 19-page supplement on medieval China and India, half of which comprised a well-detailed vignette of life under the T'ang and Sung. That material echoed the per se emphasis of the Ming-Manchu section in volume two. The Han empire, teenagers read, had "lasted quite as long" and had been "quite as important" as Rome. T'ang China was "the most highly civilised country in the world". Its educational system was "really fine". Its buddhist upsurge had inspired not only the study of Sanskrit, but also commercial and industrial progress. Its great emperor T'ai Tsung^{*} had instituted a governmental system "finer than any in Europe for many centuries later", encouraged commerce, encouraged foreigners, systematised the law, and supported civil engineering projects. T'ang culture was stressed by Dance, including a reference to the Diamond Sûtra.^{**} The invention of both block and moveable type printing was specifically attributed to China, and the use of books and encyclopaedias noted, some "bigger than any european books till quite recent times". T'ang art was described as "highly valued" world-wide, her porcelain "especially famous", and her exports "bought all over Asia, and even in Europe". The battle of the river Talas was mentioned.^{***} In discussing the Sung, Dance again emphasised trade, exports and material prosperity. Hangchow's sea-wall stretched 180 miles. Sung ships were "the biggest in the world". Details were given of canal-building, agriculture, education, science, publishing and technology, with the clockwork escapement, the breast strap harness, wheelbarrows, suspension bridges and the compass all mentioned. Sung mathematicians "received the most advanced mathematical training anywhere". In addition, details of internal political history were outlined, particularly the varied reforms of Wang An-shih, plus later

* First account found in a british schoolbook.

** First reference found in a british schoolbook.

*** First reference found in a british schoolbook.

developments such as housing schemes for the aged, free medical care and state-controlled doctors and hospitals. Dance concluded with exercises for the pupil. In contrast to all previous textbooks, they were asked to comment on life in medieval China, especially what was uniquely 'chinese'; draw maps of China and insert specified detail; map the journeys of chinese travellers; make a comparative time-chart of Europe, India and China; write about various aspects of chinese civilisation and internal history; list chinese publications, inventions and discoveries; copy chinese art; and visit museums to view chinese artefacts.⁶⁰

This, then, displayed and encouraged an interest in chinese history and civilisation for its own sake in a manner and to a degree hitherto unprecedented in any textbook used in british schools. Again, however, it would be erroneous to over-stress the scale of developing interest in China. Dance's three books gave, respectively, 2.12%, 1.65% and 1.06% of their contents to chinese history. Even the improved 1947 version of volume one only allowed her 11.75 out of 240 pages (4.89%). Horrabin (1934) covered China in only 5.65% of his atlas, and then only under the heading 'Japan and the Far East'. Even in 1938 only 12 pages (7.14%) were allowed. Various volumes of his world war atlas covered the chinese part of the war in, respectively, 0%, 0.43%, 9.13%, 4.05%, 1.29% and 3.12% of their pages. Happold allowed her seven pages (2.19%) as against 19 pages on the british parliament. Books one and two of the Mainwaring trilogy gave China six pages (2.22%) and 11.5 pages (3.29%) respectively. Spauld spared 9.5 pages (4.24%); Theobald six (3.43%); Firth 3.25 (1.13%); Chambers 12.5 (4.48%); Underwood five (1.46%); West six (6.12%); Burr nine (5.0%); Davies four (1.72%); Madeley three (1.43%). Fraser's portrait of "the most wonderful land of all" ran to just one page (0.69%). Even McAuliffe's correlated survey of european, american and asian history extended to only 11 pages (7.24%) on China; whilst Hanson's highly favourable coverage occupied only 9.5 pages (3.86%). Hampden Jackson's 36 pages represented but 6.92% of his text.

The coverage of chinese history and contemporary events in these books was acceptable in terms of attitude: but in quantity it was inadequate, and risked establishing or reinforcing in children's minds a perception of China as of little more than peripheral

significance to a world history almost totally dominated by western peoples.

Moreover, it should be stressed that, both qualitatively and quantitatively, the books cited gave the most favourable treatment of China among the 213 considered from the years 1932 to 1949. A substantial number, despite titles suggesting possibly wider perspectives proved to be restricted to british or european history and excluded China (and often non-european countries). Surprisingly, Dance's two-volume Britain in world history (1932) Britain in the modern world (1932) and, with Maxton, The march of history (1937) failed to mention China. The latter claimed "a comprehensive survey of history",⁶¹ for secondary pupils, but confined it to Britain. China was omitted from a chapter on printing. Strong's Some famous statesmen (1933) dealt only with Europeans, whilst Today through yesterday (4 volumes, 1936) surveyed governments in various countries but excluded China.* Kelly's four-volume Mayflower histories (1937) claimed to "cover in outline the whole course of history ... to the present",⁶² yet was devoid of reference to China. An end-map of the world left a blank space east of India. The four volumes did, however, give attention to a mish-mash of national legend - Caradoc, Boudicca, King Arthur, Hengist and Horsa, Beowulf, Dick Whittington, the Black Prince, Captain Henry, and the Boar's Head Carol. The only non-european matter was a chapter on the Great Mogul.** Flavell's The citizen and the modern world (1937) was almost exclusively about Britain, with 53 pages on english local government. Even a section on the Washington Conference forgot China, and another on the League, whilst detailing the greco-bulgarian dispute, omitted the japanese invasion of Manchuria.*** Ambler and Coatman's Stream of time (1937) sought to convey "the wonder and fascination of history",⁶³ but

* Even a fifth edition in 1948 ignored Japan's invasion of China pre-war.

** The concentration (undeclared) on Britain and Europe cannot have seemed unacceptable to teachers. Vols. 3 and 4 were reissued for secondary schools in 1939, "by request of many teachers". (Heroes of early times, 2nd-edn., 1939.3).

*** There was still no mention of China in a 1954 edition.

concentrated solely on Britain. Davies's two-volume Heritage of history (1937-8) was all british and classical, with nine pages on Romulus and Remus, six on Alexander the Great's horse, but none on East Asia. Chadwick's Evolution of modern life (1938) insisted "an attempt has been made to eliminate ... the 'national' element" in pursuit of "a more comprehensive and understanding background"⁶⁴ to the history of science and technology, but then concentrated on the achievements mainly of the British plus a few Europeans and Americans. No chinese discoveries were recognised, and a list of 30 'significant events and dates in world history' included none from outside Europe and Egypt. Masefield and Magraw's Last hundred years (1938) dealt solely with Britain and Europe. In a time-chart listing main events in 'other nations', the only mention of China was the japanese attacks. Internal developments were ignored. Borer's Mankind in the making (1939) dealt with human evolution (much attention to Piltdown Man) and forgot China. The Red Indians and Eskimos were traced back to Europe. Coverage of early civilisations included Egypt, Crete, Greece and Rome, but not China or India. The first three volumes of Short's Living with history (1939) were all on Britain, save for a note that paper was a chinese invention (printing, he implied, originated in Europe). The fourth, Man and his work (1947) omitted China from sections on river-valley civilisations, the bronze and iron ages, the development of tools and crafts, textiles, roads and cities. There were six chapters on british technology. Lastly, Patchett and Rose's four-volume Modern school visual histories (1947) in a study of inventions revolutionising medieval history failed to note that all three came from China, and implied printing and gunpowder to be english in origin; obliterated East Asia from a world map; excluded Hong Kong from a Commonwealth map; and forgot China's part in both world wars - only mentioning Japan in respect of attacks on the British and Americans.

Other books completely excising China from the pattern of the past included the three-volume Bell's modern school history series (1932) save for a few lines (on british trade) in Somervell's volume three; * Fraser's Life in early days (1932); Moyse-Bartlett's History

* Vols. 1-2 excluded from the quantitative analysis.

questions and answers for school certificate (1939); Whitton's Deeds which should not pass away (1939); Tickner's Anthology of modern historical fiction (1939) and Anthology of modern memoirs (1940); the multi-volume Adventures into history series (1941-2) save for one patronising anecdote in Daunt's volume two; * Craddock's Two thousand years of progress (1945); Palmer's The chinese box (1947); Greene's Stories of great deeds (1948); and the first three volumes of Williams' Four freedoms histories (1947-9). Perhaps the most drastic example is found in Jones' abridgement (1935) of Breasted's Ancient times: a history of the early world. First published in the USA (1916) its only reference to China was a footnote correctly pointing out that chinese civilisation was later than that of Western Asia or Egypt, as were her metal technology and written records. Jones' revision erased even that. A new foreword drove home the eurocentrist message: "Western civilisation has been now for many centuries ... the dominating force in the world ... by the process of history we have had transmitted to us in the West (lies) the best hope for the future of mankind".^{65**}

Many other books gave some limited attention to China, but inadequate, misleading, or in some cases still hostile. Smith's In the beginning (1932) though stressing the "completely interrelated" fabric of civilisation, made only peripheral references to China, concentrated on Egypt in chapters on metal working, social organisation and religion and insisted that culture diffused everywhere, including China, from Egypt, "planting in China the germs of western culture ... which provided the stimulus to the distinctive type of civilisation which we characterise as chinese".⁶⁶ China took up 0.31% of the book.

Mears's Makers of world history (1933-4) made no mention of any Chinese in its three volumes and gave only 0.73% of its space to China. The first book's brief survey of chinese Buddhism ignored its cultural effect. The second book's favourable impression of 13th

* Vols. 1 and 3-7 excluded from quantitative analysis.

** A similar perspective is seen in Glover's Penguin (1935) on The ancient world which gave only five lines (0.04%) to China. (Not included in quantitative analysis).

century China was counteracted by Mears's preface: "Readers may notice the absence of the great asiatic conquerors in my list of history-makers ... but having no taste for pyramids of skulls (I) have preferred to look at Asia through the eyes of Marco Polo".⁶⁷ Similarly biographical, Duncan's They made history (1940) is revealing, since its objective was to give information about "famous persons, as demanded by the compulsory question in the history papers under the new leaving certificate regulations".⁶⁸ It focused on 290 personalities: 131 were British and only six non-Europeans, including Confucius (three lines) and Kublai Khan (4.5 lines). Much more substantial attention was given, however, to such as Rhodes, Nurse Cavell and Newman: his hymn-writing enjoyed as much space as that given to Confucius. (Several others - Cohen's The 19th century, a biographical history, 1932; Cecil's Anthology of modern biography, 1936; Williams' Stories of great names, 1937; and Horniblow and Sullivan's Mighty men and mighty deeds, 1940 - likewise implied to children that historical achievement, particularly heroism, was a characteristic confined to Britain, Europe and the anglo-saxon world).

Of more general histories, Tenen's The ancient world (1936) made no reference to China before page 259, when it was admitted that her "high degree of civilisation" had been excluded because it "hardly affected our european civilisation in its first stages". Then, "now (that) we are compelled to take notice of the Chinese",⁶⁹ Tenen offered secondary pupils the flimsiest possible detail (eight lines) and then only because the empire's strength had driven the Huns westward.*

Williams' twin-volume Kingsway histories (1936) ignored China save for a brief note of Polo's visit and one page on the japanese invasion of Manchuria - 0.16% in total.**

Dance's World before Britain (1937) dealt almost exclusively with the Near East, Greece and Rome, and gave only 3.75 pages

* The book was popular: it was reprinted twice in 1937 alone.

** It was reprinted 14 times by 1951, when a new edition (subtitled 'England') came out. Even then, the coverage of China had not increased save for an amended description (already obsolete) of Chiang as "a new military leader of great ability" (1951,v.2.,373). There was no mention of Mao or the communist takeover.

(1.54%) to China, and then only on the life, ideas and analogues of Confucius.*

Hill's The new approach: Introduction to history (1937) was "designed as a balanced introduction"⁷⁰ to history for juniors, but gave China only two lines coverage (0.05%) and excluded her history from chapters on 'Early drawing and writing', 'The history of war', 'measuring time and counting', and 'The history of education'.

Kirkman's three-volume History highway (1938) was claimed to cover "the whole ground of world and british history".⁷¹ Its chapters comprised 'Julius Caesar and the Britons'; 'Romans in Britain'; 'The roman empire'; 'Famous men' (Arthur, Augustine and Aidan); 'Great Kings' (Charlemagne and Alfred); '1066'; 'English life in the time of Richard the Lion-heart' (two chapters); 'King John'; 'S. Francis, Marco Polo'; 'English, Welsh and Scots'; 'English and French at war'; 'Black Death'; 'English and French at war again'. The first two volumes totally ignored China - and all other parts of the non-european world. The third only recognised her (two pages) in the usual chapter on Marco Polo.

Davies' four-volume Heritage history (1937-8) was strangely inconsistent. As noted earlier, the first two volumes failed to mention China: the third gave a favourable treatment. The fourth, The modern world, 1689 to the present, spared China only 1.75 of its 248 pages (0.71%). A survey of events pre-1860 brought out little save that the Chinese ill-treated Europeans. Other coverage was related to the rise of Japan, which had conformed to european criteria by becoming "a great force"⁷² and thus merited a chapter. Even then, there was no mention of the sino-japanese war of 1894-5; the 1911 revolution; or the invasion of Manchuria. Moreover, though the beginning of the current crisis in 1937 was noted, no blame was attributed to Japan.

Madeley's four-volume History in the making (1939-40) was no less ambivalent. As noted earlier, whilst favourable treatment of China may be found in the second volume, she was totally excluded from the first and fourth. The third, The servants of man, ostensibly a history of technological achievement, concentrated almost exclusively on Britain.

* It ran to 17 impressions by the 1960s. In 1965 a much-changed second edition came out. (See *infra*, p. 200).

Boog-Watson's The middle ages (1940) saw that period largely in terms of Britain, plus brief reference to China in the Marco Polo chapter, and some treatment of Charlemagne, Joan of Arc and William Tell. All three enjoyed twice as much attention as medieval China.

Mowat and Kelly's Early modern age (1940) again dealt mainly with Britain and Europe, sparing only six lines (0.05%) for the Chinese invention of paper and the compass (not printing) and Marco Polo's visit. China was shown on end-page maps, but their purpose was to show the development of European empires. In the same series, Recent times (1942) stretched to one page on China, but under 'The transformation of Japan', "A power of first-rate importance". No detail of significance on China per se was offered, and though 1911, Sun, and 1931 were mentioned en passant, the 1937 invasion was ignored, and the war's origins portrayed as solely European. Pupils were asked to "say in a sentence (sic) what change took place in China during the 19th. and 20th. centuries".⁷³

Batten's British empire and the modern world (1941) was equally revealing, for whilst 2.75 pages (1.23%) were given to China, it was solely in the context of external pressure. Batten's attitudes were not unfavourable, describing the opium war as "not at all creditable" and criticising Japan's attack on Manchuria, "part of the Chinese empire".⁷⁴ The weaknesses were in omission rather than commission. Chiang was noted because of his involvement in international crisis: Sun and the Communist Party excluded because of their concern with domestic affairs.

Carter's Man's social story (c.1945) stretched to two pages on China, but despite maintaining^{**} that her civilisation was "quite as old as Egypt",⁷⁵ and that she had been successful in technological innovations, Carter gave secondary pupils a stereotyped image - chopsticks, tea, exotic foods and manure.

Wolstencraft's two-volume Our historical heritage (1947-50) explicitly concentrated on Britain, but claimed to introduce "the civilisations of the ancient world and ... more important movements

* Virtually no books of the period brought out this point.

** Incorrectly.

and personalities of subsequent world history".⁷⁶ Nonetheless, of 563 pages, only eight lines (0.03%) were given to China.*

Equally distorted images of China's historical significance were suggested by Bellis's Caveman to citizen (1947) and Fifty famous years (1948). The former, ostensibly a survey of human civilisation, covered China's segment in only four lines (0.05%) and omitted her from chapters on agricultural methods, metals, road-making, transport, textiles, printing (stating that it was invented in Germany) writing and libraries, education, music and instruments, medicine, and government. The latter gave 2.5 pages to the Far East, but less than half of that dealt with China. Of Japan, the eurocentrist approbation was advanced that "unlike the Chinese (they) welcomed the widening of their horizon".⁷⁷

Only marginally more acceptable was book one of Cumberledge's World history in picture and story (1949) which summarised China's world contribution up to the 15th. century in 1.19% of the text, failed to mention any of her technological or high cultural achievement save for the building of the great wall to protect the "honest, hard-working Chinese",⁷⁸ when referring to the Polos gave virtually no detail on China, and on a map wrongly located the Yangtse river in the south-west.**

Book four of Williams' Four freedoms histories (1949) did little to rectify the blankness of earlier volumes. The only detail on China was half a page pointing to her unsuitability for colonisation, and a few lines implying that Manchuria had not been part of China - 0.19% in all. The third volume of Mainwaring's Man and his world (1949) failed to maintain the more favourable treatment of the earlier books, giving only two pages (0.57%) to China, mostly in a substantial study of Japan in which he argued that China could have been developed (sic) "through the friendly cooperation of other powers", especially Britain.⁷⁹ Exploitation and hypo-colonisation were overlooked. Moreover, though the Japanese attacks in the 1930s were noted, and the 1911 revolution, there was no coverage of Sun,

* Vol.2 included in quantitative count for the period 1950-71.

** Later in the series (1953) book four included some detail on early China.

Chiang, the Kuomintang, the rise of communism, or the resistance of Japan. The gaps would have puzzled any child reading the newspapers during that year.

A particularly important series of textbooks published during the 1930s and 1940s was Ginn's History secondary series under the editorship of C.B.Firth, and several offer good examples of imbalance. The books were largely directed at the development of Britain, but supposedly set in a more universal perspective of european and world affairs. That aspiration was not realised. Latham's Flints to printing (1936) for instance, gave only 0.58% of its pages to China, primarily brief references to Mongol China (including the first british schoolbook reference to Pegoletti) and the medieval silk trade. Despite the title, none of the major chinese technological discoveries were mentioned. From the same series, Waterloo to George 6th. failed to mention the opium war, Hong Kong, the Boxers or the significance of chinese territories after the great war. There was no suggestion that the Washington treaties related to China; China was not mentioned in a note on the japanese conquest of Manchuria; and she was excluded from a frontispiece map of the modern world supposedly representing the british empire but naming all other major states. There were, however, five lines on chinese pirates. Again, The road to modern Europe (1949) failed to state that the manchurian crisis was followed by a greater invasion in 1937 which ultimately caused Japan's involvement in war against the West. In Napoleon to Hitler (1946) Firth observed that Europeans knew little of the Chinese, seemingly "odd people who wore pigtails"; and understood neither the "dignity and self-sufficiency of the court" and its "feeling ... of superiority over surrounding countries who for centuries had looked to China as suzerain and as leader in civilisation", nor "the chinese sense of art in everyday life".⁸⁰ She then proceeded to apportion China only two of 436 pages on modern history (0.52%); omitted all detail on her internal development; ignored her revolution and national leaders; and treated the japanese attacks in only two lines. By contrast, she gave a twelve-page narrative leading up to Hitler's attack on Poland. The eurocentrist impact on young people is evident.

Several books dealing specifically with travel and discovery have also been analysed. Power's Britain and the world: 20 centuries of travel (1933) included an account of Marco Polo but told junior

children almost nothing about China except its trade with Europe. Collinson's Exploration and adventure (1934) only referred to China on one page of a five-page account of Polos visit. Boog-Watson and Carruthers' Beyond the sunset (1934) similarly covered China in only 1.5 pages of a nine-page section on the Polos; whilst their West of the moon (1938) said little of China other than a few lines on Huc's journey through Kansu. None showed any awareness of or interest in the great chinese travellers from Han to Ming times: the world was discovered by Europeans.

Books of time-charts and maps have also been found wanting. Wheatons's Pictorial time-chart of world history (1934) included only four references to China (of 94 items) and, whilst mentioning Buddha, Jesus, Mohammed and Moses, forgot Confucius.* Philips' Primary historical atlas (1933) "prepared under the direction of the Historical Association",⁸¹ and with the help of Dance, contained 18 maps of Europe, eight of Britain, three of India and two each of the Near East, America and Africa. 'The ancient East' reached only to Persia. China was shown in sketchy detail on five world maps and one of european domination in Asia. There was no map of East Asia per se. Rennard's Atlas of british and world history (1934) showed 'The ancient empires of the East' extending only to India (itself excluded). China was shown on maps of the mongol empire and Europe in Asia and, lacking detail, on four world maps. One included Britain twice, whilst apparently excluding Manchuria from 'The Pacific problem'. There was no map of China per se. There were, however, detailed maps of phoenician colonies, Paul's journeys, roman, saxon and danish Britain, the angevin empire, celtic countries in the 13th. century, medieval trade (european), puritan England, Marlborough's campaigns, Bismarck's foreign policy and european naval battles.** Brown and Coysh's Map approach to modern history (1935) gave four maps to China: all in a context of great power rivalry there. Muir and Philips' Atlas of ancient and classical history

* Not included in quantitative analysis.

** That was the 13th. edition. It ran to 39 impressions by 1951, some indication of popularity. By then, the only substantive change was two new maps of India. There was no change vis-a-vis China, and no suggestion of any developments there since 1934.

(1938) included only a map of Han China on a larger stage. Richards, Goodson and Morris's Sketch-map history of the great war and after (1938) included China on only one full-page map (illustrating the rise of Japan) and two inserts, one significantly excluding Manchuria, Jehol and Chahar. Perry's Sketch-maps in modern history (1948) contained five maps of Britain, 20 of Europe but none of China. A few Chinese details were shown on a map of East Asia, but only those relevant to western involvement. The accompanying text began in 1786 with British control of the China Route, and ended in 1941, with Japanese control of the north. The six atlases gave, respectively, approximately 2.68%, 1.79%, 6.78%, 1.25%, 1.84%, and 1.18% of their pages to China.

Finally, books specifically focusing on contemporary world affairs, but either failing to understand or to lay sufficient emphasis upon events in China, have been scrutinised. Knapp-Fisher's The modern world (1933) despite a few favourable Chinese details, noted of the Japanese in Manchuria: "There was every reason why Japanese ... should bring western ways (sic) to Manchuria ... It seems not unjust for Japan to control Manchukuo ... Japan has got ahead of China in the march of civilisation ... China has not yet really been able to take up with western ways".⁸² Hearnshaw, in Prelude to 1937 (1937) characterised the 1931 crisis as "cardinal in the history of mankind",⁸³ but gave it only 1.81% of his book, and made little mention of China herself. King-Hall's The world since the war (1937) devoted only 1.79% to China, including one line on Chiang Kai-shek. Beggs and Humphreys' Intermission 1919-39 (1941) ran to four pages (3.92%) on Japan's attacks on China, leading to "a tremendous tragedy, on a much bigger scale even than the war in Europe",⁸⁴ but virtually nothing on China herself. Stenbridge's Oxford war atlas: The first two years (1941) spared only 1.59% for events in China (wrongly dated from 1932). Western assistance was emphasised: there was no reference to Chinese resistance or leadership. A list of major war events omitted all events in China, and another of the 15 main theatres of war ignored the Chinese struggle and its six million military casualties before 1941: the Eurocentrist astigmatism embraces even momentous tragedies in its ignorance.

The most disturbing treatment, however, has been found in Somervell's Between the wars (1948). Only 14 pages (the last chapter) dealt with East Asia, for which "but little space remains", and only

four of those (1.83%) covered China. Her 1911 constitution was "enormous and ... absurd". Sun Yat-sen had proved "impracticable and disastrous". Independence from western control had not been beneficial: India's population had grown under british 'tyranny', whilst in independent China "the population ... was being reduced with equal rapidity". Japanese policies in China were viewed through japanese eyes. They differed little from british policies in India: "why should not the Japanese do the same with an incorrigibly disorganised and anarchical China"? Of the japanese attacks on China and the subsequent war no criticism was offered. Japanese actions had been "cradled in treachery" - but Somervell was referring, not to attacks on the mainland, but to Pearl Harbour.^{85*}

C. Conclusions

Analysis has been attempted of 324 school history books published between 1875 and 1949, selected from approximately 2,000 on grounds that, prima facie, their titles suggested the possibility of extra-national or extra-european content; and their treatment of chinese history and civilisation recorded. Some qualitative analysis has been essayed, and recurrent examples of distorted, patronising or hostile attitudes detected in every decade. More emphasis has been laid on a quantitative analysis, however. From that it is apparent that the miniscule number of pages or even lines that authors were prepared to apportion to China constituted a persistent problem throughout the period and represented a serious impairment to children's development of balanced world-historical understandings.

The 324 books continued 67,549 pages, an average of 208.48. The total number of pages given to China was 520.47, an average of 1.60. The average percentage on China was 0.81%. No reference whatsoever was made to China in 177 books, 54.62% of the total.

Moreover, when the two sub-periods 1875-1931 and 1932-1949 are separated, small improvement is discernible in the latter years,

* Somervell's attitude was further revealed in British empire and commonwealth, 4th. edn., 1954 (1930) which gave only 0.68% of space to british imperialism in China and failed to mention the Hong Kong Chinese other than "grave problems of housing and public hygiene". (p.292)

despite two invasions, international crisis, large-scale warfare, alliance with the western democracies, ongoing civil war and the rise of communism in China. From the years 1875-1931, 111 books have been studied, totalling 26,853 pages, an average of 241.92. The total number of pages on China was 144.15, an average of 1.30, or 0.52%. No reference to China was made in 59, or 53.15%. From 1932-49, 213 books have been studied, totalling 40,696 pages, an average of 191.06. The total number of pages on China was 376.32, an average of 1.77. The average percentage given to China increased, but only from 0.52% to 0.96%. No reference to China was made in 118 of 213 books, or 55.4%, representing a deterioration against the earlier sub-period.

Chapter Six: Quantitative analysis of school history books published between 1950 and 1983.

A. 1950-1971

As with the first two sub-periods, the third saw the publication of numerous schoolbooks displaying a benevolent attitude to, or interest in, specific or general aspects of chinese history and civilisation.

One topic increasingly favourably treated was Marco Polo's visit, with use of a more original spread of detail and greater concentration upon the chinese part of the journey. Several examples have been found. Garnett's Exploring the world (1953) included 16 pages of objective descriptions of chinese luxuries and technological innovations, the grand canal, and foreign trade. Chinese junks were "larger than the ships of Europe ... (and) more comfortable".¹ Ten pictures included one of the ancient Peking university. China was prominently detailed on a world map, and there were others of the grand canal, the China sea and the Yangtse (stressing its size as against the Thames). Much of Garnett's detail, and that contained in Kirtley's Discoverers of the world (1951) had not previously been put before children in Britain. Less was given in Horniblow and Sullivan's Kings and queens, knights, saints and heroes (1950). Nonetheless it advised young children that "the Chinese were ... highly civilised ... hundreds of years before the roman empire ... and when the people living in Britain were very uncivilised. Confucius, one of the great religious teachers of China, lived 600 years before the birth of Jesus". Marco Polo was "astounded" by China's magnificence: "He had never dreamt that kings and princes could live in such luxury". The chinese empire was "the most wonderful in the world".^{2*} A similarly favourable impression was conveyed in Hitchcock's Great people through the ages (1954) which stressed aspects of chinese technology "unknown in Europe at that time".³

Additionally, but frequently using evidence from Polo's Travels, occasional references to China are found in a number of books on specific historical topics. Three volumes of Longman's Man's heritage

* The authors used "wonderful" 12 times, and "great" or "greatest" 15 times, in 4 pages.

series offer useful examples. Dance's Trading and travelling (1951) noted that after the fall of Rome Europe "was not at all the most civilised part of the world" and described chinese roads, "wonderfully straight and broad, with comfortable inns every few miles", superior to "the poor ones" in Europe.⁴ Dobson's Clothing and costume (1954) gave interesting detail of chinese fabrics, "beautifully embroidered"⁵ motifs, hair styles, ceremonial dress, dyes, silk-technology, traditions of modesty, and baby-carrying techniques. Madeley's Homes and homemaking (1954) drew children's attention to chinese porcelain, "far whiter than anything made in the West", lacquers, wallpapers, gardens, silk trade, "one of the most famous trade routes of the world", and in particular to China's stylistic influence upon the West, her wallpaper, for example, "caus(ing) a sensation".⁶

A second series in which fragmentary detail of interest on specific aspects of China's development was introduced was Methuen's Outlines. Trew's The horse through the ages (1953) noted the chinese invention of the bit, bridle and saddle and early development of equestrian skills. Calder's Story of nursing (1954) stressed "the high level which chinese medicine had attained"⁷ in ancient times and mentioned chinese medical literature and preventive medicine. Hobley's Exploring the Pacific (1957) noted possible early chinese contacts with America and sketched her european links to the seventh century.⁸ Haggart's Pottery through the ages (1959) gave particularly favourable detail on chinese pottery. Her craftsmen were "pre-eminent in the art", achieving an "ultimate and absolute mastery" which enshrined the national traditions and character. The discovery of the potter's wheel and kaolin were noted, the various types of chinese porcelain, and european reverence for its beauty. T'ang-Sung porcelain was "akin to architecture ... in no other period or country were pots of such majestic beauty produced". The Ming period resembled the italian renaissance, "the same vitality and ... delight in display and building ... maximum refinement and beauty". Under the Manchu, "superlative porcelain in every style was made in quantity ... chinese standards became the ideal of Western Europe".⁹ Much more important to world-historical teaching, however, was Hobley's Early explorers to A.D. 1500 (1954). For the first time in british schoolbooks, chinese exploration was treated in its own right, with effective use of contemporary evidence. This included substantial detail on Hsüang-tsang's journeys in India and I-ching's

sea voyage. Children were informed that under the T'ang "China ... was in the forefront of exploration and travel ... the dark ages in Europe were a time of enlightenment in the Far East". In addition, detail was included on western visitors to China, not only Polo's sojourn (a highly favourable vignette, with liberal quotation from Polo's own account) but others including Romans - "the Chinese regarded (their) gifts as tribute" - Arabs and Pordenone.¹⁰ The book thus constituted a significant advance in the introduction of world-historical perspectives to british school children.*

Further awareness of the significance of chinese civilisation was shown in a number of books dealing with earlier history. Davies's Outline history of the world (3rd.ed.,1954) included interesting detail on early chinese civilisation (seen as autochthonous) stressing that it was "most decidely organised for peace ... China is the one country ... where it is considered disgraceful to be a soldier". The account of Marco Polo was, unusually for a british textbook, set within the development of chinese society. The author stressed that Polo's Travels "stimulated that intercourse with the East which was to affect the civilisation of the West profoundly by the introduction of such inventions as printing, gunpowder and the mariners' compass".¹¹ Strong's History of Britain and the world: The world of the middle ages (1954) gave information on aspects of chinese technology and civil engineering, and stressed both the continuity of her imperial history and her cultural richness by comparison with Europe.¹² Bellis's Britain in a changing world, Book 3 (1960) strongly reminded children that China enjoyed "a fine civilisation ... long before the great days of Greece and Rome", and that the Polos had seen "marvellous cities and palaces which surpassed their wildest dreams",¹³ and noted the inventions of printing, paper, porcelain and silk. Jenkins' The way of world history (1961) gave useful detail on earlier chinese philosophy, Confucius and Lao-tse being "two great teachers" whose "high moral teaching" had shown the "path to the good life";¹⁴ on Mongol China especially contemporary drama; and on the origin of paper and

* Useful brief details on H'uang-tsang and Chang Ch'ien was given also by Cowie, Living through history: Discovery (1969). (But see infra. pp. 208-9).

printing. Ault and Workman's Time remembered: Past glory (1962) made effective comparisons between China and Europe for junior children - "long before Alexander's days many chinese books had been written" -¹⁵ stressing the early superiority of her civil service and high culture. Similarly, Elliott's Europe in world history: the building of nations (1965) favourably contrasted China and Europe, the Polos finding "a great and wealthy and ancient civilisation such as Europeans had never dreamed of",¹⁶ and Ricci being no less impressed. In respect of chinese explorers and travellers, important brief details were given.

Even more favourable portrayals of earlier China were brought out by Hobley (1960) Strong (1961) and Bowman (1968). Hobley's Britain's place in the world: Earliest times to A.D. 1,000, presented a favourable view, free of eurocentrism, covering early river-valley civilisation, early philosophy, the endurance of chinese civilisation ("conquerors have been swallowed up, and their language, customs and way of life ... forgotten") the wall ("one of the greatest constructions ever made by man") and expansion to the north and west. The T'ang period, "greater than the roman at its mightiest" was particularly favourably portrayed. Religious toleration and the invention of printing were highlighted. Hobley summed up: "Slowly the peaceful Chinese increased in numbers ... No people has spread so peacefully, and steadily ... For thousands of years, central China had been peaceful and well-governed, with greater prosperity among the ordinary people, and far better education, than was ever the case in the roman empire ... The Chinese are inventive, intelligent and hard-working ... They invented gunpowder 700 years before it was used in Europe; they used coal and gas for heating long before it was used here".¹⁷ A partner volume, From A.D. 1,000 to 1600 conveyed an effective summary of Polo's recollections - "vast stretches of prosperous country ... a constant succession of cities and boroughs"¹⁸ - and noted the invention of paper and its spread westwards. Strong's Early man and the first nations pointed to the early importance of chinese agriculture; the invention of paper, printing - "the Chinese were ... printing books six centuries before ... Europe" - and other technologies; and religious ideas. Whilst Israel and Assyria were rising, "an even more wonderful civilisation was being built up by the Chinese ... They were already highly civilised over 3,000 years ago ... when most of the peoples of Europe

were still living in a primitive state".¹⁹ Bowman's Universal history of the world: Early civilisations devoted a significant proportion of its 94 pages (14.36%) to China, with detail on Peking Man, early agricultural and social development, early dynasties and urban life, Han culture, and philosophical ideas, besides a map and six carefully detailed illustrations. No young reader could have formed other than a highly favourable view of the intrinsic interest of China and her role in the early development of world civilisation.

Of an entirely different order of significance, nonetheless, was Dance's The world before Britain (1965) a major revision of an inadequate book dating from 1937.* The original chinese section was unaltered,** but a new chapter on the Ch'in-Han period, when "China became the most civilised country in the world",²⁰ was added. Whilst the Romans were making Europe the centre of western civilisation, the Han were establishing chinese leadership in the East. Details were given of chinese government, conquests, explorations, religion, writing, paper, encyclopaedias, histories, high culture, science, mathematics, chemistry, agriculture and trade. Wen Ti, Wu Ti, Chang Ch'ien, Pan Ch'ao and Ssu-ma Ch'ien were named. The inclusion of such details,*** many never before published in a school textbook, evidenced the positive attitudes to world and chinese history which Dance himself advocated. The book complemented Dance's existing series, British and foreign history. Its treatment of Ch'in and Han China dovetailed with the portraits of the T'ang and Sung period in the revised edition (1947) of book one, Europe and the old world, and of Ming and Manchu times in book 2, New Europe and the new world (1941). This newly-augmented series then comprised the most satisfactory set of textbooks yet published in respect of the presentation of material on chinese history in a world perspective to secondary children.²¹

Much more than with earlier periods, however, books dealing with modern, especially recent history and published in the two decades

* It had run to 17 impressions in 25 years.

** Save for removal of a reference to "queer picture-writing". (1937 edn., 82).

*** Plus a good deal more on India and Hinduism.

following 1949 indicate steadily increasing perception of China's significance. The world today (1953) book four of Cumberledge and Mackay's World history in picture and story devoted a 26-page chapter to China. An attempt was made to rectify previous omissions in respect of earlier periods by brief detail on the invention of paper, printing, silk and the compass ("the chinese discovery benefitted all mankind") philosophers ("some of the wisest men in the world lived in China") the great wall and grand canal ("wonders of the world") examinations, and western trade.²² The remainder focused upon the modern period, with a narrative to the communist takeover, a map, the first british school-book picture of Mao, and full-page illustrations of chinese houses, architecture, costume, arts and crafts, pastimes, agriculture and transport.

Similar steps towards rectification of previous neglect are seen in Strong's History of Britain and the world: The 20th century and the contemporary world (1956) which gave nearly 15 pages to modern China. A sympathetic narrative brought out frequently ignored features such the Washington agreements' relevance to China, the importance of Sun, chinese resistance to Japan - "There was never a really final surrender"²³ - and China's role in allied wartime planning. This, in harness with other books in the series, made at least faltering steps towards improvement.²⁴

Similar scale of treatment and emphasis is found in Pakeman's The modern world (1958).^{*} A survey of China's "remarkable civilisation" and history to 1900 led to a substantial account of the period to the second world war, noting China's role in the great war and her later "struggle against terrific odds" and "brave fight" against Japan, which "evoked the admiration of the whole world". On the post-war period, Pakeman portrayed China as "bound to exert immense influence on ... the whole world" and commented on her industrial, agrarian and transportation developments. Overall, China was placed squarely on the stage of modern world history.²⁵

Much more important, however, was Knapp-Fisher's The world today (1958) which again helped remedy a less favourable impression in others in the same series and in other of the same author's books.²⁶ This offered secondary pupils an imaginative

* 4 editions and 7 reprints since 1931.

world-perspective which included substantial detail (nearly 34 pages) on China. Information on Chinese names, houses, family beds, clothes, marriage customs and other mundane aspects of social living underlined the lesson of shared humanity, with particular stress and detail on the strength and essential normality of Chinese family life. Passages such as, "It is amusing to find differences between foreign people and ourselves, but it is worth while to find out those things in which they are like ourselves, so that we can understand them ... in their thoughts and feelings the Chinese are very like ourselves", are not common in British history textbooks. Children were also given geographical material, and a map, with a descriptive narrative of a journey from Chungking to Shanghai, "one of the greatest cities of the world", with supportive detail calculated to arouse empathetic understanding. The book's historical content was no less valuable. Unusually, the narrative of political events from 1911 to communism, with favourable references to Sun, Chiang and Mao, stressing that "the great and ancient civilisation of the Chinese is too large in every way to be easily swayed by foreign nations", was mainly domestic in content and evaluation, in line with the author's insistence that China must be judged from a Chinese standpoint. In general, the book, in which children were almost unprecedentedly given 10 references for further reading on China, and were reminded with insistent humanity that the Chinese were "in the world today beside ourselves ... This morning's sunshine rose upon them ... as it rose upon us ... (We must) learn about them as well as about ourselves, and so to try to heal the breach between the East and the West ... which is the greatest danger of the modern world", established standards of detail, insight and broader world overviews hitherto matched by few textbook writers.²⁷

No treatment of comparable fullness was to be produced in general history textbooks for almost a decade. Nonetheless, several books further suggest a growing tendency to demonstrate to secondary children China's modern world importance. The fourth volume of Bellis's Britain in a changing world (1960) represented the 1911 revolution as "one of the most amazing revolutions in history", made brief reference to several leaders including Chou En-lai,* described

* The earliest reference discovered in a British school-book.

the retreat to Chungking as "one of the most remarkable treks in history ... the world looked on in admiration", did not overlook the anti-japanese struggle during the war (again, too often ignored) and noted "tremendous strides" post-1949.²⁸ The fourth book of Hobley's Britain's place in the world (1960) offered rare information on US-China trade in the 19th century, criticised western actions in 1839, 1860 and 1900 - "No wonder the Chinese still looked upon the Europeans as ignorant barbarians" - and included maps of East Asia giving substantial chinese detail.²⁹ Pearson's Towards one world: World history from 1600 to 1960 (1962) averring that "the skill of its farmers, artisans and scholars and the wisdom of its rulers have ... produce(d) several great civilisations", gave 22 pages to China since 1517, with good detail on the opium war and the period 1900 to 1916.³⁰ McGuffie's History for today: Our world since 1939 (1934) again stood out against earlier volumes in the series. Its 15 pages on China included a sketch of earlier history stressing both antiquity and inventiveness, listing seven major inventions, giving detail on education, religion and art - "amongst the most beautiful things ever made by man"³¹ - and favourably contrasting early China against early Britain. The period from initial western contacts to 1960 was detailed, stressing the determined chinese resistance to japanese invasion and the red army's good showing in Korea. Crowley's Background to current affairs (1963) in 30 pages portrayed East Asia as a chinese theatre, unlike the japanese focus of most other books, and supported chinese actions in Tibet and Korea. Thomas's Post-war world (1966) gave nearly 17 pages to a balanced account of the period from 1900 to 1949 and a number of other references which effectively locked China into the book's discussions on almost all the problems of contemporary world history. Breach's Documents and descriptions: The world since 1914 (1966) gave 22 extracts (25 pages) to China, nine on internal affairs. The modern world importance of China was also brought out clearly in the 1967 revision of Priestley and Betts' Momentous Years, first published 1947.³²

Four particularly sound books, offering children a genuine world-historical perspective on modern times, and giving a proportion of their pages to China which, both in content and in tone, matched that of some of the better books noted earlier, were published in the last few years of the period. Ayling's Portraits of power (4th.ed.,1967) was important in that when first published in 1961 it

included the first extended biographical sketch of Mao in a british schoolbook. Detail on traditional China and the early revolutionary background led on to an account of the long march and the rise of communism, seen as a new dynasty in the long line of succession. Mao was painted in a mainly favourable light, "a scholar and a man of letters", the long march "an epic journey ... a legend", 1949 "an astonishing year", the cultural revolution "one of the most astounding ... chapters of modern history". The account heavily underscored the major significance of China in the modern world: "What has happened in China since the second world war is the greatest event in recent history". Moreover, the well-chosen personal details of Mao - "affable and courteous ... rather tall, with broad shoulders and a shock of black hair" - unusual in any textbook treatment of any period of chinese history, importantly brought out his human qualities and cannot have lacked impact in the reduction of stereotyped attitudes.³³ Wood's This modern world (1967) allocated 32 pages to China, treating the japanese interest from the 1890s separately from the main narrative, which the bulk of books fail to do. The text, favourable to China in tone, included helpful explanatory charts and summaries of the principal chinese events and problems since 1900, a background sketch of ancient China comparing her favourably with the West, and a rare brief study of domestic problems in the 19th. century. Marcham's Rise of the outer continents (1968) despite its eurocentrist title offered a perceptive 41-page narrative of China to 1967,^{*} again including a survey of her ancient civilisation and 19th. century events, and apportioning 17 pages to post-revolutionary economic development and foreign policy. Most promising of all from the standpoint of world history teaching, not least for its balanced 21-page coverage of modern China,^{**} was Alexander and Murphy's The global age (1970). The chinese narrative was skilfully written to avoid a factual and chronological-political impression, and included scrutiny of the background to peasant

* Sound detail was also given of the USA, India, Japan, Indonesia, Vietnam and Africa.

** Attention was also given to Hispanic America, Africa, South East Asia, the Middle East and India.

problems. Ch'en Tu-hsiu was quoted.* Concerning the manchurian problem (separately covered) the authors stressed to children that "China had been fighting a japanese invasion long before the U.S. and Britain had gone to war". The account of communist takeover was more fully detailed than in other books, with a map. Overall, the authors offered secondary pupils a more valid coming-to-terms with the realities of modern history on the world stage than previously brought out by any other textbook. China was planted squarely in the spotlight of world history: "The achievement of the communist government since 1949 may well be the most important event in the history of the 20th. century. No limits could be placed on the future possibilities for the chinese people".³⁴

As with the earlier sub-periods, however, an over-optimistic assessment of schoolbook treatments of China between 1950 and 1971 must be counselled against. Even in the 40 titles considered above, the average percentage on China was only 5.04, and the average number of pages 11.26. The highest percentage on China in any one book was 15.6. Moreover, even those 40 are themselves open to substantial criticism. Garnett, for instance, made no reference to any chinese explorers, and in a parallel book completely ignored China. Horniblow and Sullivan's view of heroic personalities was confined to Britons other than six Europeans including Polo. Of Hitchcock's 21 'great people', 13 were British and the rest Europeans, despite the aim "to include those who have made a definite contribution to civilisation".³⁵ Printing originated in Europe. Dance (1951) allowed China only half a page of a monograph on trade and travel. Madeley excluded China from chapters on early pottery, water supply, metals, fuel, cookery, baths, beds, cutlery, carpets, and pictures. Trew under-represented the chinese part in equestrian technology and Calder her achievements in such as pharmacology, public health and medical training. Cowie omitted Cheng Ho. Jenkins gave only six lines to the important Ch'in-Han period and one to the T'ang; ignored the Ming and earlier Manchu; made only one reference to chinese culture and two to technology; failed to mention China in chapters on the first world war (17 other nations were listed), 'hammer and sickle' and modern dictators (those is Bulgaria and Uruguay were considered); made only a passing reference to China in the second world war (via

* First reference found in a british school textbook.

Japan); ignored the invasions of Manchuria; and overlooked domestic developments since 1949. China was omitted from a chapter on 'Welfare of the peoples' and given one line in 'Population and food' (Clarence Birdseye merited 10).^{*} Hobley (1960) allowed the Ming three lines, suggested chinese gunpowder was used only for fireworks, and on the modern period recognised the long march and japanese invasions only on a map and ignored the 1911 revolution, the post-1937 war, and Mao Tse-tung. Davies allocated China only 10 of 576 pages on world history (1.74%). The T'ang were ignored, Mongols to Manchu dismissed in five lines, and the 20th. century given one page. A time-chart of world history since 3400 B.C. included 15 items on China and 66 on England, and lists of 135 important dates in history included but nine on China. Only five of the book's 32 chapters dealt with the non-european world.^{**} Cumberledge and Mackay's account (1953) followed three earlier volumes which had given China only a few lines of over 700 pages of text. Similarly, Stong's (1956) was the fifth of a series whose first four volumes had allowed but nine of their 992 pages to China, and continuing eurocentrism was shown in three index references (five lines total) to Mao as against 13 each to Mussolini and Hitler. Post-1949 China was given one line. Pearson excluded China from the great war, peace treaties and Washington agreements, ignored the attacks on Manchuria in the 1930s, failed to mention China in the second world war,^{***} and excluded Mao from the long march and an account of the nationalist collapse to 1949. Pakeman gave little attention to China per se. Bellis's interest (1960) was mainly in sino-japanese conflict. Only one page was given to the revolution, and China was omitted from material on the korean war. McGuffie (1964) maintained the Chinese "have never been a seafaring people",³⁶ essayed a carelessly eurocentrist summary of the 20th. century and gave a racist description of chinese facial features.

* The book also contained little on the islamic world, almost nothing on Hispanic America, only two pages on Japan and six on Africa. Post-imperial India merited three lines.

** Virtually no improvement was shown in a 1968 5th. edition.

*** Only 8 lines on the entire war in the East.

Those were the best representatives of the sub-period. The coverage of China in the bulk of the remaining 345 studied is thin indeed. They show an overwhelming concentration upon british history, supported at times with european or american material, clearly suggesting to children that the 'freedom', 'thrill', 'heritage', 'heroism', 'greatness', 'adventure', 'challenge', 'drama' or 'modernity' embraced by their titles is to be found primarily in the anglo-saxon and european past.

Even after the dramatic events of the first half of the 20th. century, many authors found it possible totally to ignore China in school history books. Wymer's Lives of great men and women (1951-60) defined greatness solely in anglo-european terms. Magraw's concept of The thrill of history (1950) was similarly restricted.³⁷ Row (1950) did not consider China a worthwhile example of How states are governed. Evans's Story of early times (1951) excluded China even from discussion of early civilisations. Both Stuart's History through the ages (1951-2) and Schroeder's Look at the past (1952) contained only two 'China' references - in the one case to porcelain, in the other to tea and cupboards. Strong's Brave men and women (1951) included no brave Asians: the only non-white was Pocahontas.³⁸ Sellman's Castles and fortresses (1954) mentioned the Maginot and Siegfried lines, but not the great wall of China. Acheson's The new age (1954) covered events in eight countries, but excluded China. Polkinghorne's three volumes of Tales the years tell (1960) were all classical and european save for material on Mohammed and Pocahontas.³⁹ L. W. Cowie's four-volume New outlook histories (1961-2) concentrated explicitly on british history. Nonetheless, they gave ample coverage to events in other lands - but not China. Volume one excluded her from an historical survey to 1603 and claimed printing as a german invention. Volume two excluded China from chapters on the first world war, between the wars, the second world war, and the latest years. Coverage of the second war mentioned japanese involvement, itemising the invasion of colonial possessions, but forgetting the invasions of China. China was also excluded from the cold war: even the korean war was portrayed as a conflict between North Korea, the USA and Britain. Boyce's How things began (1962) was claimed as "a suitable introduction to prehistory" for juniors, yet omitted China from four of its volumes, including chapters on picture-writing, paper, the wheel, pottery, boats, roads, chariots, tools and other aspects of technology.⁴⁰ Gray's Road to war (1970)

excluded China (and Japan) from the post-great war settlements, and ignored the japanese attacks in 1931 and 1937: Japan was only mentioned in connection with America. Inexplicable omission has also been found in such as Hume's Children though the ages (1953); Coltham's Beginning of writing (1953); Ellacott's Wheels on the road (1953); Moore's Story of transport (1954); Unstead's Travel by road through the ages (1958) and A history of houses (1958);⁴¹ and Lynch's Exploring the past (1969).

Many books totally ignoring chinese and other non-european history did so, moreover, in the interests not of concentration upon Europe, but because of an exclusive preoccupation with national history. Book two of Bellis's Britain in a changing world (1960) excluded China from a chapter 'In search of Cathay'.⁴² Purton's Days of glory (1961) gave 25 of 35 chapters to Britain, the other 10 to related aspects of Europe or America, and failed to mention China in discussion of Marco Polo (or Islam in a chapter on the crusades). Days of adventure (1961) dealt with heroes including Caractacus, Boudicca, Hereward, Nelson, Nightingale, Cavell, Hilary and Scott, and in 'Life in the middle ages' and 'Homes through the ages' covered only british material. Hounsell and Airne's four-volume Pictorial history (1962) painted a chronological outline of english history since the stone age: "It will doubtless suffice if the pupils recognise the sequence of the chief periods, e.g., Briton, Roman, Saxon, Norman, Plantagenet, etc., and have a general, idea of the succession of kings".⁴³ Bowles' Dramatic decisions (1965) devoted eight of its eleven case-studies to british events, and suggested that the far eastern war began with japanese attacks on british and american possessions: China was ignored. the six-volume Oxford series, People of the Past (1965) looked at 35 fictitious characters: 31 British, three Americans, one Australian. Turnbull's four-volume New junior histories (1965) included 90 stories: 65 dealt with Britain. All the fourth volume's 19 stories, for instance, were british. Seven chapters were entitled 'Our island story'. The words 'England', 'English' and 'British' occurred 11 times on the contents page. Book three, on the history of technology, claimed gunpowder, the longbow, the crossbow and the post to be english inventions.⁴⁴ Four of Cowie's nine-volume Living through history (1967-9) only referred to other countries peripherally, and excluded China totally: in Towns, the only asian city mentioned was Hiroshima, and a section

on Marco Polo mentioned only Venice. Lewis's People in living history (1970-71) concentrated mainly on the British. The first three volumes included one American, four Europeans, and 13 British, including King Arthur. No non-Europeans were included. Perhaps the clearest example is Niven's Travels in time (1971)⁴⁵ which neglected the non-european world whilst giving detailed concentration on Britain, yet nowhere suggested to the junior child that a conscious process of selection had occurred. Thus, Houses, Clothes, and Eating and drinking conveyed an impression of social living being almost confined to Britain. The latter also ignored China in a chapter on the search for spice lands.* Man in flight, Ships, and Road and rail represented transport technology as primarily a british achievement. The latter excluded China from chapters on the wheel (including chariots) and early roads: Ships ignored chinese junks and the chinese origin of the rudder and compass.** Other prima facie promising titles excluding China and the bulk of the world in favour of close concentration on Britain included Bell's Freedom histories (1948-52); the last two volumes of Turnbull's Golden Mean histories (1954);⁴⁶ Williams' Land, trade and transport (1955);*** Unstead's four-volume People in history (1955-6)^{****} and Looking at history (N.D.1950's);⁴⁷ Bowles' Dramatic readings (1956); Boog-Watson and Carruthers' Houses (1958); Stirland's two-volume Great writers (1959); the eight-volume Hutchinson series, Portraits and documents (1961-9); Kent's six-volume Topics through time (1968); Sutton and Lewis's People and their homes (1970); and Marsh's Documents of liberty (1971).

Even more open to comment are books overtly claiming or implying an interest in world history, whilst excluding China. A surprising example is Neurath and Lauwerys' How the first men lived (1952) with examples from Burma, Egypt and Britain, but not China.⁴⁸ A more

* There were two lines later on tea from China.

** There was a picture of a sampan in a section on primitive boats.

*** Concentration on Britain stated only in Introduction, p.13.

**** Focus on Britain only noted in passing: see Book 4, p.2.

serious example, however, is Harston's Understanding the modern world (1951). It listed the important people of recent times. The list was dominated by Britons, including, besides such as Churchill and Lloyd George, General Booth, Mrs Pankhurst, Northcliffe and Galsworthy. Some 'wider-world' figures were also named, almost all Europeans, but including Gandhi. No Chinese were included. Equally seriously, book three of Cumberledge's World history in picture and story: 1825-70⁴⁹ totally excluded China from the period, leaving her blank and unnamed on a Pacific-world map* and omitting all Chinese events save for Polo's visit from a world-history time-chart 6,000 B.C. to 1945.** Scotland's four-volume world history junior-school series, All our past (1953) overlooked China but included material on such as Leonidas, Kit Carson and Stonewall Jackson. Similarly, the Philips Everyday history series completely erased China from the world perspective in its first three volumes:⁵⁰ Londesbrough's The widening world (1954) excluded China from a world map of voyages to 'Cathay';*** Beggs-Humphreys and Humphreys' The world changes (1954) was mainly on Britain and the empire and restricted 'Their world' (other countries) to Europe; and the same authors' The shrinking world (1957) sought to give children "a better understanding of the times in which we live",⁵¹ but was then subdivided into 'Ourselves', 'Our occupations', 'Our country' and 'The commonwealth'.**** Comparable blankness in respect of China has been found in three volumes of Barker and Hammer's Queensway history series (1962).⁵² In Discoveries and inventions, only Egypt was mentioned in a chapter on writing: paper and ink were Egyptian inventions. The second half of the book, on modern technology, was

* Kamschatka, Novaya Zemlya, Christmas, Easter and Pitcairn Islands, India and Japan were all named.

** The births of Townshend, Tull, Brindley and McAdam, the opening of the Runcorn canal, the discovery of Kerguelan Island and the river Darling, the foundation of Liberia, the capture of Kabul, Gandahar and Ghazni and the publication of Uncle Tom's Cabin all merited inclusion.

*** There was no improvement 5 editions later (1980)

**** This important series ran to four editions and two reprints by 1963.

almost all british. People of long ago looked solely at Greece, Rome and Britain. Modern times saw the closure of the middle ages as an exclusively european event, attributed printing to Germany, omitted China and Japan from first world war combatants, forgot Japan's invasions of China in the 1930s and implied that japanese military actions began at Pearl Harbour. A further book by Turnbull⁵³ neglecting China was the second volume of The shape of history (1962).^{*} The book contained chapters on british air-travel, canals, new towns, TV., power-stations and weather forecasts. Nonetheless, there was some superficial world perspective, with sections on Australia, Canada, the USA, the Suez and Panama Canals, Russia, India, Ghana and the West Indies. China was not mentioned. Both world wars were portrayed as entirely european. Even Japan was excluded from the second world war.^{**} A final book demanding comment is Ayling's Nineteenth century gallery (1970). It claimed to cover "twelve of the most prominent men in history". Six were Europeans, two British, two Americans, one South American, and one Russian. There were no African or Asians. China was mentioned, however: one paragraph on the opium war in a chapter on Palmerston.⁵⁴

In addition to books completely excluding China from the pattern of the past, many others from the 1950s and 60s whose titles state or imply world perspectives give her history unacceptably skimpy attention, to a degree likely to arouse in children's minds images at best of insignificance or peripherality.

Guest's march of civilisation (rev.edn.,1950) allowed China only 1.69% of its pages. Chinese civilisation was not noted in any detail until page 182, when it was noted that this was so because China had not been influenced by western culture and her people had developed along "their own particular lines". Some superficial detail on aspects of chinese culture and technology ended with a justification of western intervention on grounds that "China at last realised that she was not the most civilised (sic) country in the world".^{55***}

* Vol. 1 gave 4 lines to China in 2 pages on Marco Polo.

** The imbalances seem not to have troubled teachers: there were two reprints and a second edition by 1964 (China still excluded).

*** The book did, however, contain the first reference found in a british schoolbook to Mao (p.185).

Cumberledge and Mackay's World history in picture and story: Middle ages to 1825 (c. 1950-51) allowed 0.1% to China, acknowledging the invention of paper and the compass, but not printing; ignoring the Ming and Manchu but mentioning Jesuits in China; asserting that the Mongols "came raiding and plundering from China" and noting the chinese origins of the black death; and in a time-chart portraying chinese civilisation as much less significant than roman.⁵⁶

Three volumes of Strong's History of Britain and the world (1954-6) showed similar neglect,* giving respectively 0.09%, 0.05% and 1.48% of their pages to China. The ancient and early medieval world virtually ignored all the important aspects of early chinese civilisation. The early modern world's brief references were only to european interests: chinese technology was ignored and the mariners' compass attributed to Italy. On a map, China was placed in the vicinity of Khabarovsk. The later modern world was again interested only in western activities in China. There was no interest in China per se. A map gave no detail of China and mis-spelled Hainan. A picture was printed of "the chinese quarter of Pekin"(sic).⁵⁷ Two volumes of the same author's New secondary histories (1962-4) merit similar criticism. The old world and the new gave 0.62% to China. Men and machines allowed only 1.74%, noting China's early civilisation but stressing western influence and sketching without comment the history of european penetration.

Even more unsatisfactory was Smith's four-volume Sense of history (1960-2). Learning to live together deleted China from history. Industry and agriculture apportioned her only four lines (0.06%) in discussion of 'great river cultures' and omitted her from early civilisation, pottery, early metals - "It was in Egypt, Babylon and Crete that bronze age culture reached its peak" -⁵⁸ iron and coal, 'thinking industrially', and agricultural history. Gunpowder and cannon were european inventions, first used at Crecy. Travel and transport ... cloth and clothes forgot China in chapters on the wheel, sea routes, roads and commerce, and gave her only eight lines (0.12%) on the silk trade, though the only chinese detail was that "the rulers were not friendly".⁵⁹ War and the search for peace mentioned China, "a great country",⁶⁰ only eight times (0.62%). Four of those were incorrect. Mao was mentioned, but chinese communism was not.

* He had recently written Teaching for international understanding for Unesco (1952).

Equally striking neglect of China has been found in several volumes of McGuffie's History for today (1963-4). The progress of man gave 0.18% of its contents to China, which was overlooked in chapters on early man, early agriculture, clothing (including sections on dyeing, silk, and the textile trade) early tools, roads, sea-travel (including sails, the compass and trade) education and schools, and early medicine. Other than chinese paper, there was no reference to her in a chapter on writing, covering picture-language, early books and writing materials; and though brief reference was made to chinese printing, that was paralleled by an assertion that european printing originated "without any connection with the chinese discoveries".⁶¹ Ideas and inventions totally ignored China. Famous men and women of modern times claimed to include "those ... who have more or less direct relevance to life today".⁶² They included such as Tull, Townshend, Sheridan, Plimsoll, Speke and another 81 Britons; 11 Europeans; three Americans; two Russians; and none from the extra-european world. Of Chinese, not even Mao, apparently, was relevant to contemporary life. The work did contain seven lines (0.06%) on China - but only in connection with Gordon.

No less reproachable are the volumes of Kerr's Time past and time present (1966-7). City to nation, earliest times to 1350 significantly began with the Greeks, "because they were ... the same sort of people as we are",⁶³ and gave only 11 lines (0.06%) to China. The widening of the world allowed her 14 lines (0.19%), including gunpowder for fireworks (Bacon invented explosives) the possible invention of the compass and block printing (moveable type originated in Europe) and chinese paper.* Milestones of civilisation gave four chapters to the white dominions, but covered China in just over one page (0.53%). She was not mentioned in discussions of world politics, education, religion, trade or towns, but her militarism was stressed, her threat to neighbours, and her willingness to wage war in order to lose up to 300 million surplus population. The modern world thought China worthy of only 5½ pages (1.83%) and reiterated her interest in world war. By contrast, Britain enjoyed five chapters, and Europe twelve.

* It was noted that the inventions underpinning the modern world came from China or India.

Almost as unbalanced was May's Progress of man (1966) which, despite references to chinese agriculture, block-printing (dated in the 13th century) and other socio-cultural matters, covered all such aspects in no more than two pages (1.25%). Chinese technological, linguistic, literary and artistic achievements were ignored ("almost all early discoveries and inventions were made in the Middle East").⁶⁴ Moveable type and explosives were invented in Europe.

Priestley's four-volume The awakening world (1967) gave China a total of 18½ out of 875 pages (2.11%) and then principally in terms of outside relationships. Internal affairs were virtually forgotten. The vision of freedom began with the Macartney mission, but following an admission that "the story we write is mainly concerned with the peoples of western Europe ... other parts ... enter ... only in so far as they are necessary to ... that story",⁶⁵ the remainder was devoted to Europe and America, including an implication that printing, gunpowder and the compass were all invented in Europe. The balance of power portrayed western intervention favourably, gave no domestic detail on China, and identified chineseness with backwardness. The age of fear and hope, 1914-45 spared China only eight pages (3.6%) and most of that on japanese involvement. Internal affairs were virtually ignored. Manchuria was implied to be a separate state.

Hardly less eurocentrist was Bankart's two-volume World history in parallel (1967). Volume one, The world 1500-1800, gave only 1.81% to China, as against 53% on european domestic affairs. The total on the british textile industry equalled that on China, and that on british constitutional history was three times greater. Moreover, the coverage of China progressively reduced: half a page on China in 1500; half that on 1600; six lines on 1700 (less than Australia); and two lines on 1800. The world was treated in relation to european expansion. The voyages of discovery were exclusively european: the chinese voyages were unmentioned. The chinese origins of paper and the mariners' compass ("not very usefully employed")⁶⁶ were noted, but printing was attributed to Europe. Three pages on 17th century China (but only in respect of european contacts) were set among 28 on the european renaissance period, 27 on domestic european events, 14 on the age of reason, 21 on the industrial and agrarian revolutions

in Europe, and 27 on the enlightenment to Napoleon.* The world since 1815 was superficially less eurocentrist, with 6.88% on China, 6.88% on South America, 5.73% on Africa and 7.45% on Western Asia. The perspective, however, was still european: "The unchanging East was still unchanging except where european influence had made itself felt".⁶⁷ In summaries, China in 1815 enjoyed three lines: Australia 10. China in 1875 received 10 lines: Australasia 30. A 13½ page section on 19th and 20th century China included five pages on domestic affairs to 1949 and six on the communist revolution and its consequences. British parliamentary democracy in the same period required 14 pages. A chapter on 19th century nationalism gave 20 pages to Europe, half a page to the rest of the world: China was ignored.

In addition to such general world-historical approaches, numerous other books, more specific in content, have been found equally wanting. Among biographical studies, for instance, Johnson's Who are they? (1952) included detail on 948 personalities from world history, literature and legend: 924 were western, including Uriah Heap, Sherlock Holmes, Robin Hood, Jekyll and Hyde, John Bull, Merlin, Santa Claus, the three wise men, Tom Thumb, the Vicar of Bray, King Arthur, Buffalo Bill, Caliban, and Wenceslas. Eight english King Henrys were covered, 11 Edwards, six Georges, 21 Princes of Wales and 102 greek mythological figures. Hannibal merited half a page, Hitler and Roosevelt rather more. The rest of the world's 24 representatives included Hiawatha, Ranjitsin, Sinbad the Sailor, and Ali Baba's slave. Four were 'Chinese': Aladdin, Kublai Khan, Chiang Kai-shek, and Confucius. Their total space barely exceeded that of Cecil Rhodes.

Six titles illustrate neglect of chinese scientific, technological and cultural achievement. Neurath and Lauwerys' First great inventions (1952) allowed China half a page (1.39%) and ignored her pottery, textiles and use of coal in sections on those topics.⁶⁸ Ellacott's story of ships (1958) gave China 5 lines (0.15%) and ignored the Ming ocean-going junks.⁶⁹ Rush and O'Keefe's Weights and

* Likewise, Japan was given only two pages, and the Near to Middle East only 10, and then only in european perspective. Only Mogul India was considered per se.

measures (1962) gave two lines (0.05%) and excluded her from a list of international weights and measures . Fyrth and Goldsmith's Science, history and technology (1965) allowed eight lines (0.08%) and ignored chinese alchemy, astronomy, cartography, communications, canals, metals (except iron) pottery, porcelain, roads, ships and textiles. Printing and paper were noted in passing. China was excluded from the index. Hanson and Wright's Dawn of science (1966) gave four lines (0.16%) with no references in chapters on astronomy, levers, simple machines, irrigation, windmills, medicine and missiles (including bows and cannon).⁷⁰ Downing's Story of language and writing (1967) allowed only five lines (0.26%) to China.

Books on exploration and discovery exhibit comparable neglect. Neurath and Lauwerys' How the world was explored (1957) gave China 1.5 pages (4.17%) but omitted her from sections on roads, early explorers and navigations , and technical innovation.⁷¹ Barker and Hammer's Seeking new lands (1962) stretched to a quarter of a page (0.31%). It dealt solely with Europeans.⁷² Wright's Travellers and their quests (1966) ignored all Chinese travellers.⁷³ Crone and Kendall's Voyages of discovery (1970) saw the topic eurocentrically, gave only four lines to chinese journeys, excluded China from a section on medieval trade and a chapter on navigation, and attributed the rudder to the Arabs. Rowling's Everyday Life of medieval travellers (1971) saw travel as a european phenomenon.

Even books on Marco Polo cannot be relied upon to highlight China. Peach's Marco Polo (1962) gave only 25% of its pages to the chinese aspects of the narrative, failed to refer to Hangchow, and left china largely blank in its end-paper map.⁷⁴ Similarly, Graves' A world explorer (1966) gave only 33% to China, one-third of that padded with un-chinese illustrations. There was no mention of any of the small details, such as coal, noted by Polo (except paper money) or of his descriptions of chinese palaces and cities.

Other topic-books giving inadequate attention to China include Duffy's The emancipation of women (1967) with no reference to the achievements since 1949; Wilmott's Fashion and dress (1971); and several volumes of E. Cowie's Living through history (1967-9). The land spared 0.36% for China, excluding her from chapters on 'The first farmers', 'Gardens', and 'The search for more land'. Leisure began with references to chinese football (0.14%) but then focused almost exclusively on Britain. Transport noted the silk road (0.13%)

but omitted China from 'Raiders and pilgrims', 'Transport for trade', and 'Canals'. Communication mentioned chinese language, writing and paper (0.41%) but excluded China from chapters on printing and literacy.⁷⁵ Even the important Batsford World wide series (1971) under the general editorship of J. L. Henderson⁷⁶ has been found at fault. Gordon's World problems for instance, dealt with such as conquest of disease and hunger, city life, violence, water supply and Vietnam without recognising China. Johnson's Disease and medicine placed emphasis on Europe's contribution, and excluded China from sections on early medicine and community health. P. Henderson's World poverty mentioned China once (0.01%) but ignored her in sections on population, illiteracy, education, intermediate technology, agricultural development and irrigation, and the mobilisation of people to tackle problems. Burnham's Race gave only 0.16% to the Chinese (plus a picture). Most conspicuous is Palmer's Cities, which covered chinese urbanisation in 15 lines (0.39%) and recognised no chinese cities other than Peking and Shanghai.* There were, however, 60 references to London, with nine pictures, 24 to 16 other british towns, 40 to New York, 51 to other U.S. towns, and 109 to european towns.

Many books concentrating particularly on modern, especially recent history have likewise offered at best a sketchy impression of China's world-historical importance. Blount's The last 100 years, for instance (1956) spared her two pages (1.25%). Though there was brief mention of the early republican years and the japanese invasion of 1931, the later invasion of the mainland and China's war-time role were ignored. Communism was treated in three lines: Mao was omitted. Of 162 "more important events" listed, only two were chinese.⁷⁷ Similarly, Wales' World affairs since 1919 (1958) devoted below two pages (0.79%) to China and excluded Mao from the communist revolution's four lines. Gould and Thompson's A scottish history for today, Book 2 (1958) covered chinese history from 1900 to 1937 in 18 lines (0.21%). Another scottish textbook, Hunter's Modern times (1960) gave two lines (0.02%) to the war against Japan, but otherwise totally excluded all chinese persons and events. Using the

* Eight others had populations exceeding two million when Palmer's book was published. (See Times Atlas of the World, 1968, plates 6,17).

same title, Macphail (1961) allowed China one page (0.23%) half of which represented a map of Japanese advances. Internal events were ignored.* Ault and Workman's Present story (1966) claimed to cover 20th century world history for juniors, but did so with only 1.18% of its pages on China, one page of that being pictures. Strong's Story of the 20th century (1966) followed the pattern of partner volumes. China occupied 0.78% (as against 4.49% to Britain since 1945). Neither the 1937 invasion nor the subsequent war were included. China was excluded from 'World Transport', 'World communications', 'Food and population', 'Science and health', and 'The atom and the rocket'. 'The world after the war', other than half a page on India, was exclusively European.⁷⁸ Elliott's Restless world: 1913 to the present (1966) gave 0.78% to a sketch of China 1912 to 1964. Over 10% focused on Britain after the two wars. China was omitted from chapters covering between the wars and the second world war. A time-chart excluded the 1949 revolution, and a list of 119 main events and people included only six from China.** Waldie's World at large (1969) gave 4.66% to China. That included, however, suggestions that Manchuria had been non-Chinese; that Tibet was intended as a "springboard for attack" into India; that China was a "huge dragon"; and that "no country in the Far East could feel safe from its fiery breath". Over 20 maps showed China as a threat to the region. Internal developments were ignored.⁷⁹

Equivalent neglect is shown in books on specific aspects of recent history. Churchill's Second world war: The school edition (1960) covered events in China in eight lines (0.06%). Heater's The cold war (1965) gave three pages (3.75%) to China and excluded the 1949 revolution from a 'cold war temperature chart'. Thorne's Ideology and power: studies in major ideas and events of the 20th century (1965) covered China in 0.17% of its pages. The topic was interpreted in European terms. Gilbert's Second world war (1970) related the Chinese role in 20 lines (0.46%). Chiang was ignored, as

* Preface stated emphasis on the West

** Popularity shown by three more impressions and a revised edition within 8 months.

was the communist guerilla war. The post-1937 war was only briefly noted and 'the hump' forgotten, as was chinese participation in allied planning. China was not indexed. Bullock's Forty years of conflict, 1904-45 (1970) opened with Japan and China. In later decades, however, only japanese advances were described. Opposition was portrayed as solely in american hands. China occupied 1.95% of the book. Neal's People in revolt 1770 to the present (1970) gave four pages (10%) to China. The 1937 invasion and subsequent events were excluded, as was the cultural revolution. Chinese foreign policy was seen as reflecting "aggressive tendencies".^{80*} Lovell's Changes in 20th century life caused by applied science (1970) reserved nine lines (0.19%) for China. A study of opening-up remote areas excluded Szechwan and Mongolia. Another on oil-resource development ignored China. Reference to wartime casualties passed over China's six million plus. Chinese achievements in agriculture, irrigation, power, minerals, metals, health and welfare were all ignored. Lastly, Smith's 1000 makers of the 20th century (1971) has been analysed. Of the thousand, only four were Chinese. Those omitted included not only modern artists such as Ai Chung-hsiu, scientists such as the nuclear physicist Tsien San-tsiang, engineers such as Chan Tien-yu,^{**} and writers such as Hu Shih, but also major political figures such as Yüan Shih-k'ai, Ch'en Tu-hsiu, Chu Teh and Lin Piao.

A final group of books whose imbalance appears likely to have given children a distorted perception of world history consists of historical atlases. Sellman's Students' atlas of modern history (1952) at no point admitted concentration on Europe, but included 66 maps of Europe and european countries and 15 of Britain. The one map of China showed 'The opening of the China trade'. On a Pacific map, only Hong Kong was detailed in China.⁸¹ Philips intermediate historical atlas (19th. edn., 1960) showed little improvement over

* There were also several inaccuracies.

** Builder of the Peking-Mongolia railway, 1905.

the first edition (1921)^{*} save for two new world maps. There was no map of China per se. Its existence was recognised only in a small map of Kublai Khan's Asia, six world maps (one showing 'Manchukuo' as a separate state) a map of European domination in Asia and another of the Far East in 1960. There were 32 European maps, 11 British and 16 others of America, India, Africa and Western Asia. Treharne's Philips atlas of modern history (1964) prepared like others under the direction of the Historical Association included 43 European maps, 7 British, seven of Australasia and 36 of other world regions. China was shown in part on three maps of Russia and two regional maps. They included the treaty ports and Christian settlements, plus some detail of south-eastern China, but nothing west of Chengtu, and no information on Chinese internal history. There was again no map of China per se. Equally unsatisfactory are the two volumes of Muir's historical atlas edited by Treharne and Fullard. Medieval and modern (1969) included 81 maps of Europe and its members plus 24 of Britain per se and 32 of world areas other than East Asia. China was shown on the 11 world maps and on seven regional maps. There was no map of Asia in its own right until page 91, which in any case omitted all China's provinces and the internal political flux 1911 to 1949.^{**} Ancient and classical (1963) included Britain on eight of its 32 maps, one a full-page map of Roman Britain per se. China was shown on two world maps. There was no map of China per se.^{***} Again, Brampton's History teaching atlas (1964) whilst better than the Philips productions, offers evidence as to the persistently limited perspectives of school history in Britain. Of its 214 maps, 90 referred to European countries and 40 to Britain. Three, comprising one page, were devoted to China. A fourth map was contained in a

* First published as Philips junior historical atlas (1921), containing 35 maps of Europe and Britain, but none of China gave on 5 world maps and on one of Eurasia. Editions of 1926 (3rd) 1939 (10th) 1947 (11th) 1957 (17th) and 1959 (18th) have been studied: none included a map of China. (Only the 1960 edition included in the quantitative analysis). This atlas also closely resembled the Philips primary historical atlas (1933). (See *supra*, p. 192).

** First published 1911. This 1969 11th edition not included in quantitative analysis.

*** First published 1938. This 1963 6th edition not included in quantitative analysis

supplement of post-1945 events, whose text failed to mention Mao.* Davey's three-volume History through maps and diagrams (1965) nowhere stated a special focus on Britain, but the terminal dates of each volume (1485, 1714, the present) reveal the ethnocentricity. Volume one gave a useful half page to early China, but volumes two and three a total of one line. The latter excluded China from the first and second world wars and inter-war years, other than a reference to Japan's leaving the League. The civil war and Japanese invasions were ignored, but the royal Christmas Day broadcasts and the Empire Exhibition merited a paragraph each, and royal tours of the Commonwealth five paragraphs. Cave and Trinder's Pergamon general historical atlas (1970) was little better. The ancient world was seen in European terms, and for the whole span of history there were only three maps of South and East Asia. The editors openly admitted to including only "a few maps of Asia, Africa and America as they were affected ... by European expansion".⁸² There were 28 European maps (19 including Britain) and 30 of Britain per se. There was no equivalent map of China.** Boyd's Atlas of world affairs (1970) gave some space (about 6%) to China: but since the aim was to portray international disagreement, and modern China has inherited several border problems, she emerged as a threatening element (coloured black).*** Finally, serious reservations may be expressed even concerning McEvedy's Atlas of world history (1970-73). Volume one, From the beginning to Alexander the Great gave two pages (3.12%) to China.**** By contrast, however, there were six on Mesopotamia and 16 (25%) on Greece. Volume two, The classical world, gave five pages (8.59%) to China.***** On the other hand, Rome took up 33 pages

* First published 1938, the atlas had gone through 25 impressions by 1964. Attempts had been made to improve the 'Chinese' content over the years, but never more than peripherally, and at times incorrectly. The 1952 impression described Chiang as "the present ruler of China" whose "enemy is Japan". The 1958 impression saw him as the founder of the KMT and quoted obsolete economic statistics. (12th impression p. 42, 18th impression p. 48).

** Nor of South America.

*** First published 1957, it enjoyed 7 reprints by 1970.

**** And two to India.

***** And 1.25 to India.

(51.56%). The Greeks were described as "the pace-setters of civilisation": the pre-Han Chinese as "quarrelling kingdoms ... in isolation from the rest of the civilised world ... doing their own thing, at this stage mostly a matter of fighting each other".⁸³ That a period of such significance to the development of philosophy, science and technology could be so dismissed, in a book issued 19 years after the first volume of Needham's Science and Civilisation in China⁸⁴, made a travesty of the education of children towards balanced historical understandings. It underlined, as clearly as any example quoted, the lack of thorough-going change of attitude towards the world-historical importance of China among publishers and authors of british school-books, even by the turn of the 1970s.*

B. 1972-83

Even in the most recent of the four sub-periods, only modest modifications to the general pattern of neglect of chinese history have been noted.

What increased interest has been evinced is found primarily in the growing number of books claiming a world history perspective. Troughton and Cook's two-volume Documents on world history (1976) for instance, concentrated on China in nine of its 19 items. Richardson's Britain, Europe and the modern world (1977) included a balanced account of recent chinese history, making use of chinese sources. Her revolution, "an outstandingly dramatic story", was assessed for secondary pupils as "of greater significance and even more far-reaching in its human consequences than (those) in France and Russia".⁸⁵ Focus upon the normality of chinese life was also attempted. Ward's World powers in the 20th century (1978) published in support of the BBC series, conveyed accurate understanding of modern China's importance, allocating 22.29% of its pages to the subject. Other valuable sketches of recent chinese history in an integrated world-perspective have been found in Booth's Our world today (1977); Moss's Modern world history (1978); Rundle's International affairs 1890-1939 (1979); Elliott's 20th century times (1979); Martell's 20th century world (1980); Poulton's History of the modern world (1981); and Neville's World history 1914-80 (1982).

*

This second volume published 1973, but included in the third sub-period to retain the connection with its sister-volume.

Attempts to set chinese history in true world-historical perspective have also been found in a limited number of topic-books. For junior children, Whitlock's My world of the past (1975) gave roughly equivalent treatment to ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, Greece, Rome, India, America and China, including attention to chinese technological achievements and pointing out the chinese origins of silk, gunpowder and printing. Similar balance was shown in Gibson's Discovering the ancient past (1976). Garden's Life B.C. (1980) gave a valuable outline of China from Shang to Han. Even in books with western perspective such as Fry's The roman world (1980) and Millard's Barbarian invaders (1980) some brief coverage of China was essayed, the latter stressing that "chinese culture spread throughout eastern Asia".⁸⁶ At the secondary level, Zec's Dictatorships (1974) Pratt's Revolutions (1975) and two volumes of Cairns' Introduction to the history of Mankind, Europe finds the world (1973) and Europe round the world (1981) contained useful material, though from a european perspective in the latter two cases. In addition, an expanded coverage of China, as against similar publications, was attempted in Moore's outstanding Newnes historical atlas (1983).

Surpassing all recent schoolbooks in the quality of its treatment of China in world-perspective, however, is Roberts' eight volume Illustrated world history (1980-81) with its important ecumenical view of the growth of world civilisation from earliest times to the present.

It should be emphasised, nonetheless, that the titles noted above represent only 29 of the 217 scrutinised from the period 1972-83. All the remaining 188 are considered seriously inadequate in their representation of chinese history and civilisation. Moreover, even the 29 may not in most cases be regarded as above criticism. Wroughton and Cook allowed China only 7.42% of their coverage of world history. Richardson gave 7.45%, Moss 8.59%, Rundle 9.57%, Elliott 9.21% (42% to Europe) Martell 5.36% (10.3% to Britain, 36.5% to Europe) Poulton 7.5%, Neville 6.3%, Whitlock 9.68%, Gibson 8.46%, Garden 8.11%, Fry and Millard 8.7%, Cairns 5.21 and 7.29% and Moore 9.09%. The only authors allocating over 10% to coverage of China were Booth (10.67%) Zec (14.67%) Pratt (17.5) and Ward (22.29). Even Roberts felt justified in summarising chinese history and civilisation in only 50 of his work's 1024 pages (4.88%).

Coverage in all other books studied has been noticeably sparse. Books whose titles clearly specify world perspectives offer numerous

examples. For instance, Cootes and Snellgrove's five-volume Longmans secondary histories (1968-72) apportioned China only 26 of 1347 pages (1.97%). The whole of Chinese history between ancient and recent times was scanned in five lines.* Darvill and Stirling's five-volume Britain and the world (1970-79) covered China in only 0.29% of its pages: three of the five excluded her completely, including in a chapter on 'The first civilisations'. Pitcher and Harris allowed her 3.51% of their three-volume The developing world (1969-72). In the same series, Watson (1975) thought 0.06% appropriate, whilst even on the 20th century O'Callaghan (1981) allowed only 4.69%. Elliott and Holmes covered China's contribution to World society in the 20th century (1973) in 13 out of 365 pages (3.56%). She was excluded from chapters on cities, social welfare, health and medicine, population, and agriculture (besides the index) and portrayed largely in terms of threat, plague, coolies and revolution. Larkin's Medieval world (1974) reached to China in only 3.17% of its pages. Bareham's Changing world history: New horizons (two volumes, 1974, 1976) gave China 14.25 of its 363 pages (3.92%) and Britain 38 (10.47%). The Russian revolution merited 10 pages: the Chinese two. Post-war Britain needed 9 pages: post-war China two.⁸⁷ Browne's two-volume World history (1974, 1977) was eurocentric in emphasis: China was given 28 pages (5.47%). Witcombe's Britain, Europe and the world 1485-1713 (1974) and Symonds' Britain, Europe and the world 1714-1848 (1975) gave China 0.38% and 0.94% respectively. O'Brien's six-volume Britain and the 20th century world (1975) gave the whole of East Asia below one-third of a page (0.14%). Four volumes failed even to recognise China. Munby's Concise encyclopaedia of world history (1977) covered the Chinese role in 3.94% of its pages. Of 31 'great names' listed, only five were Asians, and only two Chinese. By implication, the world war in Asia started in 1941. Reid's Picture panorama of world building (1977) allowed Chinese buildings only six pages (2.27%). Peacock's Europe and beyond, 1870-1976 (1977) included only four pages on China (0.94%). All references to her were in terms of crisis, largely in relation to the foreign policies of others. Hardman allowed China 1.56% of his two-volume Britain in the modern world (1977-8). Broster and Jones considered 4.54% of

* Of the five volumes, one was clearly on Britain. The other four, however, suggested a world-perspective.

their Revision notes for 'O' level and CSE 20th century world history (1978) adequate. Tucker advanced an interesting world perspective, but gave China only 5.49% of World affairs in the 20th century (1979). J.M. Jamieson covered China's place in The ancient world (1979) in two pages (6.25%) at the end of the book, whilst A. Jamieson treated her role in 20th century world history (two volumes 1979) in 9.75 pages (5.08%). By contrast, Europe occupied 89 pages (46%) and Britain 17 (9%). All the coverage of the first world war and three-quarters of the second were given over to Europe. Howarth's 20th century history (1979) considered China in 13.25 pages (4.25%) and Britain in 21 (7%). Of 46 pages on the second world war, 42 dealt with Europe. Lindsay's Europe and the world (1979) covered the history of modern China in one page (0.28%). Rayner, Stapley and Watson, "chief examiners with extensive experience",⁸⁸ emphasised Europe's role in International affairs since 1919 (1980) and apparently considered China adequately covered in their GCE/CSE 'crammer' in 4.75 pages (7.42%). Cornwell gave China 38 pages (6.71%) in his World history in the 20th century (1980). The first 131 pages were on Europe: China was not introduced until page 421. Middleton allowed her seven pages (5.47%) of his Britain and the world since 1750 (1982).

The outstanding example of neglect of China in 'world history' books, however, is found in the five-volume series edited by J.A.P. Jones, History in the making (1979-80). In volume one, The ancient world, M. Roberts allowed China only 2.79% of his pages,* as against 43% on the greco-roman world, including 5.36% on Roman Britain. In The medieval world, Jones himself totally ignored China, omitting her from a map of medieval trade routes and not mentioning her even in the context of the Polos, who merely "went even farther afield".⁸⁹ In The early modern world, Jones allowed China only 0.75 of a page (0.33%) and then only in the context of western expansion. Britain occupied 109 pages (48%) including coverage of all the Tudor and Stuart rulers. In the fourth volume, Britain, Europe and beyond, Dickinson covered China from 1700 to 1900 in 0.25 of a page (0.11%). Japan, by contrast, received 11 pages (4.9%) and Britain 114 (51%). Even in The 20th century, Hamer felt justified in relating the chinese contribution in only 11 of his 255 pages (4.31%) with almost no detail on communist China. By contrast, Britain required 54 pages

* Though with some interesting detail.

(21.18%). Thus, in a total of 1,151 pages on world history from earliest times to the present, and in a series published in 1979, chinese history occupied only 18.25 pages (1.58%) against british history's 412 pages (35.79%). The effects upon british children's attitudes to the pattern of world history, and the respective places of various peoples in that pattern, can only be surmised.

Neglect has also been found in a number of books not specifically claiming world-perspectives, but whose titles imply broader historical interest.

On earlier history, Megaw and Jones' The dawn of man (1972) displayed almost total unawareness of the important archaeology of palaeolithic and neolithic cultures in China (0.39% of the book) and excluded China from a section on early asian horticulture. Cairns' Introduction to the history of mankind: The middle ages (1972) allowed China 0.01%. Goff's Archaeology (1973) ran to 4.17%. Higham's Introduction to the history of mankind: Life in the old stone age (1979) concentrated upon Europe and covered China in 0.15 pages (0.31%). Nichol's Early civilisations (1982) focused primarily on Britain and the Near East: China merited 0.25 pages (0.52%).

On modern history, L.W. Cowie's From the industrial revolution to modern times (1973) gave 77.48% of its pages to Britain and 0.66% to China. Japanese attacks on China in the 1930s were ignored. Mao was given one line. Ketelby's History of modern times from 1789 (1973) gave 36 pages to China (4.96%) but only in respect of western interests. Little interest was shown in China per se: Chiang was given half a line, and other than six brief references China was not mentioned in detail before page 549. The 1973 edition* included a new section on China since 1945 - a little over two pages, with 10 lines on the civil war. Duffy's The 20th century (1974) at no point represented China as other than peripheral: she merited 10 pages in total (1.21%).

Among topic books many examples might be cited. Unstead's Houses (1972) was almost exclusively on Britain. Harrison's The Kitchen in history (1972) had similarly limited content. Cooper's World-wide: The nuclear age (1972) portrayed China in threatening terms, and in only 1.04% of its pages. In Waddington's World-Wide: The family (1974) the chinese family merited one line (0.02%).⁹⁰ Wood's Industrialisation (1973) represented the topic as a largely

* There had been 5 editions and 17 reprints since 1929.

western phenomenon, and described chinese industry in half a page (0.68%).⁹¹ Mortimore's Second world war (1974) covered China's contribution in two lines (0.07%) and the total war in Asia in only 13 pages (18%). Reynoldson's War in the Far East (1982) gave but one line (0.03%) to China and ignored japanese penetration of the mainland. Bailey and Wise's Voyages and discoverers (1974) ignored all chinese examples. Larkin's Age of discovery (1976) was again exclusively european in focus and claimed printing as a german invention. Sylvester's Story of medicine (1975) was mainly on Britain and Europe (0.98% to China) ignored early chinese hospitals, public health, pharmacology and medical training, and suggested early knowledge of blood-circulation was confined to Europe. Gibson's The communist bloc (1979) treated the chinese segment in four pages (4.21%). Scott's Citizenship (1979) gave 79% of its space to Britain and only 5.9% to world problems, including two lines (0.04%) to China.

In the same category may be noted such as Moore's Stories of science and invention (1972) which focused solely on Europe, claimed the 'first great doctors' to be Greeks and Romans, stated explosives to have been invented in England, and covered chinese technology and science in seven lines (0.18%). Salt and Sinclair's Great Lives (1975)* claimed to be "a genuine encyclopaedia ... comprehensive ... (covering) an immense field of history".⁹² Of its 670 subjects, however, 304 were British (including half a page each on Dick Whittington and Sarah Siddons and two each on such as Florence Nightingale and Edmund Kean) and 295 Europeans. Twenty-three were Americans, 23 Near and Middle Easterners, 8 Africans (of whom four were Pharaohs and three whites, including 'Prester John') and 11 Asians. Of the latter, three were Chinese, occupying jointly 3.75 pages (0.76%). The ninth edition of Shepherd's historical atlas (1974)** contained 146 maps of Europe, 21 of Britain, but none of China per se. She was included in 15 world or asian maps, approximately 1.55% of the book. Macmillan's Our world wallcharts: Explorers; Inventions; and Discoveries (1977-9)*** excluded China

* First published 1953, it ran to two editions and six reprints, with "new material", by 1975.

** A U.S. atlas, first published 1929, all editions were also distributed in Britain.

*** Not included in quantitative analysis.

from charts on 'Transport', 'Sea Transport', 'Water', 'Farming', 'Industry', and 'Printing'. Lastly, Catchpole's Map history of our own times (1983) despite a valuable world-perspective, included China on only four of its 148 maps (approximately 2.7%).

All the above at least mentioned China. Many books, however, have continued the practice noted since the beginning of the century of failing even to recognise her existence, though without clearly specifying to children any pre-determined limitations of historical coverage. For instance, Leighton's Coins and tokens (1972) was mainly on Britain, with a few references to Europe. The important chinese exchange history was ignored. Grant's History alive lives (three volumes 1972) covered 24 subjects - all Britons. Salt and Purnell's Early man to norman times and The middle ages (1973) were mainly on Britain. China was omitted from early civilisations. Of 40 examples in Leacroft's The buildings of ancient man (1973) 21 were british, none chinese. Grant's Ancient history atlas (1974) was devoted to the classical West:^{*} China was ignored. Ward's Explorations (1974) were all european. Higham's History of mankind: The earliest farmers and the first cities (1974) was all on Sumer. All six volumes of Hall's Topics in medieval history (1974) scrutinised Britain. Cyrille's Ships and ports in the middle ages (1974) was all on Europe.^{**} Peckett and Loehry's The ancient world (1975) claimed civilisation originated in Egypt and Mesopotamia but ignored the autochthonous developments in China. The three volumes of the Schools Council's Medicine through time (1976) reflected Sylvester's approach and totally ignored China.^{***} Four of the five volumes of Moss's History alive (1976-7) excluded China, as did all three volumes of his History scene (1978-81). The totally british interest of the latter was nowhere specified. Volume two began: "The period from 1066 to 1485 is generally called the middle ages. The beginning is of course when William of Normandy conquered England ... The end is the battle of Bosworth".⁹³ Two of the four volumes of Evans' The young historian (1977) ignored China: the others gave her 14 lines. The interest was primarily british, but

* Only admitted in preface.

** One word on China.

*** Save for one line on chinese origin of the plague.

that was not made clear to the child before page 87 of volume one. Davies's Growing up in medieval times (1977) Fyson's Growing up in the 18th century (1977) and Wilkins' Growing up between the wars (1979) were exclusively on Britain. L.W. Cowie's Decisive battles (1977) mostly involved Britain. Talbot's Land explorers (1978) were all British and Americans. Titley's The ancient world, The dark ages and The middle ages (1978) were all on Britain and Europe: * the stirrup was invented by the Franks. Vernon's The first explorers (1978) covered only Europeans. Ray's Headline history: The 20th. century (1978) omitted reference to 20th. century China. Moran's Past tense and Past historic (1978-9) dramatised only British history. Barker's Origins of the second world war (1979) excluded both China and Japan. All six volumes of Birt's Yesterday today (1977-9) were on Britain, as were all four volumes of his Involvement with history (1976-80) all five of Sandford and Snellgrove's Picture the past (1977-80) all four of Burrell and Speed's Oxford junior history (1980-1)** all three of Page's Who? What? Why? (1981) and all four of Hale and Vickers' People and progress (1979-82).*** Even Catchpole's important The clash of cultures (1981) omitted perhaps the most evident example.

The overwhelming neglect of China and the danger of creating incorrect perceptions of historical change and development in children from the early years of schooling is perhaps best demonstrated, however, by analysis of the product of two major publishers for infant and junior children, Wills and Hepworth (Ladybird) and Macdonald.

The Ladybird History series was published from 1956 onwards. By 1977, there were 49 titles - 31 on Britain, 11 on Europe. Two were on China. The Ladybird Achievements series was published from the early 1960s. By the mid-1970s, of 1200 pages printed, one page and nine lines referred to China. Similar tendencies have been noted in the Ladybird Leaders series and the Ladybird Easy-readers. A few illustrations may be given from the sub-period 1972-83. Hunter's The story of medicine (1972) gave one per cent of its pages to China

* Other than two pages on minarets.

** British emphasis noted only on rear cover.

*** British focus noted only on rear cover, small print.

and eight per cent to Greece. Of his two-volume Story of science (1973) one ignored China, the other allowed half a page. She was excluded from chapters on 'Measuring time', 'The beginning of astronomy', 'Early medicine', 'Bronze and alloys'. Murray's Some great men and women (1972) picked out 20 personages: 12 British, six Europeans, two Americans. There were no non-whites. China was noted only in context of Marco Polo, and then only three lines and a picture in four pages on the subject. Worvill's Time, calendars and clocks (1973) covered chinese discoveries in 2.5 lines (0.12%). Webster's Homes (1975) gave two pages (4%) to China - a picture of squalor. Several other books made no reference to China whatsoever. They included Childs' Nuclear power (1972) which mentioned all other 'nuclear' countries; Loxley's Bridges (1974) which gave 20 pages to british bridges; Pearson's Stories of special days and customs (1972) which was all on Britain; Webster's Roads (1974) and Man on the sea (1974); and West's Soldiers (1975). The latter mentioned 22 other nationalities but not the Chinese, and claimed cannon was a european invention.

A similar pattern has been detected in the various series published by Macdonald for younger children. Of 20 titles in their Starters People by the later 1970s, 18 were on Britain, North America and Europe and only two on the rest of the world (both China). Of 20 in Starters Places, 13 were on Europe and America and seven on the rest of the world (one on China). Of 15 in Starters Legends, eight were from Britain and Europe, seven from the rest of the world (none from China). Only in Starters Long Ago could any genuine world-perspective be discerned, with 11 of 25 titles taking an ecumenical view and four others on the non-european world (including one on china). Even then however, China tended to be overlooked in the worldwide perspective. In six books by Oram, for instance - How sports began; Buried history; Shops and traders; Cooks and kitchens; The first engines; Weapons and armour (1972-4) - China was totally overlooked. Polo was attributed to India; the archaeology of 12 other countries, but not China, was recognised; chinese waterwheels, smelting devices, equestrian technology, crossbows, cannon, gunpowder and ships were all ignored. In five other titles by the same author - How writing began; Homes and houses; Explorers; Clothes and costume; and Palaces (1972-4) the respective percentages given to China were 5.17, 0.43, 7.24, 0.26 and 3.45. Clothes and costume, for instance, offered a genuine world-perspective, but the

only chinese detail concerned hair-styles. Equivalent neglect of China was shown in Thomson's How measuring began (1974) which again offered a broad world-perspective but allowed only half a page (1.72%) to China; and her The first farmers (1974) which was devoted to Sumer. Nor is the Macdonald First Library series less open to criticism. Of titles published in the period, six by Oram - Time and clocks; Towns and cities; Bridges and tunnels; Farms and farmers; Ports and harbours; Roads and motorways (1972) completely ignored China. Sections on cantilever and arched bridges ignored the world's earliest. Only the Romans were shown as building roads in ancient times. Shanghai was excluded from a map of the world's great ports. Similarly, five titles by Thomson - Ballet and dance; Building; Cloth and weaving; Lakes and dams; Food and drink (1973) inexplicably excluded China. The author referred to 18 other countries' buildings and 13 countries' dances, but not to the chinese; implied silk was japanese; and ignored China in a section on rice-culture. Moreover, in Health and disease (1974) the only recognition of China was one page (3.12%) on acupuncture; in Signals and messages (1974) only superficial references to China were included (1.56%) and the ancient chinese postal system was ignored; worst of all, in Paper and printing (1973) though there was acknowledgement of chinese paper, no reference was made to chinese printing. That technology, Thomson averred, originated in Europe.

C. CONCLUSIONS.

Any conclusions advanced in respect of the period 1950-1983, it might be argued, must take into account the fact that those three decades saw the publication of a number of books devoted to chinese history alone. Only one school-book on China has been found from the period up to 1949.* The later period, however, saw the publication, other than that one, of the first children's biography traced by the present writer of any major chinese historical figures (1955);** the first general books on China for children (1962, 1963);*** the first

* Ruttle, The story of China, 1944.

** Buck, Story of Sun Yat-sen, 1955 (other than Reynold's section on Chiang in Four modern statesmen, 1944).

*** Kinmond, China 1962; Kuo, China, 1963.

schoolbooks on traditional China (1961, 1963);* the first general history of the Far East (1964)** and the first general history of China for younger pupils (1966).*** At least eleven significant schoolbooks on Chinese history were published in 1970 alone,**** and at last nine more in 1971.***** By 1983, 65 books on Chinese history for children were known to the present writer (and approximately 40 on aspects of Chinese society, culture and geography).

Two points should be made, however. First, specific attention given to China by school text-book writers should not be overstressed. In 1983, in the Historical Association's collection of schoolbooks believed to be currently in print, of a total of 1512, only 25 were on China. British history books numbered 843, and European history 310. (The rest of Asia was represented by 28 books, the rest of the extra-European world, including the USA, by 167, and 'world history' by 139). Second, books specifically on China have been excluded from the quantitative analysis for the same reason that books specifically on any other one country have been: namely that the purpose has been to pick out those titles which might suggest to the child that the whole of history, the whole of one particular period, all acts of heroism or leadership, all great inventions and achievements, were contained in the book, and thereby to risk inculcating or strengthening a distorted view of the pattern of history and a harmful stereotype of the historical achievement of one major non-European people.

* Fitzgerald, Finding out about imperial China, 1961; Spencer Ancient China, 1963.

** G. and J. Stokes, The Extreme East, 1964.

*** A.B. Jeffries, Visual history of China, 1966.

**** Barr, Foreign devils; Gittings, Mao Tse-tung; Kennett, Rise of communist China; Lo, Story of China; Meyer and Allen, Source materials in Chinese history; Mitchison, China in the 20th. century; Nelson, Jones and Fischer, China and India; Roberts, Mao-Tse-tung; Robottom, Mao Tse-tung; Trotter, China since 1900; Walker, Ancient China.

***** * Goldston, The long march; Jamieson, Mao Tse-tung; Lonsdale, China; Mitchison, Chinese revolution; Pratt, Peking in the early 17th. century; Robottom, 20th. century China; Roper, China in revolution; Stokes, Marco Polo and Cathay; Werstein, The Boxer rebellion.

The findings would suggest that those risks have been run, and that british children have been and are being exposed in school to what could at best be described as an inept portrayal of the history of the peoples of the world in general and of the Chinese in particular. From the period 1950 to 1983, 602 text and topic books whose titles suggested, prima facie, broader historical content, have been scrutinised, comprising 73,914 pages of print, and with an average number of pages of 122.74. No reference whatsoever was made to China in 316 books (52.49%). The total number of pages given to chinese history was 1,474.59. The average number of pages on China was 2.45. The average percentage given to China was 1.33%.

Furthermore, though some improvement occurred in the sub-period 1972-83 as against 1950-71, it was little more than marginal. In the first period, 54.54% of 385 books scrutinised failed to mention China: in the second, 48.84% of 217. The average number of pages on China in the first period was 1.94: in the second, still only 3.35. The average percentage given to China in the first period was 1.17%: in the second, still only 1.63%.

The continuing neglect in british schoolbooks and schools of one of the world's longest-established, most powerful and most influential civilisations, is manifest. As to the likely impact of such neglect on the minds of the young, Unesco scholars (1958) were in little doubt: "Significant differences in the allotment of space to various countries ... is an indication of priority values with writers and publishers ... (which) may understandably have ... psychological effects on pupil readers".⁹⁴

SECTION FOUR: EXPLANATORY

Chapter Seven: Factors influencing the neglect of world and chinese history (I).

In view of the arguments in favour of wider-world history in our schools, essentially involving substantial attention to the chinese past, and yet of the dismal record of neglect, several questions must be addressed.

How could it have been considered acceptable so to shut out asian traditions that scholars have been able variously to assert that "works about the history of Man either ignore China altogether or relegate (it) ... to a couple of paragraphs ... there ... is still an idea that the Chinese ... were so cut off ... that they ... almost ... belonged to another planet"(1934); that Westerners were "preoccupied with the uniqueness, not of the human institutions of the world at large, which no one has ever cared about ... but of (their) own institutions and achievements", differentiating between "Chosen People and dangerous aliens" (1935); that western religious opinion was "conditioned by self-deceptive generalizations encouraged by ... almost complete ignorance of the East" (1969); and (1971) that "it is often assumed ... that China is part of a vast Orient ... which has its head in the clouds and its feet in the mud ... the most glaring feature in our historical bias is indifference towards the main stream of history in the great nations of the East"?¹

How could it have been that Ayer, writing on philosophy, and in a Unesco publication (1948) could mention only Europeans: or that Hay (1977) could restrict a work entitled Annalists and historians to Western Europeans and blandly confess "ignorance" of all others?²

How could Liang Chang-chü not have been mentioned in any western account of the opium war before 1933; and no western biography of Yüan Shih-k'ai have been published before 1961?³

How could it have come about that between 1950 and 1978, of 437 theses for higher degrees of british universities in history and philosophy of science and technology, only 16 (3.66%) were on the non-european world, including four (0.91%) on China; of 1271 in philosophy and logic, only 29 (2.28%) were on the non-european world, including five (0.39%) on China; of 5271 on history, 2785 (52.83%) were on Britain, 654 (12.4%) on Europe and only 82 (1.55%) wholly or partly on China; and of 146,349 theses in all fields of study, the

total number on chinese topics was only 211 (0.14%) in whole or in part?⁴

Why, of 7633 history theses completed in british universities between 1901 and 1970, were 4482 (58.72%) on Britain, 1032 (13.5%) on Europe, but only 726 (9.5%) on East Asia, 401 (5.25%) on the Americas, 387 (5.07%) on Africa, 173 (2.27%) on the Middle and Near East, and 29 (0.38%) on world history - 25 of which were european in focus? Why of the 726 on Asia did only 90 (1.18%) relate in whole or in part to China? Why of the 90 did only 26 cover chinese internal topics?^{*} Moreover, why was not one of 105 historiographical items on a chinese subject, though there were two each on Swift, Clarendon and Scott?⁵

How could it have come about that as late as 1975, of 3860 current historical research items in british and white commonwealth universities, 1893 (49.04%) were on british history (325 local studies) and 950 (24.61%) on Europe, but only 450 (11.66%) on the Americas, 255 (6.61%) on general world history (mostly the anglo-saxon world) 83 (2.15%) on Africa (half on colonial history) and 229 (5.93%) on Asia and the Pacific, of which only 80 (2.07%) were on East Asia, only 31 (0.80%) on China (10 by Chinese) and only 17 specifically on chinese internal history? How, of 17 on archaeology, could none relate to China? How, of 53 on historiography, could 19 (35.84%) be specific to Europe and 16 (30.19%) to Britain, but none to islamic or chinese writers? How of 353 on art and architecture history could 157 (44.48%) have been devoted to british topics, 122 (34.56%) to european, and only 18 (5.1%) to non-european material, including 8 (2.27%) on China, with only one research project on east asian art in general - and then only its impact upon England? Finally, how could it have been considered acceptable that of 272 on scientific, technological and medical history, only 12 (4.41%) scrutinised non-european achievement, including only one (0.37%) on China, as against 91 (33.46%) and 61 (22.43%) respectively on Britain and Europe?^{**6}

In particular, why have "the pupils (Europeans) ... often refused to acknowledge the source whence many inventions possessed by

* 12 of the 26 were researched by Chinese.

** The others, almost exclusively 17th century onwards in emphasis, were from their titles presumably western in content.

them were devised, but have claimed them as their own"? How could it have been possible for the 1929 Encyclopaedia Britannica to claim, for instance, clocks and windmills as european inventions, and to write off the chinese origin of the compass as "purely mythical"? How could Bury (1932, reprinted unamended 1955) have felt justified in portraying 'progress' as a purely european phenomenon; in discussing printing, gunpowder and the mariners' compass, not to note that all three originated in China; and only once to mention China, and then in terms of "prejudice" producing "long periods of ignorance"? Why was it that Needham (1954) could assert that there had been "marked reluctance to allow that any discovery or invention of importance could have taken place outside Europe ... still today the contribution of the Far East, and especially ... the Chinese, to science, scientific thought and technology, remains unrecognised and clouded in obscurity"; and (1969) that although "in recent decades much interest has been aroused in the history of science and technology in the great non-european civilisations, especially India and China", this was to be found "not, on the whole, among historians"? Finally, how could Gillispie feel free (1960) to insist that the "thrust towards mastery of the (physical) world ... began in the West"; imply that Harvey was the first to discover the circulation of the blood and that anatomy began with Leonardo; describe Galen as "the lawgiver of physiology ... there is no physician of classical antiquity of whom we know more"; only twice refer to China in a chapter on astronomy and cosmology, and then only in deprecating terms; and assert that "No oriental civilisation graduated beyond technique or thaumaturgy to curiosity about things in general ... The greek transition from myth to knowledge was the origin of science as of philosophy"?⁷

More insidiously, how could it have prevailed even post-war that where asian topics were treated in western textbooks and teaching materials, they were clouded, according to Unesco scholars, by "narrow bias, western or national prejudice, and a lack of that general objectivity, fair judgement and scholarly caution which might be expected".⁸

It may not be possible to establish answers to such questions.⁹ Nor will such be essayed here. This chapter attempts only to draw out, from an exclusively literary search, possible factors which might repay more vigorous examination. Anything other would go beyond the essential area of investigation.

Perhaps the problem has been simple inertia, "a putty of passive resistance", as several scholars have suggested.¹⁰

Perhaps the problem has centred around the british tendency to emphasise systems and pedagogy before curriculum content.¹¹ For instance, of the 68 theses on teaching history submitted for british higher degrees between 1950 and 1978, only eight (11.76%) were primarily on curriculum content and only four dealt in any detail with the teaching of non-european history.^{12*}

Perhaps there has been a genuine problem, not only of handling the great bulk of chinese history, but of matching its patterns to those of our own.¹³

Perhaps the key has been lack of non-european language studies in british schools, as a result of which university departments of Chinese have to take in students 'raw' and give intensive language tuition, inevitably to the detriment of other areas of study such as history or literature.¹⁴

Perhaps the problem has hung around essentially practical problems pertinent to schools and school-children - lack of trained teachers, resources and curriculum time allied to conceptual and language difficulties in children. To take the one example, language can inhibit conceptual understanding in all subjects, particularly in respect of education with international perspectives.¹⁵

In history specifically, conceptual understanding is not only of fundamental importance, but also fraught with difficulty, as witnessed by the research of Coltham (1960) Hallam (1966,1975) and others; whilst the closely related problem of language in history teaching engaged a special Historical Association conference in 1977.¹⁶ The problem of comprehension, even in western history - concepts such as feudal, medieval, state, church, subject, despot, class, party, franchise, age of reform, enlightenment, entente, laissez-faire, coup, Putsch, Kulturkampf, or Weltanschauung - is profound.

*

- (a) Out of 5097 on education, which themselves comprised a surprisingly small 3.97% of the total of 146,349 theses listed.
- (b) Aslib figures are not absolutely reliable since all theses are not listed. However, the pattern is not disputable.

Thus, particularly in respect of eastern history, names, language and concepts must undoubtedly constitute a serious obstacle to understanding.^{*17} Problems in respect of chinese history must have been accentuated by inconsistencies in romanisation which pin-yin may go some way to eradicate, though ugliness seems likely to act as a continuing deterrent.

Moreover, certain eastern concepts offer unique problems, as pointed to in respect of natural philosophy and of moral and social philosophy by Li Chi (1974) and Stoetzel (1964) respectively.¹⁸ Not surprisingly, then, Doncaster (1973) found conceptual patterns and their translation into cultural practices - the extended family, ancestor worship, early marriage, the agricultural year, social caste and its representation in clothing or insignia, and speaking in proverbs - having the effect of widening cultural gaps and reinforcing stereotypes when she attempted to teach secondary pupils about chinese traditional life from documentary sources.¹⁹

Paradoxically, the impression of unfathomability of chinese concepts may have been worsened by sinology, and particularly by micro-sinology, itself nourished by chinese traditions of textual facts per se (K'ao cheng hsueh) with consequent separation of chinese history from the mainstream of historical studies, its scholars "members of a cult, set apart".²⁰ Thus, during the first 20 years of the Association for Asian Studies, there was no contact whatsoever between it and the American Historical Association.

Other than practical problems, however, it is apparent that more profound and disquieting causative factors - generally related to the way westerners have viewed, first the nature and purpose of history, and secondly, how other peoples and their cultures fit into the historical patterns perceived - have underpinned the persistent neglect of the history of China and other non-western areas.

It has become clear that several important factors associated with the neglect of chinese and world history have centred upon the persistence of 'scientific' history, whose advocates are with us still.²¹ First, historical science, in aspiring to identify the laws of history, has always been characterised by concentration upon

* And vice-versa. In 1945, merely to adopt the U.N. Charter, Chinese had to coin over 1,000 new words.

minutiae, as Tolstoy (1869) admitted. The threat of that to broader historical perspectives was clearly seen by Wells in 1921: "The teaching of history in schools has followed the movement of the student of history towards concentration and not the needs of the common citizen towards ampler views ... These are divergent aims".²²

One immediate and persistent consequence has been long-standing emphasis upon 'the facts' of history. Of course, few world history advocates would disagree with Dearden (1968) that history is essentially a narrative, and that establishment of 'the facts' is an inseparable process: Dance, for instance, (1970) stressed that "facts ... must be the foundation of all history".²³ On the other hand, inspired by the German 'scientific' school,^{24*} the pre-eminence given to this aspect in western history-teaching has had consequences both upon curriculum content and didactics which have been repeatedly condemned. Huizinga (1926) derided its "stream of trivia ... soulless, almost mechanical production"; whilst Schrödinger (1964) described its "cold clutch of dreary emptiness".²⁵ More pertinently, Elton (1969) saw the approach as obstructive of imaginative understanding; whilst Charlesworth (1964) insisted that if world history were to be developed, "the acquisition of mere facts would be ... as impossible as it would be undesirable ... useless lumber".²⁶

Nonetheless, persistent emphasis upon 'the facts', in "more or less formidable doses", has been shown to have dominated British school history teaching over the years. A masterly summary of the problem was essayed by Smith (1965).²⁷ Moreover, it has been closely identified with a view persistently purveyed to children, of history in terms of 'building' metaphors, of progress on 'firm foundations' - an idea going back to earlier historians such as Trevelyan, supported by the Board of Education, and manifested in numerous school textbooks, including Warner and Marten's Groundwork of British history (1911) or the famous Nelson series The foundations of history (1930) and The House of History (1931-2).²⁸

* 'Geschichte' derives from 'geschehen' to happen. Early in the 20th. century Germans had to learn six new dates per month in the first two classes of elementary school, 116 in all. (Board of Education, Report on teaching of history, 1923, 13.)

That metaphor was itself closely bound up with that strong emphasis on learning 'the facts' of english and occasionally european history which was scrutinised earlier, which Marten himself testified to (1924,1938) and which Spencer had attacked by implication as early as 1861. As has been observed of Warner and Marten and others, "none ... doubts that Britain ... was the master builder". Thus, for instance, Wilkes (1917) arguing that "to try to teach a boy history without dates seems rather like building a house without putting up the scaffolding", went on to outline syllabuses in which all the examples given were from english history; whilst all volumes of the House of History series almost totally disregarded the world beyond Britain. Even as late as 1973, the metaphor was still in use, a distinguished examiner asserting that "a basic platform of knowledge" was "a requirement ... for providing a framework" - and all 14 curricular examples cited went no further than Europe in scope.²⁹

That the dominance of 'the facts' in school history teaching is most clearly demonstrated in books on english history³⁰ is no coincidence. The assumed centrality of the chronological factual narrative of the emergence of Britain as a great national power has been noted by Sirett (1966) and Chaffer (1973).³¹ Thus Fitch (1881) urging that children be "crammed with facts" specified these as "the main facts of each reign"; Jarvis (1917) stressing factual knowledge, suggested only facts from british history; the Board of Education (1908,1923,1927,1937) insisted that the facts chosen should "cover the whole field of english history", gave a list of 44 children must learn - 29 of which were british, six british imperial, 8 european and one on the opening up of Japan - and specifically stressed that "essential facts ... and outstanding dates" must hang upon "committing to memory the dates of the accession of the english monarchs". As late as 1946, Madeley recommended learning by rote 10 basic dates, eight british, the other two french and american.³² In such a context, Elliott (1975) observed, "it is hard to see how internationalism could have been stimulated".³³

'Scientific' history can also be shown to have underpinned ideas of history as magistra vitae, a school of morality and ethics. That philosophy originated with Plato's insistence that "producing the right moral effect" was essential to the process of state-development; and was stressed in the 18th. century by both Bolingbroke (who also tutored George 3rd. on english patriotism) and

Chesterfield; and in the 19th. century by the herbartian school and by Arnold, with whom "a lesson in history was also a lesson in ethics", Marten (1938) approvingly noted.³⁴ It was, however, given particular impetus by the great 'scientific' historian and advocate of the study of historical 'progress', Acton, who, in his Cambridge inaugural (1895) exhorted his audience "to try others by the final maxim that governs your lives, and to suffer no man and no cause to escape the undying penalty which history has the power to inflict". His influence upon generations of british (and american) historians was affirmed by Trevelyan (1931) and Butterfield (1955) who noted: "It is the office of Historical Science to maintain morality as the sole impartial criterion of men and things".³⁵ It may be traced in the writings of such as Bryce (1919) Rowse (1944) who saw history as "a school of virtue", Trevelyan himself (1947) Nichols (1948) who saw historians as the guardians of freedom, Read (1949-50) who stressed history's fundamental role in "the preservation of our way of life", Gallie (1964) Cobban (1964) and Wright (1976) who saw history as "a moral science" and argued its study was legitimised through control "by liberals whose model is ... a self-conscious and coherent value system".³⁶

From 1922 onwards, the International Moral Education congress paid close attention to history's moral-ethical educational role³⁷ - increasingly emphasised by those concerned with school history teaching. Marten (1924) stressed its "mission ... in the national life". Hadow (1926) saw it satisfying "the desire for fair play". The Board of Education (1927,1937) correlated history, moral education and patriotism. Reid and Toyne (1944) writing for the Historical Association, declaimed "It is from the study of history that children ... can most easily gain a knowledge of true moral values ... of the meaning of right, duty and justice ... (and) an understanding both of the value of freedom and of the responsibility that goes with it". History should aid character-training "by teaching the great moral truths .. through examples of conduct, especially those who have ... inspired men with ... indignation against wrong and enthusiasm for right". The Ministry of Education (1952) harnessed 'history as moral example' and 'history as the bestowing of a heritage': "It would be very far from true to say that we have abandoned the view that the example of ... our fathers that begat us is one of history teaching's fundamental values".

Newsom (1963) spotlighted history's role in forming children's moral outlook in association with citizenship, current affairs and social studies. It was important "to keep good company and great company ... (and) to know bad company and to avoid it". Strong (1958,1964) insisted history was concerned with "the development of a good society". Even Plowden (1967) emphasised the value of stories for "moral development," to give children an "habitual vision of greatness".³⁸

That such advocacy had a pervasive effect upon school curricula and textbooks even up to recent times has been noted by researchers including Smith (1965) and Lawrence (1972).³⁹ Moreover, and significantly, it has throughout been strongly 'national' in context, reflecting not only its close tie-up with 'education for citizenship', itself shown earlier to have strongly reinforced parochial subject-matter,⁴⁰ but also deeply-felt assumptions of national importance, worth and even superiority, whose negative effects in respect of the development of extra-national historical studies in schools will be considered later.⁴¹ Thus, all 58 personages noted by Chancellor (1970) as having been highlighted in 19th. century british textbooks as moral exemplars were British. Cook (1970) likewise saw earlier history-teaching as "essentially a vehicle for the transmission of moral ideas and the fostering of patriotism through a ... concentration upon purely insular affairs".⁴² But the association between 'moral', 'ethical' and 'national' did not cease with our grandfathers' schooling, as has been noted earlier. Marten's (1924,1938) stress on the moral mission was accompanied by overwhelming emphasis upon national topics, as was that of Hadow (1926) and the Board of Education (1927 and 1937) 13 of whose 19 suggested 'great lives' were English, the remainder Europeans. Reid and Toyne's (1944) educational commitment to "great moral values" did not apparently allow for their existence beyond Britain and Europe (they gave only 11 words to the non-european world). Toyne's personal stress (1945) on english national history and Rowse's (1944) concentration upon patriotic stories to foster appreciation of virtue (and total failure to mention any foreigners) have been shown. The Ministry of Education's (1952) assumption of the correlation between 'moral example' and national history was betrayed in its almost total concentration on England in selection of teaching topics: of eight historical topics cited in the context of 'moral

education', six were british. That Strong (1958,1964) despite token contrary observations correlated studying "the development of a good society" with a heavily english and european syllabus cannot be disputed. Similarly, Plowden apparently believed a "vision of greatness" to be achievable through study of exclusively english and european topics: of 12 heroic stories noted, six were english, the others european.⁴³

Such assumptions were most frankly revealed by Unstead (1962) who advised young children: "At a time when it is fashionable ... to belittle England's achievements ... I have tried to show that whereas England has often acted foolishly or badly, her history shows the persistence of ideals which good men have lived by since Alfred's day ... it is the character of people that comes through".⁴⁴ Their application was attacked by Commager (1967) as implying "moral arrogance and intellectual parochialism", based on a mistaken assumption of universal standards, and distracting the student of history from his real task, "not to judge but to understand". Their "vicious subjectivism" and danger for school history was pointed to by Smith (1965). More seriously, their association with ethnic and racial stereotyping was spotlighted by Lippmann as early as 1922: "Our canons determine greatly what we shall perceive and how ... moral codes assume a particular view of the facts ... at the center of each there is a pattern of stereotypes about psychology, sociology and history ... He who denies my moral judgements ... is to me perverse, alien, dangerous".⁴⁵ It is that syndrome's persistence and pervasiveness - particularly in light of the hostile stereotypes of chinese life and morality flourishing throughout the last two centuries in both Britain and America⁴⁶ - which must be considered a major factor in the neglect of chinese history and civilisation in british school history curricula. Fairbank (1969) has made the point well, that the West, approaching China through western assumptions as to morality and historical progress, found an apparent case of "non-development ... non-industrialisation ... non-expansion", a lack of science, of democracy and of nationalism - "a China that was 'unchanging', because it did not change as we did". Its value in respect of the historical education of Britons cannot have been other than minimal to those possessed of such assumptions.⁴⁷

Important causative elements in respect of the continued pre-eminence of the 'scientific' history school and the assorted

consequences noted above, have included the universities, the examination boards, government departments and officers, official and semi-official committees and bodies, publishing houses, and individual authors.

Pre-eminent in these respects, it is suggested, have been the universities, whose influence since the 1870s was noted earlier.⁴⁸ In 1946, for instance, Rowse described with apparent approval an Oxford honours course culminating in three papers on the entirety of english history, one on english constitutional documents, one on a period of foreign history (usually 19th. century Europe) a special subject from a list of british and european topics, one on english and european political theory, one on historical method, and a language paper (Latin and another). In his 1961 Oxford inaugural, Southern observed that the university's historians had been "increasingly sunk in english history", disregarding "everything that could not be related to institutions and politics", so that crushed by "a barbarous weight" of facts, "our best history graduates ... will be cautious of venturing far from the well-trodden paths of english politics and institutions". In 1970 Lee recollected of his recent Oxford historical education that "one of the more substantial fragments was the english history ... the most striking thing about this was its length ... a vast span to be known in as much detail as we could manage ... (and) spatially blinkered".⁴⁹

The spread of Oxbridge's influence was also noted earlier.⁵⁰ In 1946, Rowse claimed Oxford England's leading history school, since so many others were fed from it. The Oxbridge influence at Sussex University was noted by Wilkes (1970).⁵¹ Of course, improvements have taken place, particularly in relation to more recent history. Compulsory british history outlines had vanished from the new universities of the 1960s, for instance.⁵² Nevertheless, well into the 1970s critics such as Stern (1970) Bush (1973) and Steele (1976) were condemning the lack of significant change in universities and the still-powerful legacy of the Oxbridge british political and constitutional outline. In 1970, Ballard lamented that history dons in England were "permitted to profess ignorance of ... russian or japanese statesmen without a blush of shame".⁵³

In respect of wider-world history, the result of such emphases has been drastic. Harrison (1968) showed that, whilst some universities had attempted to end the traditional divisions between

british, european and world history, even american history was compulsory in only four,* whilst african, russian and asian history were nowhere required. Medieval european history was compulsory in 17, medieval english in 26, and social or economic in 12 (eight of those new universities). 'World history' was compulsory in a few, but that could mean simply great power politics, or Britain in a wider context. Strong emphasis on Europe and the British Commonwealth was almost universal, whilst powerful interest in Britain was suggested by substantial 'economic' content in most courses. Asian history was optional in 15, including only three new universities, and only four universities offered extensive facilities for its study. Harrison's conclusion, that world history was "a major trend", and that "the wealth of opportunity open ... should now be clear", was strange. Infact, continued traditionalism was strongly evidenced by Davies and others as late as 1977.⁵⁴

The present writer has not attempted to up-date Harrison's findings. A limited survey has been made of courses involving chinese studies currently offered in british universities and polytechnics. That has confirmed the impression conveyed by Pearson's study (1971) of paucity of provision for oriental studies in general in Britain outside SOAS and a few other centres, as compared with France, Germany, the USSR and especially the USA. Today, only six british universities and one polytechnic offer substantial facilities for specialisation on China, and even then chinese studies is in most cases optional in the oriental studies programme, and particular attention to history an option therein. Cambridge's oriental studies BA may include specialisation in chinese studies, with history compulsory only in part one and optional later. Durham's oriental studies BA offers chinese studies as one option, including compulsory history, though ^{until recent years} much of that had special reference to western contacts and foreign influences.** Oxford's oriental studies BA again offers chinese studies as a major option, but the compulsory history unit concentrates on modern times, earlier periods only offered among

* Optional in 34.

** Chinese civilisation is an option in the general studies BA, with similar historical emphases.

a range of options. Huddersfield Polytechnic's humanities BA includes oriental studies (mainly China and Japan) as one of three first year subjects, with opportunity later for specialisation, including some historical content. Degrees specifically in chinese studies are offered only by Edinburgh, whose M.A. includes compulsory history with later opportunity for specialisation^a*; Leeds, whose BA includes an historical outline followed by fuller pre-modern and modern studies;^{**} and SOAS, whose BA includes history as an optional addition to the compulsory language core.^{***} In addition to these degrees, some attention to China is paid in the afro-asian options in the Edge Hill and Sussex BAs.⁵⁵

At post-graduate level the situation appears even more depressing. All the institutions offering degrees or major options in chinese studies offer research facilities, and in addition, there is an M.Phil at Glasgow. However, the small numbers utilising those facilities has already been noted.⁵⁶ Besides research degrees, only one other advanced qualification is listed in the directories as being offered by any british university, the SOAS diploma in chinese archaeology.⁵⁷

Nor is the situation more auspicious in respect of world studies. Segal (1978) and Simpson (1983) contain no entries under that heading, and the only graduate or post-graduate qualification in world studies currently listed for any british institution of higher education is Keele's advanced diploma in education with special reference to teaching world studies.^{****}

* There is also an M.A. in Chinese and a second language; and a BA with a Chinese option, in which the history of chinese civilisation is optional.

** There is also a BA in Chinese and a second language.

*** Chinese language is also an option in the SOAS history BA, in the Central London Polytechnic modern languages BA, and (minor option) in the York languages BA.

**** M.Phils in development studies are offered at Cambridge and Sussex, an MSc at Bath and a BA at East Anglia. Development studies is an option in the Birmingham joint honours BA, the Kent social sciences BA, the Sheffield geography or social science BA, the Crewe/Alsager B.Ed and the Bulmershe BA. Diploma courses are available at Ruskin College Oxford and at Liverpool Institute of H.E.

Further evidence of the attitude of university staff to history and history teaching is suggested by the educational research projects encouraged in recent years. First, as already noted,⁵⁸ there has been scant research into any aspect of history teaching, and virtually none into history curriculum content. Moreover, of theses accepted, where reference has been made to world history or to non-european peoples, it has frequently constituted little more than a token. For instance,* Blake's MA(Ed)(1934) strongly emphasised local, environmental and national history to explain the present, and though pointing out that environment should be seen "in worldwide terms" and that the syllabus should proceed to "the more remote and universal", also urged that with the junior child it should treat "simply the neighbourhood in which he lives", and that any foreign history should be brief and seen in terms of "the romance of Britain overseas"; whilst the secondary syllabus should be mainly british history with some european, enriched throughout by local material and centring on the concept of nationality. China was mentioned once. Moreover, though opposing "inculcation of narrow patriotism", Blake saw world history as "of dubious value" with juniors, whilst for seniors "love of country must precede ... love of mankind as a whole".⁵⁹

In his M.Ed. (1953) Cairns never mentioned China as a possibility for secondary history; and not having put a case for wider-world history to the children, nor any questions which could have given clues as to more sweeping changes they might have preferred (none of his tests or questionnaire items referred to China, and of 85 words in word-association tests only one was specific to China) came down on the side of keeping "a reasonably orthodox history course".⁶⁰

Similarly, Jones' M.A. (1955) though questioning "whether the time has not come for an entirely new approach", and observing that "we must avoid the tendency to cling to the familiar ... the problem of the relative attention to be paid to british and to world history has to be answered ... there is the danger of seeking the easy solution of a narrow and parochial approach", concluded it was "always necessary to relate content ... to everyday life and to the actual experience of the pupil". In his questionnaire, of 24 main

* In all cases no qualitative judgement is implied.

areas of investigation, containing reference to approximately 190 topics, chinese content was mentioned only twice: and of 27 modern topics offered for ranking, though a strong 'world' emphasis was present, only one related to China.⁶¹

Smith's important B.Litt. (1965) suggested that the principal problems of school history teaching were, should and could it be taught. What should or could be taught was not identified as a basic issue and only 14 pages were given to syllabus content. She observed that "where appropriate, the syllabus should be widened to include the heritage of others as well as our own", but made no suggestion as to how that might be done, and appeared to assume development of world history (mentioned only half a dozen times throughout, and never with approbation) to stand ipso facto against concentration on historical skills. China was mentioned three times, and chinese history nowhere considered.⁶²

Likewise, Sirett's M.Ed. (1966) despite brief attention to world history, plus an assertion that the earlier historical background to recent world events should be taught, primarily concentrated on the philosophy and teaching of history, rather than curriculum content. Chinese history was nowhere mentioned.⁶³

Booth's M.Ed. (1967) whilst concluding that school history was "not catering for the needs of many ... pupils", needing "a more cosmopolitan outlook", went on to suggest a 'world history' syllabus which for three years comprised largely european history, and in which China occupied no more than part of a term in the first year, for contrast with early mediterranean civilisations, part of a term in the third year, as contrast to Britain and Europe, and half of one of five themes in year five.⁶⁴

Bayne-Jardine's M.Ed. (1969) despite demanding "a shift from the traditional pattern ... the certainties of the 19th century cannot form the basis for history teaching today ... history teachers have become prisoners of the past ... it is time that they threw off the chains of a syllabus and an attitude rooted in the 19th century", at no time mentioned either world or chinese history. Its consideration of syllabus content specified for development only the environment, industrial archaeology, local influences, the family and social topics.⁶⁵

Cook's M.Litt. (1970) insisted that "the centre of gravity must move and the drama ... be played on a bigger stage than was

acceptable in the 19th century". Reconciling the claims of local, national and world history was essential. 'World' developments in upper forms demanded "radical alterations in attitude ... lower down the school". On the other hand it assembled powerful unrefuted criticisms of world history; strongly advocated history for citizenship; devoted 13 pages to the New History and links between history and social sciences, seen as tied closely to the rise of local history; and allowed only seven of 236 pages to a study of the development of both contemporary and world history - and none to China.⁶⁶

Alexander's MA(Ed) (1971) drew up secondary curriculum content built around 'evidence' (all british) local and family history and educational drama (all british topics) and, despite reference to need for wider imaginative empathy and suggestion of Ming China as a third year topic, gave only 61 lines to world history and mentioned China only thrice.⁶⁷

Finally, Danziger's M.Ed. (1973) stressed curriculum content to aid the child's understanding of his own society. "The history which could best achieve that, would be based on recent, local, and national history ... national history will undeniably loom large in the syllabus". Syllabus suggestions offered, though claiming to represent both process and content objectives, were almost exclusively skills-based, and closely in line with the 'New History' approaches then being adumbrated. ("Of all the boundary disputes, that between history and sociology seems the least productive".) Though recognising the indefensibility of exclusively national history, it regarded as almost insuperable the scale of world history and its conceptual, ideological and resource problems, and overall found it worthy only of "brief mention" (one paragraph in 152 pages).⁶⁸

Each of those theses was of interest, in some cases importance, in other respects. They are cited solely to illustrate the neglect of wider history curriculum considerations emanating from british universities even up to recent times. As noted earlier, less than a dozen theses directly relevant to this study's specific considerations have been unearthed.* Only two particularly

*
Two by geographers.

considered teaching about China, and only one of those chinese history. One thesis on world history teaching as such has been traced.⁶⁹ There may have been others: but the universities' failure to channel research interests around the educational potential of history curriculum content with either a world or non-european emphasis is blatant.

Only brief consideration may be given here to the universities' influence over teacher-training programmes. That warrants further investigation. There is little doubt, however, that Lamont (1972) was correct, that "the decisive influence ... came from the universities downwards".⁷⁰ Following the Cross Commission (1886) day-training colleges were gradually established. From the beginning they were closely tied to the universities and the history taught therein closely followed the universities' predilection for national political and constitutional outlines. In both the entrance qualifying examination for training colleges and the final examination, candidates had to show knowledge of english history outlines.⁷¹ An investigation (1961) of 70 college curricula showed only 54% claiming to teach world history (frequently simply classical or british and european) and only 15% with strong emphasis. Even then, China was excluded more often than not, as Lyall (1967) further showed. Clearly, Hill's assertion (1953) that teachers were "inadequately equipped" for world history was correct, as was Murphy's (1968) that a major problem was teachers' insecurity due to inadequate education, and Doncaster's (1973) that the principal problem in respect of China was not finding or using source materials, but "the ignorance of teachers of their existence".⁷³

The universities have also exercised powerful negative influence over school curricula, through probably not to the extent of seeking deliberately to "colonize and inculcate the secondary schools with their values and forms of thought".⁷⁴ Of 56 inter-war school inspection reports which have been studied, 14 specifically noted Oxbridge-educated teachers. In five of those the syllabus was all english history, in five english plus some limited european, and in only one was world history mentioned - alongside an english history course.⁷⁵ By 1938, it was "difficult to exaggerate the importance of this School and Tripos (Oxford) ... on history in schools". ... The universities were "the nurseries" without which "the recent development of history teaching ... would have been impossible".

Thirty years later the influence of the academic historians was still being spotlighted. The typical history teacher "accepts the loci classici as handed down by the academic sub-culture with which he identifies: he teaches traditional topics".⁷⁶

The universities' conservative influence on both pedagogy and curriculum is seen particularly in respect of examination syllabuses.⁷⁷ Booth (1967) was demonstrably incorrect in this respect.⁷⁸ In one Northumberland school in 1929, for instance, the syllabus (largely english history) was "inevitably governed by the demands of the examinations".⁷⁹ But examination syllabuses, whether the 100 locals by 1900, or the School Certificate after 1918, were from the start determined by university-dominated bodies. Thus, as Elliott (1975) maintained, "the Board passed over to the universities control of the curriculum in the upper forms of secondary schools".⁸⁰ All examining bodies' syllabuses between the wars focused exclusively upon english, european and classical history - particularly the former. Oxford and Cambridge, for instance, set three english papers, the third only replaceable by a european option, whilst Bristol set three english papers plus one on classical history.

From the start there was dissatisfaction. Nonetheless, despite widespread recognition of examination syllabuses' influence on the school,⁸¹ most teachers' criticisms spotlighted not syllabus content but length and approach. Although certain reservations as to content have been noted,⁸² teachers seem in general to have accepted without question 'the english-plus-some-european' content, and to have assumed its continuation as the core.⁸³

Consequently, any modifications occurred within existing syllabuses rather than in the form of new. Thus by 1950 world history was virtually non-existent as an examination subject,⁸⁴ and even by the early 1960s, though change was creeping in,⁸⁵ all eight GCE boards' syllabuses made it "possible to ignore the history of Europe and the wider world". Only 23 special papers had been validated - 20 british, european or local history, two american, and one world affairs. None dealt with China other than peripherally.⁸⁶ As late as the mid-1970s, it was still possible to portray most GCE papers as having "much in common with those set in the 19th century", and "watered-down versions of those followed at university", so that school history stood "in danger of being choked upon a university -

imposed diet".⁸⁷ In Wales, 'O' level's emphasis on rote learning and narrative reproduction of english and welsh history was exposed as recently as 1978; whilst in 1980 another writer lamented that the examination system was still making it "difficult for teachers to stray far from tried and proven paths".⁸⁸

A second major source of influence towards the learning of factual, chronological, national syllabus content has been the publications and activities of the central controlling body and its inspectorate.⁸⁹ Smith (1966) correctly observed that that body "could not be said to have strongly committed itself" to the global study of mankind's history.⁹⁰ From the earliest years, occasionally tempered by the broader vision of HMI such as Beatrice Ensor and others,⁹¹ parochialism and national stress have been dominant. In 1904, the basic stated objective was "familiarity with the literature and history of (our) own country ... the great persons and events of english history and of ... the British Empire". In 1908, "in nearly every school it will be necessary ... to place a formal course covering the whole of english history ... in many it will not be possible to attempt any independent work in history other than that of England". In 1914, there was "no time for the systematic teaching of foreign history", and "nothing of value in european history after 1871 to be taught in the classroom". In 1923, younger children must acquire "the definite first consecutive outline of the outstanding figures and events ... of our own national story". Secondaries must be given "a clear outline of the history of (our) own country". The oldest pupils should study "a course ... comprising a period of english history (plus) the corresponding period of european", though the english would "naturally be studied in greater detail". Findlay (1923) noted: "The influence of the Board of Education ... ensures that english history in particular shall not be neglected".⁹²

Such ideas also influenced the Hadow committee (1926). "All periods of british history" must be treated with "no large factor" omitted. The next year, the Board's Handbook, after asserting that "no course ... can be satisfactory that leaves the pupil with the impression that the story of the world began with Julius Caesar's visits", recommended concentration on "those parts of the world's story from which modern civilisation can trace a direct descent ... it is easy to waste time ... to devote too much attention to stories of the Asiatic Empires ... whose contributions to modern civilisation

are at best indirect". In 28 pages on history, almost the entire focus lay upon english chronology. The wider world was virtually ignored. China was not mentioned. When reissued ten years later (1937) the Handbook's overall impression was unchanged. Although a new paragraph advised "A respect for other civilisations ... will best grow out of a knowledge ... of their history ... even to hear once that the Chinese were a cultured people when our ancestors were savages may exercise a lasting effect", no follow-up suggestions were made. The 'empire history' section from 1927 was renamed 'world history', with an unchanged text; all topics in a 'world history' framework were british and european; former criticism of ignorance of all but british history was omitted; former reference to Mogul India was dropped; and China was still excluded from a 10-page syllabus outline.⁹³

Closer evidence of official attitudes pre-war has been obtained from school inspection reports, whose influence has also been noted by Elliott (1975).⁹⁴ In 45 out of 58 reports on 56 schools in 13 LEAs, the history syllabus described was largely english. European history was mentioned only 19 times and 'world' history seven. A genuine world perspective prevailed in three at the most. Yet in seven instances HMI required more english history, in nine some european and in only three some 'world history'. In 33 instances no criticisms were made.⁹⁵ In a London school (which alone among the the 56 taught U.S. history) HMI's recommendation (1921) was to expand english history teaching, plus "just that part of contemporary european ... necessary for understanding the ... english". That advice was twice repeated elsewhere in London (1929) besides Surrey and Wiltshire (1922). Three exclusively english and european history syllabuses in Warwickshire and London (1921,1930,1930) were noted favourably. In a Yorkshire school (1926) whose english history syllabus stressed "brisk catechism ... accurate knowledge of fact", HMI seemed pleased. A South Shields syllabus (1927) almost exclusively english history was acceptable; another in Lancashire (1930) was "exemplary"; and others in Newcastle, London and Yorkshire (1930) were received without adverse comment. A London syllabus (1930) dominated by english and classical history was criticised for leaving "formidable gaps in their study and knowledge of english history". On the other hand, a London four-year world history course (1930) was "full of difficulties", with "little promise", and demanded simplification; whilst a Lancashire five-year world history

course (1930) was criticised for "ineffectiveness", HMI recommending that it be shortened.⁹⁶

Even after the war, changes in attitude were slow to come. The cover of the Ministry's Teaching History (1952) was adorned with pictures of all 40 english monarchs. For juniors, "stories mainly about our own country" were recommended. For others, "a syllabus which does not include one patch at about the time of the norman conquest, one in the flowering of the middle ages, one in the age of Henry 8th. or Elizabeth, one in the age of Charles 1st, one in the industrial, american and french revolutions, one in the world cataclysms of the 20th century and one in the emergence of the British Commonwealth, is somewhat deliberately avoiding the obvious, and indeed the important". The value-judgements were obtrusive, the chances for world history slight.⁹⁷

DES courses advertised in the first issue of Teaching History (1969) suggested little improvement. Of eight short courses, none was extra-european. Of seven other major courses, one was on modern world affairs, the others on Britain. Of nine short courses in 1974-5, four were on local evidence: in addition, eight long courses on environmental history were run. None of the six in 1975-6 had extra-european interest. In 1982-3, two of three short courses advertised focused on the local environment.⁹⁸

Thus, despite sporadic evidence of interest in wider curriculum content, as noted earlier,⁹⁹ officialdom has shown itself at best lukewarm as to world history and world studies. Recent reports on primary and secondary education (1978-9) and curriculum development (1980) made no acknowledgement of any need for wider-world perspectives.¹⁰⁰

In respect of China, evidence of official interest is sparse. Virtually no references have been found in any of the ministry's publications on curriculum, though a chinese studies course was supported at Oxford in 1976. When teaching Chinese language in schools was raised in the Commons four times in the 1960s, the official response was bleak. In May 1965, the Secretary of State was asked if work in schools by SACU¹⁰¹ could be facilitated. A junior minister answered that though it was hoped schools would "take every opportunity of promoting knowledge and understanding of the life and outlook of other peoples", the schools themselves must decide.¹⁰²

Significant influence has also been exerted by semi-official organisations. The Royal Historical Society's library "consists

mainly of primary sources of british history". Of 69 Alexander Prize essays, 1898-1982, 65 considered british history (56 domestic topics). Studies in History, which by 1981 comprised 26 titles, included 17 items on details of british internal history; five on british foreign activities; two on Europe; and two on european activities overseas. In addition, guides to english local administration and episcopal registers were published, plus an annual bibliography on Britain and Ireland. The presidential address in 1981 covered 'Feudal society and the family in early medieval England'; and at ordinary meetings papers were read on carolingian schools, Charles the Second's parliaments and the resettlement of England, 1267. The only relief from the minutiae of british history was McNeill's 'A defence of world history'. That offered at least some improvement on the previous three years, when papers read had concentrated on such as british wartime food production, bureaucracy and landed families (1980); ninth century England, medieval Wales, the 15th century navy and british cartography (1979); and 14th century England, 14th century Britain, 19th century Britain, edwardian society, and Britain in 1940 (1978).^{103*}

More important in its direct influence upon teachers, however, has been the Historical Association. Set up in 1906 to "coordinate the efforts of all ... towards the improvement of historical teaching",¹⁰⁴ it from the start attempted to do so through conferences and a variety of publications, especially the journal History (1913/1916-on) which had no real rival as a medium for disseminating pedagogical and curriculum attitudes to history teachers. Two of the association's founders were training college lecturers. The third principal founder, Pollard, professor of constitutional history at London,** as noted earlier¹⁰⁵ also founded the Institute of Historical Research, with its dominant emphasis on english constitutional history and close links with both the History of Parliament and the Victoria County History. Pollard chaired the first exploratory meeting, sent out the first invitations, convened discussions in his own home, was the first editor of History after its take over in 1916, and was the association's third president.

* Plus occasional papers on Europe.

** And Fellow of All Souls, Oxford.

From the start his central role ensured both the dominance of the university interest and the association's persistent emphasis upon english political, constitutional and local detail. The origins and depth of that emphasis become even more apparent from the names of the prominent early supporters: Firth, Oxford scholar, specialist in 17th century England, the first president; Tout, Oxford scholar, specialist in medieval England, the second president; Trevelyan; Spalding, editor of Piers Plowman; and Marten, author of textbooks on english history and (1929) the association's first schoolmaster-president.

The association had seven branches by 1910 - all in university cities - and has today over 100. Throughout that period, it has never been other than "tentative on the question of world history", as Heater (1980) correctly observed. Longden's conclusion (1972) that it has given "a very fair share to the protagonists of the teaching of world history", was unsound.¹⁰⁶ Its part in helping set up the Brunswick Institute was acknowledged earlier,¹⁰⁷ but such stirrings have been eclipsed by an overwhelming interest in english national and local history, history for citizenship and, in recent years, the New History, with its emphasis upon the documentary evidence of english local and national history.¹⁰⁸

A few further examples of persistent Historical Association interest in such curricular emphases may be cited. In 1929 it recommended that historical education for upper juniors be "mainly stories from english history and the foreign history connected with it. At this age children develop a strong interest in nationality".¹⁰⁹ In 1944, the association published Reid and Toyne's Planning of a history syllabus for schools. Early indications of support for 'world history' meant either a syllabus centring upon England, with Europe ("even world history") as a background; or a course centring upon Europe but taking examples from England. Almost all stories recommended for juniors were british and european. A suggested secondary course was wholly european in perspective. Scientific history was interpreted solely in greco-european terms; political-constitutional history anglocentrically. The pamphlet contained only 11 one-word references to non-Europeans, and six to the world. No detail was suggested. China was ignored.¹¹⁰ Similar evidence may be drawn from an article by Toyne (new chairman of an association syllabus reform committee) in History in 1945, insisting that children be offered almost exclusively english and european

history. First year secondary pupils should follow a course stressing personal, local and environmental materials broadening out "to their neighbours, thence to their country as a whole ... then forward again to the Empire, and the World". From that point, however, they must "travel on more orderly and beaten tracks". Second years, starting from a study of local institutions, should make a formal study of the rise of european nations, especially France and Spain. For third years, there was "no better choice than the time-honoured years 1485-1715". For fourth years, the course was to be all euro-american. Fifth years must study Britain and the empire, plus english history in supposedly wider perspective, but emphasising social, industrial and parliamentary detail. 'New' content included the railways' influence on victorian architecture. Knowledge of the wider world was not specified. It could be "picked up" from stories of british explorers. However, "time would not allow anything but the barest outline of japanese or chinese history". Thus, the association's representative at a forthcoming official conference on secondary history curriculum (August 1945) wrote-off the Far East in half a sentence.¹¹¹

Such uninspired traditionalism prevailed well into post-war decades. Burston's Historical Association pamphlet on sixth form history (1957) made no mention of anything beyond Britain, Europe and America. The guiding principle must be "study of a limited period ... set in the framework of ... outlines of british, or european and british history".¹¹²

The association's pedagogical and academic booklets offer further evidence of limited vision. Little has been published on the extra-european world or teaching about it.* By 1981, of 58 pamphlets in print in the 'General Series', 29 were on Britain, 22 on Europe, two each on America, Russian and Africa, and one on imperialism: there were none on Asia, South America or Islam. Of 18 in the 'Teaching of History' series, seven dealt with Britain, nine theory of teaching and one each Europe and world history. Of 10 'Aids for Teachers' eight were on Britain, one each on Europe and the USA. Of

* Save for a small number of titles such as Pratt's China and Japan (1944) Purcell's Rise of Modern China (1962) Morrell's Great Powers in the Pacific (1965) Wall's Japan's Century (1964) Marsh and Collister's Teaching of african history (1968) Beasley's Notes on the teaching of far eastern history (rev. edn. 1973) and Henderson's Teaching of World History (1979).

16 'Helps for Students', 13 were on Britain, two on Europe and one on international history. Of seven 'Appreciations in History', four were on Britain, two on Europe and one on the League of Nations.¹¹³

A similar picture emerges from the association's 'revision courses in history' since 1937. Between 1952-4, for instance, of 21 lecture topics offered, 16 were on Britain, five on Europe. By 1982, things had barely changed: of 14 lectures offered, one was pedagogical, two european and 11 on Britain, including four on local history.¹¹⁴

Of course, association 'attitudes' (which have always in any case been disavowed) have only to some extent reflected those of the membership. Local branch activities have reflected similar emphases to those of the national body. In one area (1981-2) of 42 programmed activities, 17 dealt with local history, 14 national, one imperial, and 10 european (including one on Russia in Asia). The rest of the world was ignored.¹¹⁵

The clearest evidence of the attitudes and interest of the association's leadership and membership, however, arises from study of the contents of its two house-journals History and Teaching History. The former, "the indispensable magazine for teachers",¹¹⁶ has had seven editors since 1916, all specialists in english or european history. Thus, the findings of a breakdown of the journal's contents between 1916 and 1979, though disquieting, need not surprise the investigator. Of 997 articles published, 419 (42.03%) were on aspects of british political history (including over 300 on England, 25 on british imperial, 16 on british military, and 30 on british social and economic). There were 213 (21.66%) on Europe. By contrast, there were only 18 (1.8%) on America, nine (0.9%) on Russia*, one each on Africa and the islamic world, and ten (1%) on East and South Asia, including three (0.3%) on China.**

* The HA's attitude to russian history was clearly shown in their response to a call by the russian ambassador (1943) for more russian history in british curricula: "We cannot meet the demands of every enthusiast ... there is much to be said against yielding to temptation". In 1948, a russian newspaper felt it legitimate to accuse the H.A. (unfairly) of deliberately conspiring to keep british children ignorant of Russia. (See History 28,1943,72; History 33,1947-8, 106).

** The remainder mainly consisted of articles on resources (overwhelmingly british) pedagogy and historiography.

Even more illuminating is to count the articles, other than reviews, published 1916-1979 and containing references of any sort, however brief, to China. They total 23 out of 997 (2.31%). Of those, 17 were one-word references. The others comprised, respectively, one paragraph, one paragraph, three pages, eight pages, seven pages and five pages - 24 pages all told over a 63 year period. No reference of any substance was printed until Toynbee's three pages in 1948. From then until Butterfield's article in 1962, there were only one-word references. From 1962 to Jackson's article in 1972, there was only one reference of any sort. Between 1972 and 1979 there were only two references.^{117*}

Nor have the contents of the association's pedagogical journal, Teaching History, between 1969 and 1980, given grounds for optimism to the teacher with wider-world educational aspirations. Despite a declared aim to "encourage teachers of history to be adventurous in devising new ways of tackling the exciting possibilities of the subject", of 275 articles published, only 10 (3.64%) were on world history, two on the U.S., one each on Africa, Islam and Japan, and none on India or Latin America. There were two (0.73%) on China. Moreover, other than reviews, there were only 16 other references of any sort to that country.¹¹⁸ Emphasis strongly focused on the "young-historian - working on local evidence" approach,¹¹⁹ with 10 articles specifically on the New History, 10 on archives, six on family history, and 48 (17.45%) on local history. In the same period, only five articles dealing substantially with children's attitudes towards other peoples were published.¹²⁰

It may now be appropriate to re-emphasise the possible influence of two other publications likely to be read at times by history teachers. First, the prestigious 'scientific history' journal, the English Historical Review, whose leading role in the emphasis of english domestic history to the detriment of broader concerns has already been touched upon,¹²¹ and whose line of editors since 1886 affords a conspicuous example of the universities' conservative influence. Not until J.M. Roberts' appointment as co-editor (1965) was any recent or world history specialism introduced to the editorial board. Consequently, content-analysis between 1886-1979, despite a first issue claim that editorial interest included "the

* There may have been the occasional one-word reference which the writer has failed to pick up. Nonetheless, the overall picture is correct.

development of various branches of civilisation ... the nearer and farther East ... the whole foreign world, medieval and modern",¹²² reveals starkly significant data. Of 2757 articles, 1809 (65.61%) were on domestic english history, as against 42 (1.51%) on the Americas, 26 (0.94%) on Africa, 16 each (0.58%) on India and the Middle East, two on the Antipodes and nine (0.33%) on East Asia, of which six (0.22%) dealt with China and one only with Japan - 3.99% on the world beyond Britain and Europe, including America. No article offered world-historical perspectives.¹²³ Moreover, in those extra-european items, interest was largely in anglo-european terms. Of 12 articles on North America published 1921 to 1938, five were on british or french island possessions, two on British Canada, and one each on anglo-french U.S. relations, Europe and the Monroe doctrine, british plantations, british colonies, and anglo-french warfare. Of 13 on Hispanic America between 1886 and 1979 nine covered dutch foreign policy. Of six articles on China in the 94-year period, one was british trade, one on anglo-chinese himalayan rivalry, one on Britain and Manchuria, and one on anglo-french financial interests. Only two showed any interest in China per se.¹²⁴

Content analysis of the Times Educational Supplement suggests a disturbingly similar narrowness. Between 1946 and 1978, the paper contained only 237 references to chinese matters of any sort. Of those, only six were leaders (two front-page) and 66 articles. No article principally arguing the study of chinese history was published. There was one item on chinese history, and four relevant review articles.¹²⁵

The above details reinforce the conclusions reached earlier in respect of content-imbalance in a number of other major historical publications.¹²⁶ Similarly bleak conclusions noted earlier in respect of the product of major publishers and authors¹²⁷ (though they may be interpreted as more illuminative of the limited interest of teachers and the circumscribed content of school curricula) can be no less strongly reinforced. For instance, in a 14-article series on history school books, published in History between 1938 and 1956, of 653 listed, 388 (59.42%) were on Britain and the empire, 105 (16.08%) on Europe, and 79 (12.10%) on the rest, including America. None looked particularly at China. Moreover, world history showed no signs of increase: in the first article and the last the proportion was the same, just under ten per cent.¹²⁸ In a second such History series between 1957 and 1979 the trend continued. In 44 articles, of

2034 books reviewed or noted, 1096 (53.88%) were on Britain, 382 (18.78%) on Europe, and 448 (22.03%) on the rest, including America. No book on China was reviewed in the first 11, only two in the first 24, and only 26 (1.28%) all told. Only three other books were noted on the rest of Asia (0.15%).¹²⁹ Some development is recognised since 1965 in respect of world history. Between 1957 and 1965, of 419 books reviewed, 66 (15.75%) displayed wider-world interests: between 1965 and 1979, 382 of 1615 (23.65%). Too much should not be read into this, however. Even as late as 1977, of 59 reviewed in one article, 26 were on Britain and 12 on Europe; and of 16 with wider-world content, only one offered a genuine 'world' outlook.¹³⁰ In fact, of approximately 16,330 books of all levels reviewed or noticed in History between 1916 and 1979, only 113 (0.69%) specifically covered Chinese history and only 78 (0.47%) the rest of East Asia. No book on China was received for review until 1926, and no school book until 1954.¹³¹ Neglect has not been solely of East Asia: nonetheless, some disparity is evident. Between 1969 and 1979, 52 books on China were reviewed or noticed, and 29 on the rest of East Asia, as against 87 on India and 181 on Africa. The imperial interest was clear.¹³²

Similar evidence has been extracted from reviews in Teaching History between 1970 and 1980. Of 2318 books reviewed or noted, 1177 (50.77%) covered Britain and the empire, 467 (20.14%) Europe, 154 (6.64%) world-wide topics, 93 (4.01%) North America, 49 (2.11%) Russia,* 51 (2.20%) the Near and Middle East, 40 (1.72%) Africa, 32 (1.38%) Hispanic America, 18 (0.77%) India, 19 (0.82%) East Asia excluding China, 16 (0.69%) the Pacific and Antipodes, 3 (0.13%) South East Asia and 33 (1.42%) China.¹³³

A few other instances may suffice. Of 1172 history books listed by the Cambridge Institute (1967) for use in primary schools, the great majority were on Britain and only two on China. At an exhibition of historical fiction (1977) of 454 titles listed, 272 (59.9%) were on Britain, 108 (23.79%) on Europe, 46 on North America and 28 on the rest of the world, none of which covered China per se. Even in 1982 the Oxford catalogue of new and recent books on 'African, Asian and Australasian studies' offered 83 titles. Only seven dealt directly with China: three of those on Hong Kong.¹³⁴

* Russia has been included with Europe in other cases, unless specified.

One final powerful and pervasive negative influence in respect of world history teaching remains as yet unexamined: that philosophy which has come to be called the New History.

The atmosphere of crisis which embraced history teaching by the 1960s was no new phenomenon. Strong criticism of both content and method, fears as to history's possible decline and evidence of its unpopularity among children emerged in earlier decades.¹³⁵ After the war, however, published evidence of discontent among both teachers and taught, with suggestions of apparent loss of curricular status, persisted and intensified, the clearest warning notes tolled by Booth (1967) and Price (1949, 1968).¹³⁶ History was virtually ignored by influential authors on primary curriculum such as Dempster (1973) and Blackie (1974) and, save for brief but pungent criticism, by the authors of the DES primary and secondary reports (1978, 1979).¹³⁷ Three generations of history teachers had apparently failed to establish any profound or unique values of history as a component of the education of the young.

It seems reasonable to suggest that one major cause of that crisis was the traditional curriculum content,¹³⁸ its normative assumptions with their consequent impact upon approaches and resources, and yet its lack of a coherent and defensible philosophy.* Hales (1966) certainly saw the problem in that light. History was "too often irrelevant". Its "failure ... to establish itself as the major subject for explaining current world issues, and thus to justify itself on 'practical' grounds, contributed to the development of other subjects ... which apparently did this more adequately".¹³⁹

Those 'other subjects' were the social sciences, by comparison with whose goals and methodology those of traditional history curricula were increasingly seen as inadequate. There was nothing new in the spread of social science into history: arising from 19th century french theories of progress from primitivism through religiosity to factually true, or positivist, understandings based on rationalism, social science powerfully inspired marxist theories of historical pattern and later those of Weber and Durkheim, and became particularly influential in european historical thinking with the establishment of the Annales school to study in depth mental, social

* A phenomenon not exclusively british, but experienced world wide, including France, Germany and particularly the USA.¹⁴⁰

and economic aspects of history.¹⁴¹ Profound influence was also exerted in the USA, where Cochran (1948) argued that history must essentially "study the problems of industrial society ... the social-psychological problems of Western civilisation", and that primary sources throwing light upon such problems, especially local sources, with emphasis upon family relationships, should be drawn upon.¹⁴²

But such entryism has not been confined to academic history. It was noted in respect of school curricula by Keatinge (1918) and Findlay (1923).¹⁴³ Again, however, post war american influence was powerful - the work of the California Social Studies Curriculum Project, and the writings of such as the Binings, Taba, Lester and Bruner.¹⁴⁴

Bruner in particular has been of considerable importance to history's crisis atmosphere. The substantive content of any subject was a structured web of basic concepts which should themselves constitute a spiral curriculum. All curricular content, resources and approaches should clarify understanding of those basic concepts. Intellectual activity was "anywhere the same whether at the frontier of knowledge or in a third grade classroom". Education should thus emphasise skills and the use of resources, developing in children "the mode of enquiry of the specialist".¹⁴⁵ Crucially, the mode of inquiry when dealing with the past should be not that of the historian but of the social scientist. In Toward a theory of instruction (1966) history was not mentioned, save that there must be a shift from history towards the social and behavioural sciences, the possible rather than the achieved.¹⁴⁶

The threat posed to history by Brunerism has been clearly spotlighted.¹⁴⁷ Nonetheless, abundant evidence of its advocacy during recent decades for application in british schools, most noticeably by Lawton and Dufour (1973) and the Gunnings (1975)¹⁴⁸ has been traced.

The success of social science entryism has been noted in several countries including Australia; Germany, with the growth of Gemeinschaftskunde; and the USA.¹⁴⁹ In Britain, its success has been witnessed to by many bodies and scholars;¹⁵⁰ and by a Schools Council Social Studies 8-13 project (1971) the launching of two new social science/history journals (1975)¹⁵¹ a DES diploma in teaching social science (1975-6) and Essex University's decision to offer history only in harness with the social sciences.

Not all have been agreed as to the threat to history from social science.¹⁵² Moreover, evidence could be cited as to history's continued strength. Between 1969 and 1971, for instance, local associations of history teachers grew in number from 23 to 41.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, the balance of evidence suggests that "the role of the history specialist in secondary education is somewhat precarious"; that the principal challenge to history in schools arises both from the subject's own failings and from the social sciences' success; and that the latter threatens "an attempt to drain history of certain of its fundamental cultural aspects", and "a virtual denial of the essential meaning or 'use' of history".¹⁵⁴ Moreover, there is overwhelming evidence to suggest that an attempt has been made to reform history and to preserve it from the incursion of the social sciences, not by return to that universality of purpose originally conceived by Herodotus, Ssu-ma Ch'ien, Rashid al-Din and Comenius, but by consciously embracing the concepts, methodology and subject-matter of the threatening agent. Heater (1969) has openly admitted the choice, describing himself as a 'Titoist':¹⁵⁵ and though his social scientific concepts assumed a framework of contemporary world history, it is evident that such orientation has too often led to perpetuation of narrowly national and increasingly local history syllabuses in the schools.

These various new emphases have been collectively seen as a New History, essentially centring upon the child's investigation of problems from the past, "a proto-historian, gaining in understanding through use of ... contemporary source(s)"; reduced emphasis on textbooks; increased use of resource-packs; expanded use of teaching techniques actively involving the child with the past; incorporation of concepts, analytical categories and definitions from the social sciences and economics; and acceptance of a taxonomy of objectives and organisation of the curriculum, resources and teaching methods towards its achievement.¹⁵⁶ It corresponds closely with Bruner's own view of education as "a constant exercise in problem formulating and problem solving", and has been characterised by Bullock (1979) as "the application of methods and concepts, similar to those (through) which social scientists look at contemporary society".¹⁵⁷

The New History's origins may be traced to earlier times and other countries. American influence is particularly noticeable.¹⁵⁸ Following-up such influences, however, invariably leads back to social science goals, concepts, structures and curriculum content.¹⁵⁹

That association was strongly evidenced (1966) in Fenton's symposium, strongly focusing upon the Bloom-Krathwohl taxonomies and Bruner's structures and methodology¹⁶⁰ and recognised by New History proponents as one of that movement's inspirational texts.¹⁶¹

In respect of historical methodology, the New History's roots run no less deeply in Britain. Bloch (1954) has traced emphasis upon use of sources to 1681. By the early 1900s, such emphasis was not uncommon. Happold in particular (1927-32) argued for closer attention to documentary evidence and testing interpretive skills. Lamont (1970) attributed the New History to his influence, which was supported and publicised by the Historical Association, and carried forward into the post-war period by a variety of other voices.¹⁶²

By the later 1960s, numerous record offices, universities and colleges were involved in the production of source-materials for schools (Bryant, 1970-71, listed 400 items)¹⁶³ and, as noted earlier,¹⁶⁴ school courses focusing strongly upon local history and documentary evidence were burgeoning.

Parallel pressure was growing, however, for the use of historical evidence as a vehicle for children's study of social science concepts. Heater (1970) explicitly identified "the techniques and ways of study of the social scientists" with the New History. Kingsford (1969) urged historians to "turn to the disciplines which aim to establish laws of social behaviour". History's future was rosy "If this 'New History' replaces the old (whereby) social history would become ... a central (subject) around which all other branches ... were organised".¹⁶⁵

Demand for reform of history curricula towards those ends-the build-up of interpretive skills through study of documentary sources, and the understanding of historical and/or social scientific concepts - intensified throughout the 1970s. Powerful pressure was exercised by R.B.Jones, who (1970) ominously gave only 20 lines of a 22-page article to world history's potential in pursuit of such aspirations. Jones' lack of interest in the broadening of curriculum content was further exposed in 1972. It was "time we exchanged ... a concentration upon the 'content material' for a concentration on the skills to be acquired ... We should use the material existing subjects to instruct in those skills we seek to instil". His Practical approaches to the New History (1973) demanded "less emphasis on content and more on the process of learning", and gave

little attention to curriculum content - particularly world or extra-national perspectives.¹⁶⁶

Important Historical Association publications reinforced the new emphases. Coltham (1971) advocated children's involvement in handling evidence in order to activate adaptive thinking, but significantly made no mention of the content to be studied, and urged caution with introduction of new ideas and subject-matter. Coltham and Fines (1971) identified 19 behavioural objectives in respect of children's attitudes towards study of the past, understanding the nature of the discipline, and acquisition of the skills necessary in handling resource materials, but again paid no attention to any particular content as an educational objective.¹⁶⁷

Strong advocacy has emanated in addition from Honeybone (1970,1971) and others, including HMI, but most emphatically from Rogers (1980). What pupils should be doing was "acquiring some competence in the use of the skills of historical enquiry". Approaches failing to satisfy that criterion, and not corresponding with brunerian spiral-curriculum structures, were condemned. Rogers' pamphlet displayed, in fact, a disturbing rigidity and intolerance whose potential for frustrating reform movements failing to give acceptable priority to the goals and procedures of the New History - especially those asserting the prior importance of reform of history curriculum content, was clear.¹⁶⁸

Influence has come also from general curriculum philosophy. Interpretations stressing 'curriculum-as-effective-treatment', as against 'curriculum-as-effective-content' date from the 1920s, as a result of which "curriculum concerns ... were subverted by scientific method into teaching concerns".¹⁶⁹ Such emphases received powerful impetus more recently from such as Hirst (1967) Wheeler (1967) Whitfield (1971) and Wiseman and Pidgeon (1970) who argued that social and individual curricular criteria must be kept subordinate to the form of the knowledge and the disciplinary process and raw material. In respect of history, the position was bluntly stated: "Method is far more important than content ... (it represents) ... higher order aims".¹⁷⁰ School level application of such ideas has been promoted across the curriculum around the objective "that the whole teaching approach ... should be reviewed in the light of ... current views on the nature of learning, and a new emphasis on the active part that the pupil should play", and the New History has

drawn inspiration directly from that school of curriculum philosophy and from the examples of Nuffield science, maths and language.¹⁷¹

The New History has been further inspired, however, by english philosophy of history: by Collingwood's thesis that thinking can be historical only if it is in the nature of problem-solving; and Oakeshott's argument that history, like science, maths and philosophy, should be viewed less as a literature and more as a language requiring "understanding of what it is to think historically", and that any other emphasis simply ensures "that the historical mode of thinking never properly appears".¹⁷² Those positions were more popularly articulated (1972) by Burston - that content in history must be subordinate to process, and school syllabuses should represent an introduction to historical thinking. (Burston's direct influence also upon the retention of traditional curriculum content and corresponding neglect of the world history aspect of curricula, including China, has been detailed elsewhere.)¹⁷³

The New History has drawn sustenance from other sources, however. CSE boards have emphasised local-resource-based personal topics and the importance of historical skills as against content since their inception in 1966. Such emphases have met with Schools Council approbation, whose 'History, geography and social science 8-13' and 'History 13-16' projects are closely related to and supportive of New History aspirations. The 8-13 project team (1974) admitted "what seems to us basic is not a particular content area, but criteria for the selection of content". Clearly, one such criterion was easily accessible documentary sources of local environmental interest.¹⁷⁴ The 13-16 project's evaluator (1976) declared its prime intention to have been developing formal thinking through content emphasising the child as a problem-solver; whilst leading New History advocates (1976, 1979) have confessed its importance to their cause.¹⁷⁵

Support has come also from the Historical Association, whose platform for Happold's ideas between the wars was reinforced by publication of the Coltham, Coltham and Fines and Rogers booklets, stress on evidence and documentary sources in other publications (1969, 1977)¹⁷⁶ and promotion of a major course (1973). Teaching History has been particularly influential, "contribut(ing) to making the New History a reality to many schools and colleges".¹⁷⁷

Conspicuous pressure in favour of resource-based historical teaching has also been exercised by professional associations, the DES, LEAs, colleges and university departments, research scholars, the BBC and publishers.¹⁷⁸

The success of those various individuals and bodies may be clearly evidenced from a number of sources.¹⁷⁹ No less clear is the New History's emphasis upon process as against reform of content, and upon the study and inculcation of social science concepts and methodology. Mitchell (1974) reported an anglo-american history teaching conference whose principal concern was the content-method dispute. The 'method' argument had triumphed, "even if ... traditional areas (were) replaced by others which demanded (a more) sociological approach". At that conference's second phase (1975) history was seen simply as "retrospective sociology ... using the skills, tools and concepts of the social sciences". The same year, a Cambridge seminar "agreed that history was a good medium for the promotion of certain skills ... (and) the development of concepts ... there was little direct reference to relevance ... imaginative was mentioned only once ... it was by no means certain that the above objectives were purely historical and could not be realized equally through ... other disciplines".¹⁸⁰

Carpenter's disquiet reflected reservations about the 'curriculum-as-effective-treatment' approach expressed by several scholars. Charlton (1967) has pointed to the negative effects on imaginative development of over-stress on conceptual thinking resulting from the prestige accorded to scientific method. Development of "all kinds of imaginative thinking" in all pupils was essential: curriculum reformers should be seeking "material (which) would best evoke or stimulate imaginative thought in a child".¹⁸¹ Condemnation has come in addition from american scholars. Huebner (1975) attacked "means-end rationality" whereby behavioural objectives are specified and curriculum content designed as a means to those objectives.¹⁸² Even more significant was van Manen's (1977) clear correlation of late 19th. and early 20th. century adulation of scientific method (noted earlier as inspiring and underpinning the narrow curriculum content of traditional school history teaching) and the more recent scientific-analytical curriculum school, of which the New History is partially a product. "Instrumental-practical" preoccupations precluded "more consequential" questions, namely "determining what is ... most worth the student's while". Approaches

to the curriculum as "a nexus of behavioural modes" begged "the issue of worthwhileness of educational objectives or ... the quality of educational experience". In particular, instrumental interpretation of 'skills' in terms of social scientific techniques and concepts rather than empathetically was attacked: "Hermeneutic discovery of knowledge in the sense of Verstehen ... cannot be attained by ... empirical-analytical sciences".¹⁸³

Those criticisms have pointed to the lack of opportunity afforded by social science for development of imaginative and empathetic powers, whose centrality to the argument for wider-world historical curriculum content was demonstrated earlier.¹⁸⁴ In this fundamental respect, then, the New History emerges as a serious obstacle and, indeed, rival to the development of ecumenical perspectives in historical education.*

Few history teachers could take issue with the New History credo as portrayed (1980) by Booth: "Its emphasis ... the use of evidence; its creed ... pupil involvement ... its bete noir ... chronological outlines". Certainly, there is no prima facie reason why advocates of world-historical curricular dimensions need oppose giving serious attention to concepts, sources and the skills requisite to interpretation of evidence and the solution of problems. Authorities such as Barraclough (1954) and the authors of the DES world history pamphlet (1967) have endorsed both the educative value and personal enrichment afforded by those emphases.¹⁸⁵

However, specifically in respect of prioritisation of such objectives before reform of historical subject-matter towards greater emphasis on imagination, empathy, intrinsic fascination and broad relevance, unease has been repeatedly expressed. V.Rogers (1968) criticised social science's "over-emphasis on the near, the local, or ... the parochial". Breach (1971) saw New History excesses as an "affront to commonsense ... students learn ... (only to) ... count the columns in the parish registers". Syllabuses must contain "the vital history of mankind ... a great variety of material from world history". HMIs Giles and Neal (1973) attacked taxonomies stressing skills as "objectives desirable in themselves", giving inadequate or naive attention to affective development and disregarding questions of what to teach. Reid (1976) believed it "disturbing ... that a

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Despite occasional references by Bruner, Coltham and others to curiosity and imagination (see *supra*, p. 26).

rather unrigorous social and economic history is expected to become the staple diet ... earlier and different societies may increasingly be lost ... modern world history rendered inexplicable". Bauer (1976) feared the fragmentation of history. "A different approach ... integrative or civilizational", was essential. Such an approach "may well lead us back to a universalistic attitude". G.Jones (1978) suggested "an air of unreality" about the New History. Content was "still vital". Skills and method "cannot be divorced from content ... unless there is a syllabus likely to demand new approaches teachers will usually fall back on the chronological survey".¹⁸⁶ Even some who helped inspire the New History have expressed disquiet. Booth, for instance, insisted (1978) "the primary task of the historian is not to solve problems ... (but) to stretch a web of imaginative construction". Some teachers were "so obsessed with individual objectives and logical thought processes that they have lost sight of history and gutted it of its humanity".¹⁸⁷

The most powerful critique has come from Elton (1970). Concentration upon "the manner rather than the matter", must necessarily confine the child to "straightforward questions ... proximate problems ... standard forms of history ... English in the main, and conventionally interested in traditional issues". That was likely to produce closed minds. Something quite different was called for: "Let the schools feed the imagination, enlarge mental capacity, and lay the foundations of universal sympathy".¹⁸⁸

Such criticisms contain a good deal of validity. First, it is questionable whether the New History is in the interests of history at all. Bruner (1966) stressed: "we are bound to move toward instruction in the sciences of behaviour and away from the study of history ... it is the behavioural sciences and their generality ... that must be central to our presentation of Man, not the particularities of his history".* R.B.Jones (1970) suggested a course recognising "different categories within society, the socio-economic groups identified perhaps by their economic function ... the political groups with their basic philosophies".¹⁸⁹ By 1972, Kitson Clark believed "much of what passes as history" to be "little more than unsystematic sociology". Booth (1977) was "not convinced that (New History) authors do see their course as a means to ... the

* "Bruner's priorities are not those of the historian" (Jones and Ward, New History, Old problems, 1978,145).

study of history". G.Jones (1978) noted that "new books on history teaching tend to feature the names of Bloom and Bruner before (those) of any historian".¹⁹⁰

Second, the New History has insistently prioritised teaching method over curriculum content: whereas the latter and the assumptions which underpin it have been shown to be the basic problem of historical education in Britain. The prominent american advocate Brown (1966) dismissed as "silly academic argument", and "inconsequential", debate on the content of history teaching. R.B.Jones (1970,1973) was confident that "the actual syllabus is not the real problem". Those who thought differently were tradionalists. The New History laid "less emphasis on content and more on ... process". Content was only important in that it reinforced "the educational (behavioural) objectives to be achieved and the historical skills to be acquired". Lamont (1970) applauded the "healthy rejection" of new content such as contemporary, world or thematic history. All new developments should be judged as to "how far they give weight to the mode of inquiry of the historians". That was the "pivot" of the New History. Subsequently (1972) he emphasised the distinctive purpose of history to be understanding evidence, argued examination reform must focus on testing historical skills, not on different content, asserted that New History objectives would be unfulfilled unless content was "built explicitly around these criteria", and repeatedly encouraged scrutiny of modes of inquiry rather than of content, showing little awareness of the wider-world arena in which the New History could operate, and making no suggestions as to curriculum content. In respect of teacher education, the same insistence was driven home by Turner (1973).¹⁹¹

In fact, however, the New History has gone beyond mere lack of attention to content. Courses built around its criteria have too often reinforced traditional subject-matter through attention to exclusively national and local evidence. Cook (1970) correctly traced a direct line of descent from german scientism to Happold's 'sources' movement, whose influence upon New History thinking was identified earlier.¹⁹² Krieger (1966) ruled out "exotic spatial divisions ... like african history". Thomas (1966) ignored all history beyond Britain. Economic and social history outlines should "come to seem more 'basic' than the names of the kings of England". Whose social history should be studied was clear. Similarly, Beevers (1969) saw the New History, "a process whereby history becomes increasingly

sociological", as of particular value in the study of the industrial revolution and related issues.¹⁹³

The trend has been no less noticeable in schools. Kingsford (1969) demonstrated how New History skills could illuminate studies in english industry, transport, religion, magic, demography and urbanisation. Bryant (1970-71) referred to only 54 foreign items in a total of 400 recommended for source-based history teaching in schools. The bulk of the remainder were local. Wood (1972-3) noted only 63 foreign items (31 on the English-speaking world) among 401 archive units for use in schools. Of the british items, 214 were local. Alexander (1971) emphasised national, local and family history, and assumed any 'patch' must centre upon England. If the 13th. century were chosen, "would there be any point in concerning ourselves with societies abroad which were unknown to even the most erudite inhabitant of Winchester"? Weston (1971) urged that primary evidence must afford "full weight" to local history, itself "essential" for getting to "the heart of the nation". R.B.Jones (1972) concentrated on such as census returns and family history, and advocated 'skills' courses "along paths familiar because they run through the fields of traditional material". Insistent stress on english, especially local, source materials may also be found in chapters by various authors in Jones' Practical approaches to the New History (1973). Of 10 topics noted by Turner, eight were british, two european; all examples cited by Palmer were from english local history; whilst Strongman advocated studies confined to such as Reading in 1940 and thought it natural that archive materials should concentrate on local evidence.¹⁹⁴

Published materials for school use give further illustration. The BBC's History in evidence series (1970-on) "a promising outcome of ... the New History",¹⁹⁵ concentrated exclusively upon british and local history, as did Blackwell's Evidence in history (1979-on) Arnold's Involvement in history (1979-on) Hutchinson's Openings in history (1980-on) and Longman's Secondary history packs (later 1970s) and Sources for history resource sheets (1982).

Similarly narrow vision has been noted in New History examination syllabuses. For instance, East Anglia's skills-based CSE is two-thirds british social and economic history. The rest is euro-focused 'world history'.

In brief, it is evident that claims that broadening of horizons has been both a goal and an achievement of the New History are

incorrect. R.B.Jones (1970) rejected world history for relatively trivial reasons and failed to grasp the potential of extra-national sources for school historical studies. In 1973, he observed: "It may well be doubted whether a european child gains much from ... endeavouring to trace the changing boundaries of african states ... to turn to the contempororary world may be to exchange a course that has some points of contact with a tradition that can be experienced, for a carpet bag of press cuttings and colour supplements". Bryant (1972) saw world history as in direct conflict with the New History's study in depth, and advocated a syllabus ignoring the wider world in its first three years except in relation to european expansion, followed by a one-year 20th. century world history course, then classical or medieval studies. Bolam (1973) detected "polarity ... between a view of history which stresses human range ... and one which stresses limitation of area and academic rigour". Chaffer (1973) put the point clearly: "The history teacher today is not only ... pressed to reshape his methods ... but assailed by demands that he revise (his) content ... These latter demands are the primary cause of tension ... the enquiry approach involves a basic need to reduce the breadth of what is being taught".¹⁹⁸

Chapter Eight: Factors influencing the neglect of world and chinese history (II)

British schools' neglect of the wider world can not simply be explained in terms of unwitting negative influences. More positive and insidious factors have persisted over the years.

First, and of central importance, has been the teaching of history for nationalistic purposes and the reinforcement of those ethnocentric (or, in the weaker sense, insular) attitudes lampooned in Flanders and Swann's Song of Patriotic Prejudice. Such attitudes have prevailed in british historical education from the start, closely associated with assumptions of moral superiority and the relevant lessons afforded by history. Dismissed by Croce (1920) as "pseudo-history", ... they were seen by Goodings and Lauwerys (1964) as the greatest obstacle to favourable international thinking.¹

Nationalism has been defined as "when admiration of national virtues becomes blind idolatry ... when reverence for national symbols becomes fetishism".^{2*} Though the word was not used in English until 1836, early nationalistic attitudes may be traced in such as the 'Song of Lewes' (1264). They were given impetus by the reformation's establishment of independent national churches.³ The first english history textbooks date from 1561 and 1580. The latter, a military history of England designed to stimulate children's national feelings, was ordered (1583) to be studied in all schools: it was still in use by the 19th century. Nationalist assumptions were reinforced by Shakespeare, whose historical plays dealt exclusively with english history,^{**} though Gaunt's famous lines^{***} probably reflected popular sentiments. Peacham's Compleat Gentleman, for instance (1622) insisted children should learn national history. Some check was exerted by the Enlightenment's interest in universal history, including that of China.⁴ Recrudescence occurred from the

* A theory that ethnocentrist and nationalist attitudes reflect a disturbed state of mental health and psychological insecurity should be noted. (See O. Klineberg in C.O. Arndt and S. Everett, Education for a world society, 1951, 57-8. C. Brinton, Shaping of modern thought, 1963, 241. F. Lawrence, 'Forms of bias', MA, 1967, 9-10).

** Unless Hamlet and Macbeth are regarded as historical.

*** "This other Eden, demi-paradise ... This blessed plot ... This England". (Richard II, 2:1).

later 18th century, when economic, military and constitutional factors convinced Englishmen that all history converged and climaxed in theirs, which demonstrated inevitable unilinear progress towards perfection,⁵ and that Asia - particularly China, increasingly seen as effete, decadent and treacherous - stood separate from that pattern. Thus, Lady Calcott (1835) believed that "to teach the love of our country is almost a religious duty", whilst Macaulay viewed the British as "the greatest and most highly civilised people that ever the world saw ... the acknowledged leaders of the human race" - convictions seen by Dance (1954) as rendering the British "reluctant to see ... the points of view of peoples abroad".⁶ Such assumptions underpinned english historical education's overwhelming concentration from the second half of the 19th century upon the national story.⁷ In that context, it was understandable that Green's Short history of the English people (1875) was reprinted five times that year.

National, in the sense of patriotic, interest need not necessarily be parochial or exclusivist.⁸ Nonetheless, 'national' and 'nationalist' have proved almost synonymous to many historians and history teachers. Fitchett (1897) aimed, though relating 21 successful british military engagements to children, to "nourish patriotism ... renew in popular memory the great traditions of the imperial race to which we belong". The british empire was "the best legacy which the past has bequeathed". War was "not all brutal". Wordsworth's reference to 'God's most perfect instrument' held "a great truth". A "robust citizenship" comprised "heroic fortitude ... loyalty to duty stronger than the love of life ... the patriotism which makes love of the Fatherland a passion". Webb (1913) confessed: "I would have each child know by heart (how) ... we as a nation emerged a strong, brave and courageous people, sending our sons to spread our name and all it stands for to the ends of the earth ... the burning, active love of one's own country should be a powerful factor in the daily life of every true son and daughter of England". Jarvis (1917) used 'nation' 40 times in the first 65 pages of his Teaching of history - and referred to 'England', 'English', 'Britain' and 'British' over 700 times in the book. Not surprisingly, his suggested secondary syllabus was almost exclusively national ("several lessons can be given on Drake alone"). Findlay (1923) justified teaching Magna Carta and the Bill of Rights as "part of a national consciousness ... the stuff of which Englishmen are made"; whilst study of "Caesar, Boadicea, Alfred, Canute, William the

Norman ... the gallant knights who fought at Bannockburn and Crecy" would enlarge the outlook, since, with such a syllabus, enriched by english literature, "our English children would be "dowered with the heritage of their race - with taste formed on the racial speech whose accents they have learned".⁹

Findlay's reference to english literature, a powerful medium for translating assumptions of national centrality, moral superiority and dominant character into school curricula, was revealing. George and Sidgwick, for instance, in Poems of England (1900) openly admitted their aim "to bring home to the young ... the national qualities, among which are conspicuous the steadiness of men and women in extreme peril, the stubbornness which never knows when it is beaten, and the moderation". The poems (to be learnt by heart) included such as Campbell's Battle of the Baltic ("Yield, proud foe, thy fleet, With the crews, at England's feet, And make submission meet") and Men of England ("The foes you've fought uncounted, The glorious deeds ye've done, Trophies captured, breaches mounted, Navies conquer'd - Kingdoms won!"). No less exultant were Tennyson's Defence of Lucknow ("Ever upon the topmost roof our banner of England blew ... We were English in heart and in limb, Strong with the strength of the race to command") or his Third of February, 1852 ("No little German State are we, But the one voice in Europe ... And as for these [the French] We broke them on the land, We drove them on the seas"). Even more racially and nationally insistent was Doyle's The private of the Buffs: "Type of all her [Britain's] race, Tear his body limb from limb, Bring cord, or axe, or flame, He only knows, that not through him, Shall England come to shame ... Let dusky Indians whine and kneel, An English lad must die ... With knee to man unbent".¹⁰

Such attitudes were enthusiastically taken up by schools. Wells (1921) condemned their "dark prejudices" and "vile nationalism". Walker (1935) devoted a chapter to school syllabuses' jingoism. Dobson (1950) observed that school history helped stimulate "strong national sentiments". It was "all too often merely the traditional expression of prejudices and stereotypes ... nationalist propaganda ... affording a vicarious sense of grandeur to the common man". Dance (1954) asserted: "Few writers of british textbooks ever think about history except in a british framework ... (they) choose those aspects of foreign culture ... relevant to a british view of life". Foreigners were "too frequently blamed for having principles and aspirations which are not british". Smith (1965) noted a

nationalistic approach in much school history, with strong moral and national heritage overtones, mirroring "an island nation, with strong echoes of Shakespeare and Elizabeth the First ... which it is assumed ... every English child should know". Even as late as 1980, Shennan and Lawrence felt national history "the most potent source of a crippling chauvinism".¹¹

They were no less enthusiastically taken up by publishers and text-book writers. Dobson (1950) discovered historical poetry in a 1915 text-book including 'Rule Britannia', 'The Battle of the Baltic', 'Pro Patria', 'My native land', and 'God save the King'. Smith (1965) studied four sets of books published 1935 to 1962 and found "remarkable coherence" in their implicit suggestion that british history - national, political and moralistic in emphasis - constituted "the history that every child ought to know". One had 14 reprints 1935 to 1958. Lawrence (1967) found 'drum and trumpet' history particularly prevalent in earlier textbooks, their assumptions of national superiority in morality and progress coupled with xenophobia. Bayne-Jardine (1969) found popular textbooks from 1923 and 1937 betraying attitudes of national superiority. Chancellor (1970) demonstrated nationalistic moral assumptions in school textbooks pre-1914. They attributed the finest qualities to Englishmen, portrayed imperial rule as freedom-bringing, gave an exalted view of Britain's achievements and world-role, and set out to encourage "extreme forms of patriotism". Elliott (1975) found "aggressive nationalism" in earlier decades, with emphasis on british military triumphs and "a reluctance to even state the viewpoints of foreigners, especially non-Europeans". As to more recent books, Billington (1966) concluded that "nationalistic bias is as persistent in today's textbooks as those used a generation ago"; that british (and american) authors assigned "such an array of virtues to (their) own country that the reader is left unaware that other nations made a lasting contribution to the world's civilisation"; that that was harnessed to "outworn racial stereotypes such as the inscrutable Oriental" and "openly derogative language" against non-Aryans; and that such nationalistic and racist bias sprang principally from the "intellectual sluggishness" of writers who had failed to keep up with more recent scholarship. Those conclusions were underlined by Low-Beer (1974).¹²

The work of all the above scholars, based on only a limited number of texts, is overwhelmingly substantiated by the findings of

the present study. First, of approximately 4500 text and topic books held in the Historical Association's collections at Durham University and at the Association's London headquarters, well over half focused solely or predominantly upon England, Britain or the empire, with evocative titles common, such as Famous Englishmen, Deeds that won the empire, or The freedom histories. Second, even where books have looked beyond Britain, whether to Europe, or, more rarely, to the wider world, their titles and content have frequently betrayed ethnocentrist assumptions¹³ whose implications for the historical understanding of young people have been repeatedly noted. Third, even when only those books whose titles suggest the possibility of wider horizons are considered, a disquietingly large number have displayed bland assumptions as to national centrality or superiority, their content dominated by english or british historical detail, virtually excluding the rest of the world from the child's historical consciousness.

These matters have been detailed earlier,¹⁴ and recapitulation is unnecessary. It is emphasised, however, that anglocentric views have been found in books published well into the 1960s and 1970s.¹⁵ It was not only in earlier decades that a publisher could accept as Complete history readers a series focusing almost exclusively upon Britain. Even by the 1950s, such as the Herald Historical Readers, or the History Picture books series were concentrating on Britain, 'Ten famous people, 1910-30' being all Britons.¹⁶ Moreover, recurrent national egotism has been found in the same period. In 1950-51, juniors were being told how 'England becomes mistress of the seas', and 'How we thrashed the men of Spain'. In 1953, they were reading Coleridge's "Yes, ever since, Hath England done her best, To spread abroad through all the land, The news of peace and rest, Where'er the bright sun shineth, Her messengers are found, With girded loins and staff in hand, spreading the joyful sound"; and Smiley's "Children of the Empire, from little Isles they came, To spread abroad in every land the magic of their fame, They toiled, they strove, they perished, that you and I might see, The fair, free lands of Britain arise in every sea". As late as 1959, Purton's anglocentrist Our Heritage was insisting: "We have a responsibility, for we must continue to lead the world in all aspects of life".¹⁷

The insistent expression of such national attitudes and convictions suggests an underlying, perhaps unrealised ideology, the source of which may lie, as some sociologists of knowledge have

argued, in dominant-class 'cultural hegemony'. Young (1973-6) has portrayed all curriculum content as a socio-historical product, precluding teachers' decisions as to truth or value. That has produced "legitimated aimlessness", with "the knowledge of the worthwhile presupposed". It represents pervasive concepts underpinning western capitalist societies. Only through genuine socialism will views of "man's common humanity" come through the curriculum. Apple (1979) has argued that schools constitute a central means for reproduction of the beliefs of the society in which they exist. That necessitates manipulation of curriculum content, "to saturate our very consciousness, so that the ... world we see and interact with ... becomes the only world". It is anathematic to the development of "comprehensive world views". Related arguments have been advanced by such as Bernstein (1971) Bourdieu (1977) and Sharp (1980) and, particularly in respect of history curriculum, by Chancellor (1970) who detected "a conscious and directed effort ... to indoctrinate the young with ideas acceptable to the dominant classes of society".¹⁸ The critique is interesting (if not universally accepted)¹⁹ and its relevance to the development of history curriculum might merit further investigation.

A second, not unrelated, major inhibiting factor has been eurocentrism, seen by Thomson (1969) as an "iron curtain separating different civilisations", and by Hannam (1970) as a "western assumption ... that western culture is synonymous with civilisation and merits greater consideration than the cultures of foreigners, savages or barbarians", and profoundly revealed by use of 'the Far East' to describe East Asia.²⁰ It almost inevitably arose from Europe's great judaeo-classical cultural tradition, as Bloch (1954) has implied,²¹ and has coloured european views of 'world history' from the earliest days. Thus Sprat (1665) saw the essence of history as civilisation's spread from Europe to "countries that were yet never fully civilised". Bossuet totally excluded China, Japan and India from his Discours sur l'histoire universelle (1779) as did numerous other writers of the period. Even du Halde (1733) betrayed eurocentric assumptions, arguing that the people of Mogul India were "little better than Barbarians, when compared with our civiliz'd nations".²²

From the later 18th century, the spread of european empires across the globe suggested to european man that Europe was the seat of progress, in whose march the rest of the world had been left

behind. It "seemed adequate to concentrate attention upon the favoured segment of mankind among whom progress had flourished ... History, conceived as the record of progress, came firmly to rest on european soil". A corollary was neglect of the universality of Europe's cultural heritage.²³ Thus, Arnold's Oxford inaugural (1841) could envisage teutonic world domination as the last step in human history; Whewell's History of the inductive sciences (1847) could exclude all non-european contributions; and Times correspondents (1863) could debate whether missionaries in China ought not simply to concentrate upon introducing 'civilisation'.²⁴

Such attitudes were aggravated by mis-reading of Hegel's argument that human awareness of freedom had broadened from its oriental origins so that "world history travels from East to West, for Europe is the absolute end of history, just as Asia is the beginning". Consequently, despite Hegel's repeated qualifying assertions and denials of qualitative cultural superiority, hegelian thought inspired much of the mid to later 19th century's eurocentrism.²⁵

'Scientific' history gave further reinforcement. Closely linked with 'progress'-centred philosophies, it emphasised archival evidence of the past, and since the open archives were those of european capitals, and the scholars who were to research them were themselves imprisoned in a culturally closed world, "after the age of Gatterer and Schlözer the ordinary historian ceased (even) to pretend to be an orientalist or a student of strange civilisations".²⁶ Thus, even in 1919, Singer could trace the origins of science no further east than Mesopotamia, and then only as background to "the great part" played by Englishmen. By 1938, Titley could still portray both science and history in purely western terms, with no mention of the non-european world. Similarly, Toyne (1945) could advance a eurocentrist analysis of political history. The modern world began about the time of the seven years war, its principal features the agrarian, industrial, french and american revolutions. The school syllabus must stress Europe's world influence. Even in the case of Russia, "only its contacts with Western Europe" should be stressed.²⁷

In 1954, Needham lamented that most Europeans were still "tempted too often to say to themselves ... that Wisdom was born with us". That was vindicated (1960) by Gillispie's eurocentrist evaluation of the dangers arising from the harnessing of science to

technology. The "hard trial" would begin "when the instruments of power created by the West come fully into the hands of men ... devoid of the western sense of some ultimate responsibility to man in history ... What will the day hold when China wields the bomb? ... Nemesis?" Even Trevor-Roper (1963) could insist "European techniques, european examples, european ideas, have shaken the non-european world out of its past ... the history of the world, for the last five centuries, in so far as it has significance, has been european history. I do not think we need make any apology if our study of history is Europa-centric; explanation would be far more necessary if it were not".²⁸

Nor was commitment to 'world history' a safeguard. Wells (1928) listed 353 events in world chronology - one each from Latin America and Japan, eight from India, 18 from Islam, 20 from China and 305 from Britain, Europe and North America. Even by 1953, in a Unesco publication circulated to 70 countries, Hill was recommending for younger children "The Bible and the legends and martyrs of all religions; the great folk movements and migrations - the Aryans and Norsemen, the Great Trek, the opening of the American West; the explorers - Marco Polo and Columbus, Tasman and Cook and Livingstone; Xenophon's Persian Expedition and Chaucer's Canterbury Tales". Biographies recommended were also eurocentric. "The common saga of all mankind" comprised Joseph, Moses, the prophets of Israel, Leonidas, Alexander, Mohammed, the Arabian Nights, Attila, Genghis Khan, Akbar, Napoleon, Columbus, Nightingale and Pasteur. 'World history' topics for upper secondary pupils included Alexander, Hellenism, the roman empire, Islam, the renaissance and european discoveries, the american, french and industrial revolutions, Napoleon, the liberation of Latin America and Asia, and the russian revolution. Asia and Latin America were evidently of interest only after the coming of Europeans, Africa not at all. Even in a 'world history' conference (1964) the perspective was almost exclusively european, and "resolutions ... unlikely to prove valuable to our correspondents ... (such as) the history of Japan" were consciously excluded from the published report.²⁹

So, with wearisome persistence, the eurocentric bias has come down dominant to the present day. Finley (1966) arguing for the study of ancient history, saw no cause to mention other than the greco-roman tradition. Hale (1966) advocating art history in history syllabuses, thought solely in british and european terms. HMI (1967)

suggesting teaching about nazi Germany in preference to communist China, saw calls for world-historical perspectives as "a counsel of rather abstract perfection", and thought it "unrealistic to quarrel with the evident fact that ... syllabuses are generally somewhat Europe-centred". A reviewer (1970) praised Cornwell's World History, noted for its eurocentrism, as "a good basis for any course on world history", whilst condemning Pratt's Visitors to China for too much chinese history. Jamieson's study of the "outstanding world statesmen" of the 20th century included seven Europeans, two North Americans, four Asians (one Chinese) and one African. Hawes' Atlas of Man and Religion (1970) covered only Christianity. Macintosh (1973) ignored non-european issues when drawing up 30 questions illustrative of examining criteria: eleven were on Britain, 18 on Europe, one on the USA. (China was mentioned only in context of british passports). Of 108 maps in Chambers' Atlas of world history (1975) 90 were on Europe and five on Asia. Perhaps most conspicuously, the editorial panels of major historical journals such as Past and Present or the Journal of Contemporary history have permitted almost 90% of their contents, even in recent years, to be devoted to white anglo-saxon and european topics, with only 1.92% and 2.92% respectively on South, South East and East Asia, and only 0.32% and 0.41% respectively on China.³⁰

Such imbalance of historical perspective, attacked by scholars including Barraclough (1967) and Johnson (1972)³¹ has influenced the stance and subject-matter of great numbers of school books. Significantly, of over 5,000 surveyed in preparing this thesis, though many related in some detail Marco Polo's discovery of China, not one mentioned Rabban Sauma's roughly contemporary and potentially much more important discovery of Europe.³² Even when only the over 900 books promising wider-world horizons are considered, well over 10% displayed strong eurocentrism, most of those additional to the books reflecting powerful national-centrist tendencies. Again, a breakdown of many of the worst examples may be found earlier, and recapitulation is unnecessary.³³ However, as with anglocentrism, it is stressed that eurocentrism has not been confined to earlier decades. Over half the eurocentric books uncovered were published post-1950 and several post-1970.³⁴ Moreover, even in popular series claiming world-historical perspectives imbalance has been seen.³⁵

A not-unrelated third contributory factor - seen by Dance (1954) as directly consequent upon views of national centrality -

superficially less widespread, but potentially more serious in its implications-has been racism.³⁶

The prevalence of racist phenomena in the post-war era has been frequently noted. Goodings and Lauwerys observed (1964) "the language we speak is subtly impregnated with national and racial stereotypes and contains words implying contempt for some other group".³⁷ However, it is erroneous to suggest that they are recent historical phenomena primarily associated with Nazism.³⁸ Their antiquity goes back to Aristotle and Herodotus.³⁹ Growth of racist thinking paralleled growth of european empires.⁴⁰ The opposition of Hegel and others to racist assumptions was overwhelmed by a 19th century tide wave. Racist assertions and descriptions were published by such as The Times and Punch. The latter (1859) referred to the "little pig eyes" of the "coward John Chinaman", whose eyes would be opened by John Bull. Later in the century, Chamberlain was claiming the Anglo-Saxons "the greatest governing race the world has ever seen ... so proud reaching, self confident and determined, the predominant force of future history and universal civilisation".⁴¹

The social darwinist tide flooded into the 20th century. Wilkes (1917) argued children must learn their national history since "the future of the world lies in the hands of the anglo saxon race". Jarvis (1917) spoke of 'race' 17 times. Hasluck (1920) believed "it is enough to indicate in a few words the general state of civilisation they (non whites) had reached when they came into contact with the white race ... it is hardly worth while attempting to enter into their rather uninspiring history". Books such as Races of England and Wales, Western Races and the world and Racial history of man were published in the 1920s. Childe believed (1926) "the Nordics' superiority in physique fitted them to be vehicles of the superior language". Bradley (1927) traced english character to race. Barker (1927) believed 'race' and 'nation' synonymous. There was a "racial basis of national life", manifested in law, government, religion, language, literature and education. Each nation possessed "the temperament of its racial blend".⁴²

Barker's book, seen by Kandel (1949) as akin to Nazism,⁴³ was popular. It enjoyed a fourth edition in 1948. By that time, Rowse (1946) though denying "the silliness of racialism" had further fuelled racist/nationalist attitudes, his violent anti-German descriptions in sharp contrast to his appreciation of the "solid reliability ... dogged qualities ... sensitiveness and imagination

... sleepless sense of moderation" of the British."The stock counts for something", Rowse insisted.⁴⁴ In 1954 teachers complained of books stressing the 'british race'. Twenty years later, Low-Beer was condemning both nationalism and racism in school history and demanding their expurgation.⁴⁵

The disturbing truth is that it is difficult to distinguish much of what has passed for history in british schools from Hitler's view of education finding its crowning work in "burning into the brains and heart of the youth ... an instinctual and understanding sense of race and race feeling".⁴⁶ That assertion is supported by the research of Chancellor (1970) and Lawrence (1967,1972) into textbooks on english history from the late 19th and earlier 20th centuries respectively. Chancellor found books portraying Indians and Afghans as cruel, unfitted to rule themselves, savage, heartless, monstrous and fiendish. Africans were "lazy, vicious and incapable of serious improvement or of work ... a few bananas will sustain the life of a negro ... he is quite happy and quite useless". Chinese were cold and xenophobic. Their "unfair dealings" and arrogant insults to the british flag caused the 1839 and 1860 wars. Seeking to prohibit opium was provocative. British arson in 1860 was a triumphant punishment for chinese treachery. Lawrence (1967) detailed a tendency to portray England threatened by national or racial catastrophe, with frequent use of pejorative epithets to describe foreigners, especially non-whites. Blacks were "idle and disorderly", aborigines "among the lowest and most barbarous of mankind", Indians half-educated and needing a dose of british bayonets, Afghans wild and fanatical, Egyptians thriftless and oppressive, and Chinese arrogant, stupid and obstinate. One book by Marten, prominent in the Historical Association, was "the paradigm of all sorts of bias", portraying Egyptians, Indians and Afghans in stereotype, and seeing british occupation bringing "infinite benefit". One by Trevelyan stressed the civilising mission of the british empire, saw english civilisation as "the finest flower of the whole culture of the white races", and summarised british rule as "very fortunate" for Indian and African alike. Another author identified 'Christian' with 'gentleman', saw the british empire as an accidental consequence of the sturdy national character and concluded

there was "no doubt that Englishmen are superior and more fortunate than any other people".^{47*}

Such findings have been reinforced by the present work, and though only about 10 explicit examples of negative racism have been discovered, they were all in books whose titles suggested less narrow vision.⁴⁸ Books specifically on national history have not been read. Again, those racist indications have not been confined to earlier publications, such as Darbishire's (1920) interest in showing the spread of "the European branch of the Caucasian or Indo-European Race". In 1949, one writer still felt it appropriate to relate "the spread of the anglo-saxon race and of anglo-saxon hegemony throughout the world". In 1964, the Chinese were described as having flatter bones in their faces than Europeans, and "eye sockets ... slanted upwards towards the outside corners". In 1969, one book's section on chinese children began: "We have yellow faces and crooked nails, queer looking eyes and long pig-tails", and from that racial springboard stressed the idiosyncrasy of chinese customs.⁴⁹

A fourth principal factor has been racial/ethnic/national stereotyping. This, a weaker phenomenon than overt racism, has not shown up as an identifiable problem in the school textbooks studied: but it has certainly been a major determinant of subject matter for inclusion in textbooks and school syllabuses.

Stereotyping, "the subtlest and most pervasive of all influences (which) unless education has made us acutely aware, govern(s) deeply the whole process of perception", based on "hearsay, rumour and anecdotes"; a sort of "autistic thinking ... relatively unresponsive to external reality",⁵⁰ is not solely a modern phenomenon. Du Halde (1733) observed that "Relations that are either made without Judgement, fictitious, or written with Partiality, have a bad Effect on the Mind, by rendering those suspected which are faithful; and instilling, even into Persons of Understanding, certain Prejudices, which they have much ado to shake off again".⁵¹ However, its modern

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Similar evidence could be cited from Hatch's investigation of the portrayal of coloured people in history and geography textbooks (Race 5, 1, Nov 1962, 63-72). Glendenning's study of the portrayal of subject peoples in text books (J.Ed.Admin & Hist 5, July 1973, 33-43; History of Education 3.2.1975 57-72; 'Evolution of history teaching in British and French schools', Ph.D. 1975); and Habtai's study of the portrayal of Africans ('Images of Africa in british secondary education', D.Phil., 1981).

extent and pervasiveness have been clearly shown. Eysenck and Crown (1948) concluded that "certain adjectives (are) assigned to nations with a consistency that ... warrant(s) the assumption of the existence of fairly universal national stereotypes". Many people believed the stereotype they held to be objectively accurate.⁵²

Stereotyping constitutes a serious problem since, as Lambert and Klineberg (1967) showed, it "can and often does become the basis for all forms of prejudice"; and as Lippmann (1922) demonstrated, there is "nothing so obdurate to education or to criticism".⁵³ It has proved a serious obstacle to the development of world-historical studies to the extent it has inspired exclusion of less-favoured peoples and cultures from curricula.

There seems good reason to assume the widespread existence and generally unfavourable nature of stereotypes of the Chinese, an image of "a cruel, sinister and mysterious people", witnessed to by "a whole literature of horror inspired by ... revulsion",⁵⁴ extending through to the present day,* and frequently satirised by Chinese writers.⁵⁵

Objective evidence of anti-Chinese stereotypes among adults is not common. The most revealing evidence as to Britain came from Buchanan (1951) who found from word-list research that 18% of his British sample believed the Chinese to be cruel and 37% backward, as against three and four per cent respectively similarly regarding Americans; and that only 17% thought the Chinese intelligent, 11% practical, 8% progressive, 7% generous, 21% brave, 15% self-controlled, and 22% peace-loving, as against percentages varying between 44 and 77% similarly describing the British. Buchanan's findings may have underpinned Purcell's assertion (1962) that hostile stereotypes, "deeply imprinted by the projection of western fear and ignorance or by the distortions of malice", represented a major obstruction to the transmission of objective appreciations of China to the West.⁵⁶

The reasons for such hostile attitudes - why Queen Victoria labelled the Chinese "very barbarous, cruel, and dangerous"; why Lord Elgin detected attitudes of "detestation, contempt, ferocity, vengeance", against "Chinamen"; why de Quincey felt he would go mad

* e.g. Lowe's play Tibetan inroads, Royal Court Theatre, 1981.

if forced to live among the Chinese; why even Lin Yutang felt "one either loves or hates China"⁵⁷ - appear not to have been researched and can only be touched upon here.

Western aversion to 'orientals' probably first arose from their identification with the Mongol Tatars, caricatured early as "a detestable nation of Satan ... like devils, thirsting for and drinking blood, tearing and devouring the flesh of dogs and men", and believed to have "emerged from the confines of China".⁵⁸ The problem was accentuated by the medieval practice of equating Tatar with Tartarus (Hell). That association probably inspired the modern 'Yellow Peril' fear, given impetus by the Boxers and Japan's defeat of Russia, inspiring racist literature such as Money's Peril of the White (1925). The fear was fuelled by floods of Chinese to South East Asia, threatening antipodean 'kith and kin', which helped provoke racist 'white' legislation in the USA and British empire.⁵⁹ Its ongoing persistence has been evidenced by various writers.⁶⁰

Fears were compounded from an early date by western experience of the Chinese, especially their facial appearance, seeming to resemble Down's Syndrome children (labelled 'Mongols' from 1886) their apparent capacity to endure pain and privation, and their custom and culture. Burnet (1692) believed them "of a different Original from the rest of Mankind", and Fresnoys (1713) as people never having had "much connection with any of those whose history is useful or necessary to us".⁶¹ Similar attitudes have been expressed in the 20th. century, even by orientalist such as Hirth (1908) and Fradier (1959).^{62*}

Hostility arose also from the rude superciliousness and ethnocentric arrogance of the Chinese towards Westerners, noted by de Rada and Mundy in early modern times, suffered by the papal envoy in 1705, and most effectively demonstrated by Ch'ien-lung's putting-down of George the Third in 1795.⁶³ One observer wrote (1775) "We find few or none that travel into China ... to write the history of it, and that for a good reason; the jealous policy of the people renders that country hardly accessible to such persons".

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As late as 1982, China could still be described on a popular TV programme as "strange and mysterious". (Nationwide, 16/9/82).

Even Lew (1923) admitted, "If China has erred, she has erred in the direction of indifference towards other nations".^{64*}

In some respects, it is surprising that Le Rage Chinois⁶⁵ ever got underway. Bitter reaction was not slow to set in.⁶⁶ Hostility towards chinese religious ideas grew after papal condemnation (1704) of jesuitical admiration of Confucianism and the Order's dissolution (1773) which Creel (1949) saw as the turning-point for western interest in China.⁶⁷ The chinese denial of immortality offended 19th. century westerners. Fairbank (1969) has pointed to growing feelings that if China could not be converted or improved, she should be condemned to outer darkness.⁶⁸ Religious hostility was paralleled by attacks on chinese government, administration, law, science and history, most abrasively articulated in Defoe's The Consolidators (1705) and in his later Robinson Crusoe books (1719,1720).⁶⁹ Chinese historical records began to meet disbelief and contempt. Even by 1750, "China was no longer esteemed among english intellectuals either for its antiquity or learning". More seriously, such as Mason (d.1797) increasingly argued that chinese 'perversions' in taste reflected deeply rooted social and political corruption. That, allied to Warton's criticisms in the 1750s, inspired full-scale invective against chinese art and literature, increasingly written-off as whimsical, grotesque and monstrous, "undirected by Nature or Truth". Reaction against the bizarre excesses of chinoiserie, which suggested a land peopled by frivolous, decadent and capricious figures, reinforced the already existing feelings of strangeness and alienation.⁷⁰

By 1800, little real respect remained for chinese history and culture save for polite admiration of confucian morality, chinese porcelain and lacquers, and tea-drinking.⁷¹ Expression of socio-cultural disillusionment and contempt during the 19th. century, voiced in Tennyson's "Better 50 years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay", has been detailed earlier.⁷² It was stimulated by increasing

* Not that chinese attitudes were unprovoked. Han Suyin (1952) was certainly correct in her complaint against "the surly offensive manner of the white man dealing with the inferior races" (A many-splendoured thing, 132). One of the first european seamen in China, Andrade (1519) was discourteously arrogant, built a fort, erected a gibbet, committed acts of piracy and kidnapped children, leading to harsh chinese reaction. (C.R.Boxer, South China, 1953, xxiv-v; P.Sykes, Quest for Cathay, 1936,254).

perception, as the century unfolded, of China's comparative backwardness in face of western aggrandisement and her inability to emulate the foreigner either militarily or in building trains and drains. That impression seemed vindicated by her defeat by Japan (1895) after which "the western powers despise us and treat us like barbarians ... formerly they regarded us as half-civilised, now they compare us with the black slaves of Africa ... (and) insult us like irreclaimable dolts".⁷³ It was reinforced by the indentured labour scandals in Peru and South Africa, profoundly shocking to western moral standards.⁷⁴

Such impressions constituted a serious blow to the study of Chinese history and culture in the West, where 'backwardness' was "conceived as an intrinsic and eternal mark of inferiority".⁷⁵ They appeared to underline the racist and eurocentric assumptions of contemporary Social Darwinism and anthropology, and to justify the growing stereotype of the inferior 'Chinee' heathen.

That Westerners increasingly came to see the Chinese as "objects of scorn"⁷⁶ was vividly demonstrated by actions during the suppression of the Boxers.* No-one challenged Barber's assertion (1904) that "its fine scholars ... will leap and shriek like naughty children; its Mandarins ... carry in their trains abominations ... its magistrates are notoriously corrupt; justice is ... universally venial; 'the whole head is sick and the whole heart faint' - wounds and bruises and putrefying sores".⁷⁷ Civil war and misrule in earlier decades of this century compounded the situation. In 1928 one reviewer maintained: "The wonder is ... that any germs of hopeful new order should be visible in China at all". Another (1929) considered extraterritoriality "amply justified". A westerner living in China (1928) knew of "only one reason on earth to make a man glad to come to unhappy China, and that is the chance to save souls". Even a Chinese (1938) believed her "undoubtedly the most chaotic, the most misruled nation on earth, the most pathetic and most helpless, the most unable to pull herself together and forge ahead".⁷⁸

In face of such apparent decadence and decay, it is hardly surprising that China's history was increasingly believed "not a subject worth serious study".⁷⁹ Had such been attempted,

* The allied commander had intercourse with a prostitute on Tzu Hsi's state bed.

justification of its presentation to young minds, a shambles, inchoate, when the lamp of 'progress' shone so brilliantly from the West, would not have been easy.

Feelings of contempt, even hatred, for Chinese people had been in any case dramatically reinforced by growing horror of Chinese ferocity against both their own and foreign people, whereby, due to "the cruellest laws the world has ever known (and) a penal code which involved the most scientifically adjusted torture", then "images of consummate and fearful evil were joined to those of the merely wicked or misled heathen, an evil not only ungodly but inhuman".^{80*}

An early visitor observed "with how much piety and leisure they kill, with so much cruelty and speed they whip ... altogether void of compassion".⁸¹ Contemporaries were particularly shocked by the slicing of miscreants to death with 3,357 cuts, especially since the victim was bound to a cross. 'Chinese torture' came to mean any fiendish means of inflicting exquisite agony on the helpless. Europeans stared with horror at the barbarity of punishments on malefactors, graphically described by many observers. Wells Williams (1847) observed: "Executions are performed in the most revolting manner; brutes could not be slaughtered with more indifference". That impression was sickeningly underscored by Matignon (1899) and Edwards (1938) and by reports and photographs of Chiang's atrocities in 1927.⁸² Rumours of cannibalism also circulated into the 20th. century.⁸³ Moreover, western flesh was made to creep by (untrue) stories of dead bodies being used for fertiliser, and by frequently exaggerated accounts of practices such as female infanticide, child prostitution, rotting bound feet as aphrodisiacs, legalised castration and keeping the relics in preservative,** and the reduction of people to "idiot skeletons" through smoking opium, its "most pernicious effect both upon the constitution and morals of its victims" horrifically described by Fortune (1853).⁸⁴

* That there was truth in western reports is suggested by Fang Pao's observation of the "unendurable suffering" inflicted on prisoners during his own imprisonment 1712-13. (Fang Pao, tr. D.Bodde, in J.A.O.S., 89, 1969, 319).

** There were 3,000 eunuchs in the Forbidden City as late as 1911.

Atrocities against Westerners aroused even greater revulsion - the torture and execution (1523) of the first portugese ambassador and 23 followers; the killing of Abbé Chapdeleine (1856) and the reputed eating of his heart; the brutal treatment (1860) of Elgin's emissaries; the sacking of Tientsin cathedral (1870) murder of french consular officials, burning of an orphanage, and the killing and mutilation of 10 nuns; and the butchering of over 200 foreigners and 30,000 Chinese Christians during the Boxer rebellion (1900). To have suggested to educated Westerners reading of such barbarities, and the "horrible putrefactions accumulated in every corner of the City of Death",⁸⁵ that serious consideration be given to the instruction of western children in the history and culture of the offender, would probably have been tantamount to academic and professional suicide.

Nor did stories of atrocities against foreigners cease in the 20th. century. Chinese brainwashing and torture of prisoners and apparent indifference to human life during the korean war perpetuated the bestial, subhuman image. The Times Educational Supplement (1955) claimed "nothing like it has been known since Christians fell into the hands of the Turk", and spoke of "corrupt cynicism" and "cruel fanaticism".⁸⁶ The image was further reinforced by the International Committee of Jurists' report on Tibet (1960) which recorded the murder of people and priests by a variety of sadistic processes.⁸⁷ By the 1960s, then, China's image was still "distinctly unfavourable".⁸⁸

It would be a mistake to write as if ethno-and eurocentrism, national(istic) emphases and neglect of world and chinese history have been unique to Britain. The british situation must be viewed against curricular attitudes and practices in other countries especially Europe and the USA.

First, these phenomena have characterised the historical

education of all countries throughout this century.* Russell (1932) insisted that "in every country in the world, children are taught that their country is the best". Fifty years later, the Times Educational Supplement claimed "it remains true that few countries are guiltless of chauvinism in history texts".⁸⁹ Many others have attested to the world-wide nature of the phenomenon.⁹⁰ Neglect of China world certainly appear to have been world wide, as a UNESCO survey of school curricula in 53 countries (1953) showed. Only in four was there specific attention to chinese history - in Laos, Thailand, Turkey and Vietnam. Neither Ceylon, Japan nor the Philippines made specific reference to China in their syllabuses. On the other hand, all countries placed great importance on the history of the nation. Syllabuses in Austria, Finland and Ireland aimed specifically to inculcate feelings of patriotism. The latter gave only "incidental treatment" even to Britain. History in Mexico started with "the national flag and its history" and continued in the same vein.⁹¹ Indeed, it is probable that most historians since the Book of Judges have been biased either in judgement on foreign peoples and culture or in scope of treatment. Levi-Strauss (1958) saw cultural relativism and out-of-hand rejection of "the cultural insitutions ... furthest removed from those with which we identify ourselves", as a universal human characteristic. Anything which did

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Nor should such characteristics be regarded as uniquely western. They have been no less prevalent in the East. The medieval Chinese had a proverb that they alone had 2 eyes, the 'Franks' had one, but all others were blind. (G.Hudson, Europe and China, 1931,9). K'ang-hsi believed Westerners could not be compared with Chinese, and that all western maths was chinese in origin. (J.Spence, Emperor of China, 1974,80,74). A 19th century Chinese hoped Europeans would "have an opportunity of improving themselves by intercourse with China". (E.Edwards, Dragon book, 1938,143). Chinese travellers in the 19th. century saw England as "a remote spot overseas ... mountains off the coast of Europe", where there was "no time-honoured accumulation of absolute virtue and excellent education" and where "delicious things (were) absolutely lacking". (Ssu-yu Teng and J.K. Fairbank, China's response to the West,1954,139,99,184). (See also E.R.Hughes, Invasion of China, 1958,121-2; J.Major, The Contemporary world, 1970,184; H.Acton, Observer,21/3/1982,25). R.F.Price, Education in communist China, 1975,140-41, quoted a current chinese school history syllabus giving 45 of its 47 topics specifically to China. Ethnocentrism has raged also in Japan, where Europeans "were regarded as stinking animals, with depraved human appetites". (L.Gardiner, in Listener 14/1/1982, II); and in Turkey (A.Toynbee, in History,33,1948,6-7).

not conform to the standards of the individual's own society was "denied the name of culture".⁹²

Levi-Strauss's conclusions, written with China closely in mind, were of special import to western man: "Whenever we are inclined to describe a human culture as stagnant we should ask ... whether its apparent immobility may not result from our ignorance".⁹³ Certainly, most scholars have seen ethnocentric and nationalistic history as phenomena recurring with particular insistence and especially disturbing implications in the West. Dance (1954) believed western books have "not yet (approached) the East in any way except as a pendant to western history; it seems rarely appreciated that the East has a history in its own right, almost wholly independent of anything that has happened in the West". Evidence in support of that assertion has been found in Lyall's survey (1967) and in Wolf's analysis of 42 atlases from 22 countries (1971) which showed that world history was "presented predominantly as european history", and that european history was seen largely in national terms.⁹⁴

Important evidence was published by Unesco in 1956 with particular regard to neglect and distortion in the West of the history of China and, indeed, of other asian countries. A survey of curriculum materials from 17 countries showed "many shortcomings ... omissions, inaccuracies, distortions, derogatory statements". Asian culture was rarely treated as important in its own right. Few asian personalities were mentioned. Little use was made of asian documentary or literary sources. Most syllabuses were euro-centrist, and focused on national history. Asia was noted only in relation to western contacts. What references were made, particularly to earlier periods, were largely in respect of the Near East: "Little account is given of more remote asian civilisations ... in China, South East Asia, India and Japan ... Any contribution that may have been made ... to subsequent world or european history ... is usually ignored. The more geographically remote and the more removed from the sphere of national interest, the less such areas appear to be considered, however much they may have influenced, conditioned or paralleled the course of european development ... Accounts of asian civilisations before the coming of modern western influences are fragmentary, arid and sometimes derisive". Such omissions and imbalance did "much to mislead" the young.⁹⁵

Many similar comments have been traced. In more recent years the attack was spearheaded by Dance (1970,1971) who queried "How many

Europeans know that throughout the middle ages and into modern times science and technology were more advanced in China than in Europe?" and demonstrated, by citing all 20 chinese dates between 1840 and 1900 listed in modern western universal history chronologies that interest in China concentrated almost exclusively on warfare, whereas of 28 dates in two modern chinese chronologies, most referred to social history and only four to wars.⁹⁶

The situation in individual european countries has not been closely studied by the present writer, but incidental evidence suggests strongly national or regional emphases, sometimes racial attitudes, and corresponding neglect of broader perspectives in, among others, Greece, Holland, Italy, Norway and Switzerland.⁹⁷ Even in marxist Russia, syllabuses have concentrated on national history and culture, an emphasis basically unchanged since the 19th. century, when Herzen had seen russian civilisation as "the finest flower of life today".⁹⁸

French historical education was from the first strongly franco and eurocentric. Early scholars all interpreted 'universal' history in parochial terms. St. Pierre (1737) perceived wisdom's apogee in Paris and London. Voltaire (1756) observed, "Nous avons calomnié les Chinois, uniquement parce que leur metaphysique n'est pas la nôtre". The Convention (1794) encouraged nationalistic textbooks. Mme de Staël (1801) felt Christianity indispensable to civilisation. Guizot (1830) and Chateaubriand (1862) likewise saw civilisation in european terms. More specifically, the 'scientist' Comte (1842) believed Europeans humanity's elite. Study of indian or chinese achievements was irrelevant.⁹⁹

Nor was the pattern broken after 1900. Jullian (1922) traced back an independent french spirit to the stone age. Barzun (1932) saw racial distinctiveness as the mainspring of french history. Scott (1926) showed that history in France was virtually all used for nationalistic purposes, other national histories being treated through their wars with France. Unesco (1953) found french school history entirely on France and Europe: treatment of the orient was "incidental". Caldwell (1959) noted "lack of information on eastern countries" in french syllabuses. French historians (1963) even when sponsored by Unesco saw the world in european terms, and only mentioned China in relation to Christianity. Lyall (1967) found the french syllabus largely european, with no world history for the first three years, and China given 3% of the time. Dance (1970) found Islam

the only non-european civilisation mentioned in the first four years of the french history curriculum. As late as 1979, syllabuses were francocentric, suggesting no trend towards world or asian history and emphasising local and national issues. Civic and patriotic teaching was considered indispensable. History teaching aimed to inspire the French to work for national greatness.¹⁰⁰

From the earliest times Germany's historical education has likewise been strongly national in emphasis. Wimpfeling's work (1505) was deliberately nationalistic (Canossa was not mentioned). It was a set text in german schools in the 18th. century. In the 19th. century, as Flaig (1974) has shown, the more universalist understanding of such as Hegel and Ranke was overwhelmed by narrower interpretations of 'scientific' history. Sybel, founder of the Historische Zeitschrift, established his reputation with a study of german kingship. His work culminated in seven volumes on the origins of Bismarck's Reich. Treitschke, second editor of the Historische Zeitschrift, gave sixteen years of his life to an incompleted history of 19th. century Germany, held nationalist and chauvinist views, supported the Hohenzollerns, welcomed the prussianization of Germany and her european hegemony, advocated colonialism and anti-semitism and saw war as the great national purifier.¹⁰¹ Unsurprisingly, 19th. century prussian schools concentrated on the national story, with special reference to the Hohenzollerns, heavily stressing loyalty and national patriotism.

The continuation of such emphases into the 1930s has been repeatedly demonstrated. Teachers were urged to "inspire youth with enthusiasm for german speech, the german race and german greatness of spirit". Syllabus outlines stipulated "the history of other peoples is to be considered only in so far as through it german history has been decisively influenced". Textbooks displayed "one-sided, narrowly nationalistic views". Scott (1926) concluded: "It is german history, ever german history, which is to be taught".¹⁰²

By the 1950s, brassy nationalism had been replaced by the parochialism of the Heimatkunde in the primary school. Secondary syllabuses still concentrated on german history. "Glimpses of a wider world" were "denied to Germans", Bing (1951) lamented. Similar evidence emerged from Unesco (1953). Lyall (1967) found syllabuses largely classical and european, no world history for the first four years, and China occupying only 0.1% of the time. Even by the 1970s, eurocentrism still prevailed and world history had made little impact.¹⁰³

It is clear that even if the whole problem of nazi racist indoctrination under the guise of citizenship-training via history is discounted,¹⁰⁴ there has been persistent nationalistic and ethnocentric bias in german historical education up to modern times. It is starkly revealed by analysis of the Historische Zeitschrift, which, besides academic articles, has contained reviews and notes of all publications considered of significance in the field of Geschichtswissenschaft. The 63,000 references indexed between 1859 and 1977 betrayed german historians' overwhelming preoccupation with Europe and Germany. Between 1859 and 1943, of 28,000 references, 18 were to China (0.065%) whereas between 1888 and 1905 alone, there were 2,300 to Germany and Austria. (China was not even indexed during those years). Even if only the figures since 1949 are taken, their impact is striking: 53.2% of all references (18,725) were to Europe, including 27.4% (9,638) to Germany. In the same period, 1.74% (612) were to Asia, including 0.29% (103) to China. There were 30 times as many references to Europe as to Asia and 182 times as many as to China, with 16 times as many to Germany alone as to Asia, and 93 times as many as to China. Moreover, of the 103 items on China, only 35 were by Germans.¹⁰⁵

It would be difficult to argue that the persistence even to the present day of national and european emphases in german historical education can be divorced from the historical traditions of the 'scientific' history school, founded by Sybel, carried on by Treitschke and most triumphantly represented by the Historische Zeitschrift. As shown earlier,¹⁰⁶ that school closely influenced the founders of the English Historical Review, whose narrow emphasis on english national history has been a prominent feature of english historical education from before the turn of the century.

The country whose attitudes to historical education are most rewarding of study, however - not only as a comparative exercise, but to draw out possible causative influences on british practice - is the USA. A wealth of evidence attests to strongly national and at times eurocentric emphases in american history teaching, plus a persistent tendency towards ethnic stereotyping, from the 19th. century to the present day. Bogardus (1928) complained: "Emphasis upon the greatness of the U.S. and her 'glorious past' often gives children exaggerated impressions ... and an inadequate background against which to measure other nations". The same year, Hayes claimed children were "packed with nationalist poems (and) ultra-patriotic

legends" from which they derived "an exaggerated notion of the bravery and worth of their own countrymen and an equally exaggerated notion of the viciousness and cowardice of foreigners". School history inculcated in children "the catchwords and shibboleths of nationalism". Pierce (1930) found emphasis on national courage, endurance and fighting qualities. Americans were portrayed as distinctively superior, occupying "a kind of paradise". Countries under their rule, such as "pest-ridden Cuba", were "indeed fortunate". Hunt (1937) concluded: "Most of our teaching has remained nationalistic". There was "no ... widespread effort to broaden interests, challenge prejudices, or develop sympathetic insight into the culture and institutions of other lands". World history courses dealt "all but exclusively with western civilisation". Even the treatment of Hispanic America was biased, contemptuous, fragmentary and "uniformly ungenerous".¹⁰⁷

The tendency continued post-war. Nichols (1948) depicted U.S. historians as "heralds of nationalism". Counts (1951) lamented: "We know far too little about ... (other) continents ... much that passes for knowledge is replete with error and colored by prejudice". Lyall (1967) was sent syllabuses giving 40% of the time to America, 40% to Europe and about three per cent to China. As late as the 1970s, Hanke (1975) was asserting that "ethnocentrism can be found in many places", and that "our problem ... is to find ways of strengthening all international aspects of history teaching and writing in the U.S". Japanese teachers visiting the USA were shocked to find little of their history in school-books. Even such as Schlesinger (1963) who found "special joy" in discovering "why ... we have come to behave like Americans ... (and) held up a lamp to Europe ... Asia and Africa", and Woodward (1970) who used 'american' 55 times in a 16-page article, have betrayed strong national conviction. The driving insistency of such attitudes was exposed by Commager (1963) who regretted that there was "no W.S.Gilbert to satirize what so many take with passionate seriousness ... (a past that is) all prologue to the Rising Glory of America".¹⁰⁸

The consequences of american national emphasis in history teaching upon both the extent and quality of coverage of Asia in general and China in particular has been repeatedly underscored. Fairbank (1969) saw american historians as "patriotic, genetically oriented and culture-bound", with "an inherited habit of mind ... to recognise the split between Western ... history and that segregated,

peripheral afterthought, the history of the 'non-West' ... the 'non-us' ... the non-minority of mankind". China had played a "non-role" as "a minority civilisation", an exotic side-current, a "largely self-contained backwater". Others (1972) noted a "wall of ignorance" separating Americans from China, about which they were "grossly misinformed". Gentzler (1968) was unable to purchase a satisfactory historical wall-map of China in the USA.¹⁰⁹

Unlike in Britain, however, treatment of and attitudes to asian countries have received considerable research attention in the USA. The findings have been disturbingly consistent. Lew (1923) concluded from study of american textbooks that "the general status of knowledge of the american school children about China ... is far from encouraging". Only one textbook gave even one per cent of its space to China. Pierce (1930) confirmed Lew's quantitative findings. When China was mentioned, the most common topics related to China and the West. There was no treatment of chinese history per se. Her progress was attributed to America's "friendly guidance".¹¹⁰

Important evidence was presented by Church in 1939. Among 85 current schoolbooks, 58 pages (1.6%) were given to China and Japan, from which "very little would be learned about the ancient history or cultural background". In 19 'world history' textbooks, East Asia enjoyed on average 2.7% of the space: in 21 social studies texts, 0.4%. Of 1251 examination questions in 98* examination papers, 28 (2%) touched upon the region. Elementary school syllabuses emphasised the community, citizenship, american heroes and holidays. Other peoples were studied as examples of primitive life, offering "strange" comparisons with the USA. References to Asia in top classes left "sketchy impressions". In high schools (only outstanding syllabuses were studied) the situation was equally unpromising.** One schools system's interest in East Asia extended to 10 lines in a 570-page syllabus, another's to three lines in 364 pages, a third to 2 lines in 219 pages. Three more gave East Asia one per cent or less, whilst one gave two per cent - but only to religion. One 'world history' syllabus allowed Asia six of 192 pages. Others touched on East Asia only in respect of international relations, US interests,

* He incorrectly said 88 (p.142).

** Church did not break his findings down, but I have attempted to do so.

or industrialisation. Among 2793 school leavers, only 309 had received lessons on East Asia. Five per cent knew China's capital. Overall, schools were "scratching the surface", offering little more than "picturesque tourist descriptions", and producing a "shadow of ignorance", particularly in respect of China.¹¹¹

Further significant evidence came from Wilson and collaborators (1946). Long found seven secondary 'world history' books giving only 316 pages (7%) to Asia, including 136 pages (3%) to China. Four elementary school 'world history' textbooks gave Asia 174 pages (11%) including 95 pages (5.8%) on China. All saw 'civilisation' spreading from the Mediterranean through Europe to the world, with the eastern contribution and the importance of East-West links ignored. One book listed 60 major world history dates, one from Asia. China's contribution to world culture was minimised and patronised, oriental institutions ignored and incorrect views of Chinese religion given. Nine of the 11 omitted all Chinese history between 1900 and 1931. Children were told that 'orientals' had "little or no conception of the art of government", that Chinese history comprised "largely the rise and fall of dynasties", and that "Chinese civilisation is not so important for us, since it did not have much influence on our own". In general, the impression was given that "the only facts of importance in world history ... are those which relate directly to America or Europe". Burckhardt found 11 civics books giving Asia an average of 114 lines (0.7%) and 18 'modern problems' books giving an average of 251 lines (1.3%). Of the former, only one mentioned Asian family or home life and only a few lines in total were given to socio-cultural-economic material. Imperialism was almost totally ignored. The few references to China were full of stereotyped misconceptions. Statements such as "Orientals and other undesirables, such as lunatics, anarchists, cripples and persons with communicable diseases", were found. Wernent found 46 geography books giving only 8.8% of text, 12.7% of pictures, 8.3% of maps and 3.3% of statistics to East or South Asia. Pictures had patronising captions. Overcrowding, undernourishment and life in boats or mud huts were stressed. Chinese industry and mineral resources were ignored. Not one mentioned the current situation. Children were told "China went to sleep about 2,000 B.C. and made little progress during the next 2,000 years". In all books, students were led to see the East "through western eyeglasses", and to adopt "a feeling of superiority and a patronising, pitying attitude", without feelings of respect for

Chinese as of equal worth to Americans. Dixon searched 22 textbooks on american history for recognition of diversity of cultural inheritance and concluded: "The flow of asiatic contributions to european civilisation and thence to our own is largely neglected. It is assumed ... that all our cultural heritage originated in Europe". It was "difficult ... to avoid the conclusion that China did not constitute a nation", and that "China does not need to be considered seriously". Wilson summed up, that Asia's story was "too often presented as the westernization of Asia", stressing "backwardness in every aspect" and the "insidious theme" of white man's burden. References were "so slight and so scattered that pupils are not likely to assemble them in any coherent pattern". Stereotyping was common, with "unjustly emotion-laden" adjectives. The evidence was "overwhelming" that not only were the textbooks "glaringly deficient in their recognition of asian topics", but more, they presented Asia to Americans as of interest in world affairs only in terms of western expansionism.¹¹²

In 1958, Isaacs interviewed 181 American 'leadership types', who could be seen as important disseminators of ideas and information.* When asked what first sprang to mind when thinking of Asia, the response was often "blankness". When further pressed as to China in particular, images rarely went beyond conventional stereotypes. One confessed himself "haunted by knowledge of my ignorance". Of the sample, 48 had no interest in Asia until the sino-japanese war. 41 had noticed no important events in Asia until Pearl Harbour. Four had never thought any asian events of importance. Isaacs concluded: "Vagueness about Asia has been until now the natural condition even of the educated American ... (They have) continued ... to view the rest of the world as though all of it lay across ... the Atlantic ... have seen Asia only dimly, as 'far' and 'east' ... How truly dim and undefined the farther 'east' really is ... A great many of our panelists share(d) ... an exaggerated condition of ignorance about Asia".^{113**}

More recently, Witter (1977) directed a survey of 306 popular social studies textbooks in America. The findings, whilst not

* 132 held higher degrees.

** The general level of ignorance about China was matched by that concerning India.

specifically directed towards chinese studies, afford clear evidence of american attitudes to Asia as a whole. Forty-two books purported to cover world history: the average space given to Asia was 15.6%. Books "frequently misrepresented" Asia, neglecting her cultural values and continuities through application of the 'progress criterion'. Social institutions were obstacles to modernisation. Seventy-six per cent were basically western-centred. The role of Europeans and Americans in asian development was emphasised. 'Modernisation' and 'Westernisation' were used as synonyms. Asians were given approbation in terms of similarity to Americans, whose standards were assumed as goals to be met. Lacking such standards, Asia was "a place of unrelieved misery". Moreover, virtually no effort was made to balance the grim material picture with examination of cultural achievement. Particularly in the case of history, books "devote(d) a disproportionate amount of space to the time during and after an asian nation's contact with the West, slighting the thousands of years that may have preceded it". Seeing tradition as a hindrance to progress, they were "lacking in selections of literature, representations of the fine arts, and other such primary sources as historical and political documents, authentic case studies and photographs of people". Asian culture was represented as strange, unimportant and obstructing 'progress'. Literary content was most often westerners' views of Asia. Myths and folk-tales were presented condescendingly. Language was patronising, "value-laden, cliché-ridden, and europocentric". Of 75 individual case-studies, only eight were true to asian life: the remainder were "ethnocentrically presented".¹¹⁴

Lack of interest in the USA in teaching about Asia has been further suggested by a search through the 'Dialog' information retrieval service of the Lockheed Missiles and Space computer. Fifty-eight selected descriptors were supplied, ranging from 'China' to 'secondary school' 'history instruction' and 'curriculum research'.¹¹⁵ The computer located 346,212 printed items. When, however, the descriptors were used in 1,344 specific combinations, harnessing such as 'chinese history' 'asian history' 'chinese culture' and 'asian culture', to descriptors involving questions of primary or secondary schools, higher education, history teaching, attitudes, curriculum research, children's literature, and resources, only 59 references emerged, of which 21 related to Chinese Americans. Only five gave attention to China in curriculum development. Only 14

were curriculum materials including treatment of China. *

Perhaps the most telling evidence comes from quantitative content analysis of the American Historical Review, 1895-1979. Of 1930 articles, 549 (28.54%) were on Europe, including Russia and the Near East, 219 on Britain (11.35%) and 789 on the USA (40.88%). There were 47 on Hispanic America (2.43%) four on Africa (0.21%) two on 'world' history (0.10%) and 41 on East and South Asia. Of those, 16 were on China (0.83%).** Nor was there strong development towards interest in world history or specific area such as East Asia, as is shown by breakdown of the figures into the periods 1895-1945 and 1946-1979. The respective percentages given to Europe were 25.26 and 34.32; to Britain 11.43 and 11.19; to the USA 44.28 and 34.61; to Hispanic America 2.32 and 2.65; to Africa 0 and 0.59; to 'world'

* Descriptors supplied were: 1, China; 2, Chinese history; 3, Chinese culture; 4, Asian culture; 5, Asian studies; 6, Asian history; 7, Chinese Americans; 8, Asian Americans; 9, Nonwestern civilisation; 11, Primary education; 12, Elementary education; 13, Elementary school student; 14, Elementary school; 15, Primary school; 17, Senior high school student; 18, Junior high school student; 19, Secondary (with) School student; 20, Secondary (with) School; 21, Secondary (with) Education; 22, High school; 23, Junior High school; 25, Graduate (with) Studies; 26, Masters program; 27, University; 28, College curriculum; 29, Teacher education curriculum; 31, History instruction; 32, History textbook; 33 History (with) Teach; 35, Ethnic bias; 36, Ethnicity; 37, Racial bias; 38, Ethnic discrimination; 39, Ethnic stereotype; 40, Nationalism; 41, Ethnic group; 42, Cultural images; 43 Foreign cultures; 44, Ethnoculturism; 46, Children's attitudes; 47, Children's literature; 48, Children's history; 49, Children's television; 51, Educational research; 52, Educational psychology; 53, Curriculum evaluation; 54, Curriculum research; 55, Educational goals; 56, Experimental curriculum; 57, Educational innovation; 59, Concept development; 60, Cognitive development; 61, Social science research; 62, Teaching method; 64, Primary (with) Source; 65, Resource; 66, Audiovisual aid; 67, Learning Resource Center.

The eight combinations were:

A. 1-7+11-15+31-3.	B. 1-7+17-22+31-3.
C. 1-7+25-9+31-3.	D. 1-7+35-40+31-3.
E. 1-7+35-40+46-9.	F. 1-7+31-3+51-6.
G. 1-7+31-3+35-40+59-62.	
H. 1-7+31-3+64-7.	

Note: Numbering of descriptors is not sequential, but is for reference.

** The remaining 211 (10.93%) covered historiography.

history 0 and 0.29; and to the Far East 0.96 and 4.27. Included in the latter are items on China which separately comprised 0.4 and 1.62% respectively.* Overall, though a decline of coverage of US history can be seen, and an increase in chinese history articles, the actual number of the latter has been so small as to make the statistical increase insignificant. Treatment of the non-european world has been paltry indeed.^{116**}

It may be inferred from previous pages that closely connected with the whole problem of national emphasis and neglect of other major cultural centres in US education has been racial, ethnic and national stereotyping, directed against any non-WASP peoples, whether inside or outside the USA, but especially those of non-european character. The literature on the subject is too extensive to be examined here in any detail, but the long-standing importance of the problem has been underscored by many scholars.¹¹⁷ Specifically with regard to stereotyping of Chinese, however, closer examination of research findings is considered relevant. Respondents to Bogardus' social distance scale (1928) rated Chinese joint lowest when asked if they would accept close kinship via marriage. The bottom eight peoples were all asiatic or negroid, the top 22 all european. But when asked if they would prefer total exclusion, 22.4% voted for excluding Chinese, the second highest after Turks. No respondent favoured excluding the English. Such antipathy to non-Europeans arose from propaganda, Bogardus concluded. Americans held "repulsive stereotypes" of Jews; saw Mexicans as "unsavoury", and with "disgust"; and felt repugnance and "fear images" against negroes. For

* If items indexed in the earlier period under british, european or US history, but with content on Asia or China were included, relevant percentages would increase to 1.92 and 0.8%.

** A similar impression has been gained from scrutiny of the U.S. journal The Historian. Between 1948 and 1978, of 577 articles, only 19 (3.29%) were on East Asia. Of those, 11 (1.91%) were on China. Eight came after 1970. None were published 1957-68. (HISTORIAN, vols.11-40, 1948-78). Likewise the Canadian Journal of History, despite claims to publish material "in all fields of history other than Canadian" (Vol.1.,i) printed no articles in the first 14 volumes on China, Japan or world history, save for one article on the League of Nations Union, and showed little recognition of Asia save for the odd article on India and occasional reviews. (CANADIAN J. OF HISTORY, Vols.1-14,1966-80).

Chinese, Americans had formulated "repulsive pictures", of "unpleasant" yellow skin, "sly" slanted eyes and "frightfully jabbering" speech.¹¹⁸ Significantly related findings came from Pierce (1930) who found explicit prejudice in the 10 most common history textbooks in the USA against Spain, England, Germany, Mexico, South America, Russia, American Negroes and Red Indians. Prejudice against Chinese was noticeably strong, however. They were portrayed as "generally as undesirable element ... accustomed to starvation wages and indifferent to the standards of living". Books tended to justify exclusion of Chinese, portraying them as "shrewd orientals", conspiring to effect illegal immigration. Similar stereotypes were uncovered by Church (1939).¹¹⁹

So the stereotype was brought into post-war decades, ingrained in american minds. Hersey (1956) admitted that he had in his youth "considered all Chinese liars", and, "bred to western superiority ... thought of China as the home of the backward Chink, the Heathen Chineese ... the perilous yellow man, a creature so low that the gates of the sweet land of liberty had clanked shut in his face". As late as 1972, american university specialists in chinese studies confessed to holding in their minds "deeply ingrained, many of the stereotypes". But the richest thought was provoked by Isaacs (1958). Virtually all his respondents had gone to school before 1939. The scratches on their minds about Asia had a common quality, "remoteness ... the exotic, the bizarre, the strange and unfamiliar". After initial blankness, impressions such as "all the mystery, all the picturesque elements", "exotic adventure", "a plague of people ... hordes", "a barefoot, hungry, starving mass", and "heathen ... difficult to understand", emerged. Moreover, a powerful set of negative stereotypes was detected, not only pejorative adjectives such as crafty, slick, cunning, scheming, unscrupulous and devious, but also images of fear: "Cruelty, barbarism, inhumanity ... a faceless, impenetrable, overwhelming mass, irresistible if once loosed ... the devious heathen ... killers of girl infants ... torturers of 1,000 cuts ... headsman ... Boxer Rebellion ... Yellow Peril ... nerveless indifference to pain, death or to human disaster ... lurid, strange and fearful images ... Concepts of both a sense of almost timeless stability and almost unlimited chaos". Resulting from those stereotypes, american emotions about the Chinese had "ranged between ... love and a fear close to hate".¹²⁰

Such was the background to Witter's findings (1977) that not only were american schoolbooks shot through with cultural relativism and assumptions of western superiority centring upon 'progress', but that underpinning those attitudes were profoundly negative stereotypes of Asians, "lifeless and one-dimensional".¹²¹

The historical origins of such stereotyping are inseparable from socio-economic and political events in 19th. century America, reinforced by the verbal portraits of U.S. missionaries and, later, military figures who had been to China.

At first, Americans took a benevolent interest, and admiration for China became fashionable in 18th. century America as well as in Europe.¹²² Sino-american trade began in 1784. The first political treaty was made in 1844. American missions to China built up from the 1830s. By the 1940s, 13,000 Americans lived in China and 107 U.S. organisations, excluding business companies, were involved there. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek's government in exile included 140 graduates from two american universities alone.¹²³

Growing economic, political and proselytising interest was, however, paralleled by disturbing anti-Chinese racial sentiment and crude and vicious stereotyping leading to a tide of anti-Chinese legislation.

Chinese immigration began after discovery of californian gold in 1849, but immigrants quickly spread into other industries. By 1866, half of cigar-factory owners were Chinese, and Chinese workers outnumbered whites ten to one.¹²⁴ In 1852, California held 25,000 Chinese. Initially, there was little ill-feeling and stereotyping, as Schrieke's study (1936) of early newspapers showed. There already existed, however, "repulsive stereotypes" of darker-skinned people, resulting from extermination drives against Indians,¹²⁵ and the physical resemblance between some Chinese and Indians may have engendered early hostility, which became rampant with economic and political crisis, and consequent political opportunism, particularly since that crisis coincided with an immigration flood following the Taiping rebellion. Anti-Chinese agitation started in the cigar industry in 1859 and spread to boots and shoes in 1867. In 1869, 9,000 Chinese were released from railway construction into an already flooded labour market. Bitter resentment and race riots ensued, the problem intensified by well-publicised knowledge that half of all San Francisco's factory workers were Chinese, 80% of all California's woollen workers, and 90% even of all her agricultural labour.¹²⁶ An

Anti-Coolie Association sprang up. In the 1867 elections both main parties attacked the Chinese, and the tone of press descriptions changed. Chinese were portrayed as pimps, gamblers and opium-smugglers threatening american life - clannish, dangerous, criminal, secretive, debased, servile, deceitful, vicious, filthy, loathsome and lower even than Indians.¹²⁷ Worsening industrial depression and financial crash in the 1870s aggravated antagonisms. "Crowds of desperate men unleashed their pent-up wrath on the despised hordes of Chinese ... 'The Chinese must go!' became the rallying slogan for the masses".¹²⁸ Unsuppressed mob riots against 'Chink' or 'John Chinaman' followed, with stonings and lynchings, plus a frenzied political campaign.¹²⁹ In 1879, 99% of Californians voted to exclude the Chinese. In 1882, immigration was suspended. Reinforced in 1888 and 1892, that was made indefinite in 1902 and 1904.

Overt hostility, persecution and exclusivist legislation caused the numbers of Chinese in the USA to fall. Nevertheless, fearful stereotypes reflecting "powerful prejudice, contempt and violent rejection" continued to bubble up. East Asians were excluded from white society no less drastically than negroes.¹³⁰ Lew (1923) reported the indifference met by those who tried to raise funds for disaster-victims in China. Bogardus (1928) received complaints from Chinese Americans of "thoughtlessness, arrogance, prejudice, discrimination", and "insulting ... unfair ... terrible" treatment and noted that any hostile public speeches enjoyed "violent, almost 'hatred applause'".¹³¹ Even as late as 1924, a popular educational text portrayed Asians as menacing american society unless they could come to terms with "political, social, economic, sanitary and other matters in the approved american way".¹³²

The reaction of Chinese and Japanese to discrimination, violence and exclusion was, first, to turn in on themselves, keeping a low profile and affecting an impassively empty countenance, thus seeming cold, expressionless and strange. Secondly, they retreated into ghettos, around trades wherein they enjoyed a monopoly. 'Chinatowns' became increasingly overcrowded, more and more suspected by white Americans as "dark places of mystery, sin and crime", occupied by people who were not only secretive, cunning, incomprehensible, grossly inferior and unassimilable, but also culturally worthless.¹³³ Thus, "a whole set of figures, stereotypes and notions",¹³⁴ unrelated to the reality of the chinese historical and cultural tradition,

chinese philosophical and ethical positions, ideas as to family life and honour, or attitudes to aspects of life such as education, hygiene and humour, and antipathetic to the chances of their inclusion in educational programmes for the young, was established and reinforced in the perception of three generations of Americans.

Those economically and politically motivated stereotypes were fuelled from two highly dissimilar sources. In the 19th. century, their inspiration was literary, in particular the writings of two american observers, Williams and Smith.¹³⁵ Wells Williams (1847) having complained about anti-Chinese stereotypes, then elaborated upon their "fallen and depraved nature ... wickedness ... falsity ... base ingratitude ... mendacity ... thieving ... illegal exaction ... licentiousness ... ignorance of pure intellectual pleasures ... want of virtuous female society ... avarice ... rudeness, brutality and coarseness ... most fearful immoralities ... horrors of paganism". The Chinese were "vile and polluted in a shocking degree, their conversation full of filthy expressions and their lives of impure acts ... brothels and their inmates occur everywhere ... by pictures, song and aphrodisiacs, they excite their sensuality ... they love to wallow in the filth". Their "disregard of truth" had done "more to lower their character in the eyes of Christendom than any other fault". China displayed "the dreadful prevalence of all the vices ... the alarming extent of the use of opium ... the universal practice of lying and dishonest dealings; the unblushing lewdness of old and young; harsh cruelty ... tyranny ... a full unchecked torrent of human depravity ... a kind and degree of moral degradation of which an excessive statement can scarcely be made, or an adequate conception hardly be formed".¹³⁶

That caricature, which fed ammunition to those newspapermen and demagogues seeking to capitalise upon the economic crises which arose later, was reinvigorated by Smith (1894). Americans read that "their instincts and ours are by no means the same ... they are of opposite poles"; that Chinese had "nerves of a very different sort from those with which we are familiar"; that "the question is often raised whether the Chinese have any patriotism"; that Chinese were "indifferent to crowding and noise"; that they displayed "a deficiency of sympathy ... an indifference to the suffering of others ... not to be matched in any other civilised country"; that their supposed politeness was "formal and hollow"; and that "what the Chinese lack is ... Character and Conscience". "How many Chinese have

you ever known", Smith asked, "Whom you would implicitly trust?"¹³⁷

It is unlikely that any patriotic, progressive and right-thinking American reading Smith's declamations that "what China needs is righteousness ... it will be met permanently, completely, only by Christian civilisation ... the face of every western land is towards the dawning morning of the future, while the face of China is always and everywhere towards the darkness of the remote past",¹³⁸ could have sensibly advocated the exposure of youth to the dark past of such people, or tolerated its inclusion in the curriculum of any school with which he was connected.

Probably even more influential than such semi-specialist books, however, have been the popular media, whose unconstructive contribution to education for world-mindedness was attacked by Willer and Haight (1980).¹³⁹ The influence of U.S. newspapers and magazines in formulation of hostile stereotypes of Chinese and other non-european peoples or american minorities was shown by such as Berelson and Salter's (1946) analysis of 198 short stories from eight popular magazines, and Houts and Bahr's (1972) study of 8446 Saturday Evening Post cartoons from the 1920s and 1960s. Thus it is safe to assume that a good proportion of the 3833 periodical items on China published in the USA between the wars helped reinforce overt stereotypes.¹⁴⁰ However, the cumulative influence of Hollywood, attacked for its aggressive racial and ethnic stereotyping as early as 1922,¹⁴¹ has probably surpassed that of printed material.

The influence films could exert towards respect for other peoples' history and institutions was early enshrined in the industry's own code.¹⁴² Nonetheless, that responsibility was dramatically flouted from the start in respect of China, as Jones (1955) has shown from analysis of 325 relevant films made between 1896 and 1955. She concluded that "images selected ... were influenced by the fantasy conception of China already well established".¹⁴³

Four anti-Chinese films came out between 1916 and 1920, with titles such as The Yellow Menace (1916). Between the wars, evocative titles such as Outside the Law, or Shadows, used chinese areas of cities as settings for intrigue and suspense: "No evil was too devilish to be attributed to the Chinese villains who stalked their victims in dark alleys ... lolled with their opium pipes, smuggled drugs, slaves, prostitutes ... or hacked away at each other in the Tong war".¹⁴⁴ Others portrayed warlords as equivalent to Chicago

gangsters, stressed the consequences of miscegenation, or dramatised the threat of yellow men to white women, cowering beneath "cutlasses wielded by venomous Chinks". Crooked Streets (1920) for instance, showed an american girl abducted into an opium den by a treacherous rickshawsman but rescued by O'Dare, an Irishman.¹⁴⁵

Moreover, the Chinese in such films tended to correspond with certain stereotypes - the chinese bandit, fancying white women but meeting his match at caucasian hands; the chinese war-lord, cold, inhuman and vain; and three objects of ridicule, the chinese houseboy, cook and laundryman.¹⁴⁶ Most spectacular was the evil mandarin, apparently indestructible, using knowledge of drugs and the occult to destroy his helpless victims, devising exquisite tortures to prolong their agonies. The epitome of that genre^{*} was Dr. Fu Manchu, master of horrific torture, hypnotic inspiration of chinese murderers and crooks, "menace in every twitch of his finger, threat in every twitch of his eyebrow, terror in each split-second of his slanted eyes",¹⁴⁷ who, in five films between 1929 and 1940,^{**} laden with stereotyped cliches - the sinister shadow of hands with terrifyingly pointed fingernails, knives between the ribs through dark trembling curtains, secret panels gliding apart before merciless almond-eyes - not only pursued a hapless british family but also plotted the total domination of whites by orientals. It was also represented by the villain of the Flash Gordon series, Ming the Merciless, representing a Chinese both in dress and facially, and threatening not only world, but universal domination.

* And of english origin (Sax Rohmer).

** The Mysterious Dr. Fu Manchu (1929); The Return of Dr. Fu Manchu (1930); Daughter of the Dragon (1931) The Mask of Fu Manchu (1932) and Drums of Fu Manchu (1940). The latter was serialised as Fu Manchu strikes, The Monster, Ransom in the Sky, The Pendulum of Doom, The House of Terror, Death Dials a Number, Vengeance of Si Fan, Danger Trail, The Crystal of Death, Drums of Doom, The Tomb of Genghis Khan (sic), Fire of Vengeance, The Devil's Tatto, Satan's Surgeon, and Revolt.

After the favourable intermission of wartime* (though even in those years The Drums of Fu Manchu was serialised) and despite the strictures of such as Bogardus (1928) who had demonstrated media importance in creating antipathy towards Chinese, Japanese, Jews, Mexicans** and Turks, and stressed the "urgent need" for replacement of stereotypes by correct portraiture based on "culture history",¹⁴⁸ the shameful pattern began again.¹⁴⁹ Capitalising on the unfavourable experiences of many U.S. soldiers in wartime China and up to 1949,¹⁵⁰ as epitomised by the portrayal in a flood of printed matter of Chinese as "congenital crooks", paralysed by ineptitude and corruption,¹⁵¹ a series of films stressing smuggling and portraying chinese cities as places of mystery and death resurrected all the old stereotypes.¹⁵² The seemingly endless human sea of Chinese in Korea helped reinforce american stereotypes of faceless hordes, cruel, nerveless, subhuman, incomprehensible, godless and fanatical, as did the widespread publicity given to brainwashing of U.S. prisoners. By the close of that decade, virtually all 'chinese' images enamating from the U.S. media were "images of anathema",¹⁵³ represented by films such as Hell and High Water, centring around a treacherous chinese plot to atom bomb Korea and blame it on the USA, and Satan Never Sleeps, which stereotyped chinese communists as sadistic, xenophobic and anti-christian. Those stereotypes were continued into more recent decades, less frequently but no less powerfully, in films such as 55 Days at Peking and Terror of the Tongs. As late as 1981, Oriental-Americans were still objecting to Hollywood's "insulting" stereotype of the Chinese.¹⁵⁴

* Not all american films cast Chinese in a bad light. Favourable portrayal of chinese people and way of life in Pearl Buck's The Good Earth (1937) and Dragon Seed (1944) has been noted earlier. (See supra, 88-9). In addition, odd films such as Broken Blossoms (1919), some documentary films in the 1930s, several more during the war (especially The 400 million, 1938) and a series of anti-japanese feature films all stressed the finer qualities of the Chinese. Important in that respect were the 48 Charlie Chan films between 1926 and 1950, though even they reinforced the association between Chinese and criminality and the stereotype of the devilishly clever, devious and inscrutable 'Chink'. (See D.B.Jones, Portrayal of India and China on the American screen, 1955, 15, 20-21, 32-5).

** The mexican government embargoed all american films in the 1920s, because of the large number of mexican villains stereotyped.

Of course, not all hostile western stereotyping of Chinese and other non-western groups is attributable to the U.S media. Fradier (1959) traced the phenomenon to early modern times, whilst Appleton (1951) demonstrated stereotyped views in 18th-century english literature.¹⁵⁵ Stereotyping was clearly apparent in the famous Gillray cartoon of Ch'ien-lung (1792). Anson's chaplain (1748) wrote of the Chinese "mean and contemptible disposition ... perfidious conduct ... unparalleled pusillanimity ... effeminate genius ... delays and backwardness ... fraudulent and selfish turn of temper ... unreasonable pretensions ... malice and double dealing ... obstinacy and absurdity ... timidity, dissimulation and dishonesty". As to culture, institutions and history, Walter insisted chinese technology, art, literature, morality and government were worthless, the nation's talents "second rate". They were a people "amongst whom nothing great or spirited is to be met with". Their magistrates were "corrupt", people "thievish" and tribunals "crafty and venal". Overall, China's "learning and boasted Antiquity" was "extremely problematical".¹⁵⁶

Clearly, then, Britain's anti-Chinese stereotype was home grown*. Furthermore, even if only popular media are considered, it is again clear that responsibility cannot solely be assigned to the U.S. press and screen. The Times has continually portrayed China and the Chinese in terms suggesting crises, extremism and barbarity. In 1870, for instance, headline phrases included "piracy", "pillaged and murdered", "executions", "attack on Englishmen", "100 emigrants ... with the smallpox", "rebels", "commercial panic", "crises", "governor assassinated", "kidnapping of children", "all foreigners to be

* Moreover, stereotypes of, say, Africa must be anglo-european in origin, since U.S. personnel were never active there until fairly recent times. Curtin, The Image of Africa, 1964, p.480, has attributed stereotypes of Africa to the eurocentric assumptions of european travellers. The extent and contempt of those stereotypes has been shown in Habtai's study of 19th and 20th century british and european descriptions of Africa. "Most ... showed an inclination to describe almost everything african in negative and denigratory terms ... backwardness, brutality, sorcery, witchcraft and superstition ... local customs and rituals were denigrated and interpreted out of context". Europeans "overlooked many elements from african culture which stressed the values of change and progress ... a distorted and unbalanced picture emerged (with) assumed cultural inferiority ... barbarous tribes lost in primitive witchcraft, superstition and ignorance". (A. Habtai, 'Images of Africa in British secondary education', D.Phil., 1981, 19-20, 23-24, 30.)

exterminated", "massacre", "assassination of Viceroy", "chapel burnt by mob", "criminals' execution", "further atrocities", "assassination of Prince", "16 coolies beheaded", "Tartar insurrection" and "war news".¹⁵⁷ Similar fearful phraseology may be found well into the mid - 20th century. The tendency may also be inferred from the quantitative treatment of China year by year. 1835 saw only six index references to China: 1842, a year of conflict with Britain, 87. 1855 saw 45 references: 1860, 229. As late as 1890, only 100 references to China were made in a year: there was no interest in China per se. Ten years later, there were 1320, of which, however, only five looked at the Boxers per se. By contrast, the revolutionary years 1911-12, critical to China's domestic history but not seen as a major international issue, merited only 350 and 277 items respectively. There were only four references to Sun's ideas, and only six to the fall of the Manchu. On the other hand, the civil war period of 1926 received 2300 references, sino-japanese warfare in 1937 some 2500, and the closing phase of the civil war in 1949 about 1350. In each case, The Times' overwhelming interest was the threat to western interests and the danger of international repercussions. By 1960, when western economic claims were defunct, only 480 references were made (Australia merited 950). In 1966, only 550 references were indexed (Australia 700). Nor was there any increase in 1971-2. In short, China has been of interest only when events there have reflected western stereotypes of violence, corruption, fanaticism, barbarism and backwardness, and at times of internal crisis threatening western interests or world peace. In 1973-4, the years of the great Chinese Exhibition, China received 480 and 500 mentions in The Times: Australia 540 and 520.¹⁵⁸

Media responsibility in Britain has not lain solely or primarily with The Times*. Neither has it been solely a matter of newspaper stereotypes. The role of children's comic books in disseminating unfavourable and frequently vicious stereotypes of all foreign, especially non-white, people, "jabbering and gesticulating", as against the "safe, solid and unquestionable" stereotype of the

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As recently as 1954, the Times Educational Supplement was portraying China as "The country of the willow patterns and of death by the one thousand cuts ... an impenetrable, imperturbable enigma ... still incalculable". (TES, 24/12/1954, 1190).

"monocled Englishman holding the niggers at bay", so cleverly satirised by Orwell (1946)¹⁵⁹ was spotlighted earlier.¹⁶⁰ As regards television, Carnie (1971) not only found children imbued with hostile and ignorant stereotypes of other peoples, but 40% claimed TV their principal source of information.¹⁶¹ Moreover, the british film industry has reinforced the work of Hollywood. Several british-made James Bond films (by a british writer) have featured "a sinister Chinese killer", whilst as late as the mid-1960s it was thought appropriate to resurrect Fu Manchu ("cruel, callous ... the most evil and dangerous man in the world") and his murderous Chinese followers.¹⁶² Thus, as Heater (1980) mildly concluded, british media coverage of other peoples has teetered "on the edge of exotica", leading children to conclude "that the rest of the world is comprised largely of anthropological curiosities".¹⁶³

It is reiterated that the vicious stereotypes of Chinese and other peoples conjured up by the american media and arising directly from episodes, pressures and tendencies in U.S. domestic history, are not suggested as the sole inspiration of stereotyping and hostility, with all their implications, in Britain or any other country. Britain has an indigenous and lengthy tradition of national arrogance, ethnocentrism, racism and stereotyping of foreigners, as have other european countries. Nonetheless, all the films cited by Jones (1955) and a large amount of U.S. printed material, fiction and non-fiction, including school-books, have circulated in Britain. There would thus appear prima facie, if circumstantial, grounds for suggesting that a particularly poisonous stereotype of asian peoples, especially Chinese, was manufactured and took root in later 19th century America; that, as suggested by McAleavy (1960)¹⁶⁴ that poison was spread via american films to other countries, particularly Britain, where because of existing stereotypes and national assumptions and prejudices it was readily digested; that its consequences, fuelled by other irresponsible media, are apparent today in the attitudes of children and adults alike to China and things chinese; and that this american influence be seen as one major causative factor of that baffling neglect of chinese history and civilisation in british school curricula traced in earlier chapters of this thesis.

SECTION FIVE: RECOMMENDATIONS

Chapter Nine: The teaching of world and chinese history in schools: general considerations.

Thus far, an attempt has been made to address three basic questions in respect of both world and chinese history. First, ought they to be taught in schools? Second, have they been taught? Third, why have they been neglected? The second has been considered in closest detail, whilst some introduction only to the others has been essayed. It is at that level of introductory survey that limited answers to two further questions will now be sought. First, what considerations should underlie the teaching of world and chinese history in schools? Second, and in relation to chinese history alone, what aspects could be introduced into school curricula, and what resources are available for their study?

It is fundamentally assumed that history teachers must continually reflect upon their subject "not just as one building block, in its own terms, but as an integral part of the whole school experience of the pupil"; and that insistence upon such perspective offers the soundest guarantee against exaggerated claims for particular subject-matter in history.¹

The corollary is clear. Since broader curriculum objectives are determined by the general aims of society, history educators cannot avoid that fundamental constraint. They must therefore address the real political problems threatened by the abandonment or reduction of traditional curriculum content and the introduction of new and possibly sensitive material, especially in the humane and social studies.²

It is further assumed that although increasing emphasis ought to and will be placed on curriculum integration,³ the unique subject-matter and processes of inquiry of history will continue to function as a discrete field of study in secondary schools and as an identifiable component of junior curricula.⁴ This is not precluded by unitary curriculum philosophies.

Certain other basic assumptions in respect of history are knitted into all positions taken throughout this chapter.

First, since history educators have shown "almost pathological disinclination to commit themselves to any general statements about their work, its aims, subject-matter and methods", history in schools

lacks philosophical and pedagogical coherence. In particular, curriculum reform is long overdue. All history teachers must be brought to regard the latter as a central educational issue.⁵

Second, no definitive answers can be offered by research, whether literary or empirical. Elliott's (1981) caution as to validity of hypotheses applies no less to history than to other areas, and all generalisations need further experimental investigation.⁶ Moreover, whatever is developed in any school must reflect particular needs, enthusiasms and scholarship.⁷ Consequently, any suggestions offered here are intended as no more than a flexible resource for consideration, not a blueprint.

Third, perhaps tritely, construction of a worthwhile and defensible school history syllabus is a complex task since there are powerful and pervasive problems in relation to teaching the subject to children. Much of its language and concepts are not concrete, it assumes problems and time-spans unrelated to the child's experience, it calls for psychological understanding and it is mainly about adults. It is therefore essential not to advocate curriculum content or goals likely to add to such problems.⁸

Fourth, suggested approaches must represent not only theory and idealism but also pragmatism. They must take into account, besides their proponents' process objectives and terminal goals, teacher-knowledge and attitudes, children's learning capacities, and other questions including such as resources and examinations.⁹

Fifth, plans for history curriculum development are most effectively directed mainly towards the middle years of education. Below 11 years, history is often not taught as an identifiable subject. Over 14 years, external examinations tend to dictate curricula. The eleven to fourteen phase is "the field where the battle for history ... will be won or lost".¹⁰ In particular, proposals should bear closely in mind the needs of the teacher of mixed-ability classes in that age-range.¹¹

Sixth, curriculum change is a prima facie prerequisite of history because of its intrinsic nature. The conservatism of many history educators should be resisted. Teachers must be prepared at all times to abandon a good deal of traditional subject-matter.¹²

Seventh, in pursuit of such change and development, there has grown up since the war, oriented loosely towards the idealistic

philosophy of Collingwood (1946) and Oakeshott (1946), a reasonably coherent consensus as to philosophy of historical education, offering a firm basis for innovation. This, itself influenced by a tradition reaching back to Bacon (1622) and Vico (1725) essentially emphasises imaginative reconstruction of historical experience through understanding men's thinking: "The object to be discovered is not the mere event, but the thought expressed in it ... all history is the history of thought ... therefore all history is the re-enactment of past thought in the historian's own mind". Thus, a "web of imaginative reconstruction" must be spun upon the evidence, its validity tested through empathetic entry into the minds of persons separated from us by time and space, not seeing the past 'as it actually was' but 'as it might have felt to be', the whole ideally assisting children to become "history's beloved because loving inheritors".¹³ The process presupposes, first, the study of individuals in history, whether heroic leader or common man;¹⁴ secondly, that history is not a corpus of accepted and challengeable truth and record, but rather a process of inquiry, the study of traces from the past.*

Eighth, there appears reasonably widespread agreement among history educators as to certain aspects of goals, subject-matter and pedagogy. History should be interesting and enjoyable (though that does not preclude the introduction of children to areas of study of whose potential interest they are unaware).¹⁵ It must be child-centred, 'regressive', capitalising and drawing upon the child's life-experience, enriching and illuminating his view of the world, engaging with questions meaningful to him, and involving him in imaginative processes of deduction, inductive re-classification and divergent thinking.¹⁶ Nonetheless, for pragmatic reasons syllabus structure and goals should be in general planned and directed by the

* It does not logically follow, however, that because absolute objectivity is impossible it is not aspired to, or that the body of historical knowledge accumulated over the years should be discarded, with historical sources being then interpreted in vacuo. (See R.S.Peters, in R.D.Archambault, Philosophical analysis and education, 1965, 92, 100-01, 104; J.S.Bruner, Towards a theory of instruction, 1966, 113. P.H.Hirst, in J.F.Kerr, Changing the curriculum, 1968, 43, 47; W.H.Burston, in W.H.Burston and C.W.Green, Handbook for history teachers, 1972, 6.).

teacher.¹⁷ They must incorporate carefully thought-out behavioural objectives and demonstrate attention to history's central organizing concepts, especially time, change, stability, causation and sequence.¹⁸ They must therefore contain elements of chronology and narrative.¹⁹ On the other hand, having caused many of history's problems in schools, chronology should be followed only in a 'discontinuous' syllabus,²⁰ in which other important aspects are addressed through studies in depth and intensity, focusing on particular 'topics', 'patches' and 'themes' whose combined importance to synoptic understanding and to the study of cultural history and the history of ideas has been stressed by many scholars.^{21*} Thus, their content should be strongly directed towards the concreteness of scientific, technological and cultural history and less towards the abstractions of nation, constitution and politics.²² That content, moreover, must be drawn from earlier as well as recent times, and the blandishments of the 'contemporary history' school rejected.^{23**} Finally, that curriculum content should be taught through methods sharply playing-down routine lecture-teaching and summary generalisation,²⁴ and stressing concrete and 'ikonic' representation of the past and the active involvement of pupils in the study and evaluation of its evidence and its imaginative re-creation. Pedagogical considerations go beyond present purposes, but such methods might include, according to the age of the children, pictorial work, friezes and model-making;²⁵ stories told by teachers;²⁶ verbal accounts;²⁷ work-cards or work-sheets;²⁸ group discussions leading to class-reports;²⁹ whole-class debate on contrasting points of view or customs;³⁰ imaginative writing;³¹ assessments of causation or the evolution of policy;³² and

* Rogers, The New History, 1980, 19-21, in criticising the failings of patch and thematic approaches, appeared unaware that the failings could be overcome through a judicious fusion of topics, patches and themes. Certainly, the importance of all three approaches to the New History is demonstrable. (See, e.g. S.Ferguson, in M. Ballard, ed., New movements in the study and teaching of history, 1970, 180-3).

** See, for instance, M.Pollard, History with juniors, 1973, who not only made no mention of the wider world, but concentrated exclusively upon recent local, family and 'popular culture' history. (esp.pp.2-3).

hypothesising in respect of problems and making appropriate decisions.³³ They might also include press-conferences by historical personages and the trials and obituaries of the same people, giving training in 'reversibility';³⁴ and a wealth of other simulations and dramatic reconstructions, whose particular value in the concrete representation of the abstract, in demonstrating "human experiences under particular conditions", and assisting children to perceive "universal themes in specific events or topics" has been highlighted by McGregor (1977).³⁵

Underpinning all the above assumptions, however, is the wealth of comparatively recent findings from developmental theory with regard to children's ability to conceptualise in the abstract. Such findings are of particular significance to all advocates of an infusion of world or non-european subject-matter.

Problems have long been known of. Piaget (1926-on) showed that at any level intellectual development represents adaptation to environment; that the difference between child and adult thinking was qualitative; and that this qualitative change occurred in an invariant and hierarchical four-stage continuum. Conscious thinking developed in three stages after the age of two, namely pre-operational, concrete and formal operational thought, the former characterised by centring and irreversibility, egocentric and unidirectional, the latter by objectivity and reversibility, allowing for similarities and differences and for divergent viewpoints to be entertained. The concrete differed from the pre-operational in permitting logical classification of given facts. Nonetheless, the egocentrism of both separated them qualitatively from formal operational thinking. The ages of transference were about seven to eight and eleven to twelve.³⁶

Piaget's findings were supported by those of other early investigators. Vygotsky (1934) showed that "the intellectual functions that in a specific combination form the psychological basis of ... concept formation ripen, take shape, and develop only at puberty". Even adolescent thinking displayed "a striking discrepancy between ... ability to form concepts and ... ability to define them".³⁷

Since the war, however, research has concentrated on more specific aspects. Lovell (1961) demonstrated that the less able rarely achieve formal thinking, even into their middle teens.

McLaughlin (1963) showed that in the 'concrete' stage a child could hold no more than four concepts simultaneously. Limitation of conceptual development in religion, moral thinking and science/mathematics was suggested respectively by Goldman (1964) Kay (1970) and Lovell (1968). Bernstein (1965) has articulated the complex problems of language development in children.³⁸

The profound importance of such findings to historical education in particular has been accepted by a long sequence of scholars and educators. Dearden, for instance (1968) stressed the "elaborate conceptual networks" of which many historical terms presuppose understanding. Gallie (1964) pointed to "endless disputes" over the meaning of such terms, whose interpretation offered "innumerable grounds for confusion".³⁹ The scale of the latter problem was shown by the Council of Europe's publication (1964) of 50 basic concepts in historical education whose meaning was not agreed even among academics in Europe.⁴⁰

Researchers in historical education were tardy in taking up and testing theories of developmental psychology and conceptualisation. Nonetheless, several projects have suggested prima facie that the situation in history should be even more pessimistically viewed than the piagetian structure would imply, particularly where the curriculum content, concepts and language threaten to stray from the child's life-experience. The concept of time, for example, has been shown to occasion major difficulty even up to the mid-teens.⁴¹

More widespread problems of language and conceptualisation have been adduced by a succession of post-war scholars. Coltham (1960) tested 357 junior children's understanding of six basic historical terms. She found serious verbal confusion and non-comprehension. Many displayed pre-operational thinking. Some even showed sensori-motor reactions. She concluded that "attainment of stages occurs ... later ... than ... Piaget has found to hold, in general, in other fields of knowledge", and that historical understanding must be "related to personal experience, both emotional and social". Nor was Hallam's research (1966) any less revealing and, prima facie, dispiriting, especially to those seeking to encourage broader historical perspectives. Thirty questions on three self-devised historical passages were given to 100 children aged 11 to 16 and although Piaget's developmental sequence was substantiated, his ages of

transference were not. Concrete thinking in history began, not at seven, but between 11.6 and 12.2 years on average, both chronologically and mentally. Formal thinking began, not at 11 plus, but at 16.2 years on average chronologically, and between 16.5 and 18 years on average mentally. Most children showed "grave limitations" in reasoning. There was "almost a complete absence" of formal thinking in the age-group 11 to 13. Hallam's conclusions made depressing reading for the world history movement: "A vitally needed reform is the reduction in the length of the examination syllabuses, either in the number of countries or the number of years expected to be covered". He went on "a syllabus based largely on english history is often more realistic to children", and gave examples of syllabus content virtually all taken from England or Europe.⁴²

Hallam continued to publicise his important findings well into the 1970s, that "most ... children under 15 years and possibly 16 years ... will be at the concrete level of thought in history ... not readily able to discuss abstract topics", and that syllabus content must take account of those limitations.⁴³ Moreover, pessimism was supported by several other researchers. Bassett (1940) showed egocentric thought frequently present among 396 lower-secondary children, especially when the subject-matter strayed beyond the child's personal experience. Reversibility was not common before 13. Charlton (1952) found "very imperfect" knowledge of word meanings among 100 bright middle-secondary pupils and concluded that concepts should be actively taught via practical application. Booth (1967) met 15-year-olds experiencing difficulty in comprehending change and regressing to intuitional thought. Stones (1967) found the main stumbling blocks history's complex language and the institutional relationships children were expected to comprehend, difficulties in those respects varying according to socio-cultural background. De Silva (1969) found from testing 160 secondary pupils that deductive conceptualisation was not generally present before the age of 14, and even then was restricted mainly to the well above average, the less able making "a high proportion of logically restricted responses". (He also tested PGCE students, with "far from impressive" results). Stokes (1970) gave Hallam's tests to 40 art college students aged 17.7 to 18.11 and found only 32% stable at the formal operational stage, 45% at the concrete and five per cent pre-operational. The average age of transition to formal thought

"could not be before 18 years". Even Gunning's tests (1975) on 24 teacher trainees, all with 2 'A' levels, including history, supported Hallam. Scored on undertaking of 11 basic historical concepts, the maximum possible mark was 22: the maximum achieved was 17, the lowest six, and the average eleven.⁴⁴

Those findings, supported by evidence from the USA,⁴⁵ and synthesised in Coltham's influential pamphlet (1971) suggested that children would be "unlikely to understand concepts of time and place widely different from their own range of experience" and that "notions and abstractions unrelated to their own lives will be meaningless".⁴⁶ Even more seriously, however, problems specifically related to conceptualising about countries and national groups have been spotlighted. Piaget and Weil (1951) concluded from questioning over 200 Swiss aged four to 15 that there were three stages of cognitive and affective decentration, from subjective to local to national, which corresponded with the overall piagetian thesis. Far from being able to conceptualise about other countries, even ideas of the homeland developed relatively late. Up to age seven to eight, many had little understanding of 'country', and even up to 11, though a concrete image of local affiliation was present, the idea of national categories was "remote and abstract". In those years, the child needed to make a considerable effort towards 'decentration' from his unconscious egocentricity and sociocentricity. Similarly, Jahoda's testing (1963) of 144 Glaswegians aged six to 11 showed staged development, from no conception of Glasgow as an entity, to none of Glasgow as part of Scotland, to none of Scotland as part of Britain, to correct understanding of the conceptual series. First stage children had difficulty with 'country' or even 'town', thought Glasgow was somewhere else, saw Scotland as outside Glasgow, perceived Britain as very remote, and in general evinced a perspective confined to immediate surroundings. Second stage children were usually unable to conceive of Scotland, still less of Britain ("a city in Scotland"). In the third stage, Britain was still perceived vaguely ("a lot of different countries: Glasgow, London, France"). At ages six to seven, 41 children were still in stages one or two, and only seven, all middle-class, in three or four. Moreover, concepts even of their own nationality were very sketchy.⁴⁷

Such findings cast doubt prima facie on the teaching of any history other than that of the immediate locality not only to younger

children but to all of secondary school age, and then only through concrete subject-matter directly related to experience, with limited vocabulary and use of pictorial or tangible resources.⁴⁸ Complemented by Lister's findings (1973) in the field of political education, that only between 13 and 28 per cent of sixth-formers tested knew the meaning of terms such as liberalism, capitalism, communism, nation, state, and third world, some thinking the latter meant 'life after death' or 'nirvana',⁴⁹ they offer serious challenge to the case for world history, as Heater (1980) recognised.⁵⁰ Clearly if children experience trouble with the central organizing concepts of history in general, it could be rash to complicate the problem further with the terminology and concepts of the non-european world and in particular those of China.⁵¹ Even broad geographical or ethnic descriptors such as 'China', 'Chinese', 'Asia', 'Asian', might well be beyond the understanding of children unable to conceive of their own town or homelands.

On the other hand, there are grounds for assuming that, though developmental factors must always be kept in the forefront of curriculum considerations,* children's ability to grasp the language and concepts of history in general and of the world beyond their immediate experience in particular may not be so poor as on the surface it appears. Central to this more optimistic view has been the work of Bruner (1966,1968). Though accepting the piagetian model, his analysis of the child's basic modes of representing reality (enactive - by doing; ikonic - by looking; symbolic - through a linguistic medium) led to the proposition that children are capable of grasping the essence of any knowledge at their own level, provided it is carefully structured and an appropriate learning medium selected.⁵² The piagetian model has also been challenged from two other quarters: from those who have argued that conceptualisation may

* It is not argued, however, that questions of cognition should be pre-eminent. Ing (1981) has insisted, for instance, that whilst what can we teach is a fundamental question, no less fundamental is what ought we to teach, a question "not answerable solely by any account of development". (M.Ing, in P.Gordon, ed. Study of the curriculum, 1981,114). (See also DES, Report on primary education, 1978,113).

be accelerated through emphasis not on deductive processes but on imaginative, explanatory or classificatory thinking (inductivism);⁵³ and from those who see acceleration resulting from specific teaching for rationality and concept-meaning. Stones in particular (1979) argued the possibility provided that the "entry competence" of the child is carefully assessed, the "criterial attributes" of the concept identified, "counterpositioning" of concepts is attempted, and the child is given feedback as to the success of his application of the new learning. A no less optimistic view was articulated by Ausubel (1968) who, while differentiating between primary concepts arising from concrete-empirical evidence and more sophisticated secondary abstractions, argued that even in the concrete operational stage children are able to use secondary concepts, using primary concepts only as a prop, and are thus nearer to the formal operational than the pre-operational, needing only to be presented with specific examples of those secondary concepts for them to be comprehended.⁵⁴

In the particular case of history, too, a greater tide of optimism has surged in recent years. Horsfall (1973) argued that children's potentialities should not be underestimated. As with the language of mathematics, it was a question of practising the language of history in pursuit of mastery. Concept development could be achieved by contriving learning situations enabling children to experience abstract concepts. Blyth (1978) showed that even five to six-year-olds could conceptualise time, use maps, reason logically, classify, trace relationships, compare, and comprehend the meaning of evidence. Development of such skills depended upon use of appropriate teaching strategies and resources, especially visual (ikonic) material. Daniels (1978) insisted that the work of such as Hallam should be disregarded in favour of practitioner research: "The final answer must lie with the history teacher, not the educational researcher". His empirical testing had repeatedly shown how pupils could develop high-order affective and cognitive understanding. Egan (1978) argued that "what children know best when they first come to school are not concepts of families, homes, etc., but rather ... the primal human emotions and the bases of morality". Thus, primary history curriculum should focus not upon "prosaic (social) studies", but upon "bizarre flights of fantasy", vivid and dramatic stories, emotional and moral concepts to arouse a personal response to the event or historical character. The older child's interest in

"discovering the limits of the world", fascination with "the extreme, the bizarre, the wonderful", and need to identify romantically with the most powerful and noble characters and forces, should all be catered for by a strong emphasis on the story form. Further stress on encouragement not so much of the hypothetico-deductive processes tested by Hallam but of speculative, imaginative and vicarious thinking, calling upon open-minded and divergent thought in synthesising evidence, came from Booth (1978). His tests with 50 children showed such skills were not limited solely to 'intelligent' children. Essential pre-requisites were a sound body of knowledge, visual resources and a teacher favouring creativity. History teachers "should concentrate on the acquisition of knowledge and of concepts but should give frequent opportunities for the use of this information in an inductive context". Even Hallam has played a more optimistic tune in recent years, arguing (1970) that with careful teaching most third-year secondary pupils could tackle more abstract historical material; deducing from his research (1975) into the thinking of 136 primary and secondary children that conceptualisation could be accelerated provided children were challenged to think inductively and problematically; and confessing (1978) that "it need not be that children of primary school age (need) their attention directed only to objects and not to ideas and beliefs ... Teachers need not think that only environmental studies can be appreciated by children aged ... nine to eleven years".⁵⁵

Specific teaching of concepts in pursuit of developed historical understanding⁵⁶ rests upon an assumption of the value of a pre-determined taxonomy, described by Bloom and Krathwohl in the 1950s and 1960s, and subsequently advocated by such as Hirst (1968,1980). Adaptation^{to} to historical necessity was attempted by Coltham and Fines (1971). Nineteen affective and cognitive objectives were suggested, but stressing ability to entertain with sympathy yet detachment ideas held by peoples of a belief system and culture different from one's own; and ability to identify those sets of values which comprise an integral feature of identifiable beliefs or cultures.⁵⁷

Not all have agreed that extended taxonomies are necessary or educationally desirable. Such disagreement tends to represent, however, a profound educational controversy between the Hirst-Kerr 'objectives' and Stenhouse 'process' schools going beyond the scope of this study.⁵⁸ The Coltham-Fines taxonomy is accepted by the

present writer as of fundamental importance for history teachers,⁵⁹ particularly its underlying assumption that both cognitive and affective understandings in children should be pursued through imaginative reconstruction of the past by entry into the minds of persons, using approaches associated with the New History of recent years. That is, emphasis upon skills in the location, scrutiny and evaluation of historical evidence, involvement of children in the re-creative process, and careful teaching of historical language and concepts.

On the other hand, it would be a dangerous delusion to emphasise such goals to the detriment of reform of curriculum content, to argue that "the current debate on history teaching has centred too much on the syllabus and not enough on the techniques of teaching ... what matters for the pupils is how the topics are taught rather than what is taught".⁶⁰ Wheeler's (1967) suggested sequence in curriculum design - first, selection of aims and objectives; second, selection of learning processes; third, selection of content⁶¹ - is inapplicable to history, in which curriculum content and goals cannot be separated and must be prioritised. Learning processes and pedagogy should be selected in order to serve those goals and that content to be taught or experienced.

This thesis has suggested that reform of history curriculum content is urgently necessary. Thus, as Schwab (1962) has insisted in respect of all disciplines in education,⁶² historical educators must give close scrutiny both to the educational processes by which their subject is taught and to its curriculum content. Unfortunately, whilst the New History has represented a major advance in history education since the 1960s,⁶³ and whilst it is clear that behavioural objectives need not preclude wider considerations, what some writers have openly claimed, that potential for improvement may be represented by a uni-dimensional and black-white choice between two opposed alternatives - either the old, traditional history's generalised aims, formal methods, verbal emphases and chronological national-european content, or the new, progressive subject's taxonomies, child-centred learning situations, audio-visual and documentary resources and spiral curriculum allowing a healthy variety of content from family to world history⁶⁴ - is both inaccurate and incomplete. First, it excludes by implication past, present and potential approaches emphasising historical content (whatever aspect may have been selected) but attacking it in an imaginative, dynamic

manner, communicating the mystery yet reality of the past through varied media, taking fully into account children's cognitive skills and stressing source materials. Second, it misrepresents what has occurred in so many instances, and as demonstrated earlier,⁶⁵ namely that the New History has in practice emphasised study of local archival or environmental evidence, with predominantly socio-economic content, in an almost exclusively national perspective, and has neglected the need to reform curriculum content towards wider-world perspectives and problems. The choice has not been between traditional and progressive goals, approaches and content, but between traditional and progressive goals and approaches, both of which have tended to operate through narrow, unimaginative and unbalanced curriculum content,

The nettle has not been firmly enough grasped. A New History is needed, but a new New History, encouraging teachers to "lift themselves out of their specialized furrows and survey a broader field".⁶⁶ That New History would simultaneously attack the twin problems of inadequate learning goals and processes and inadequate curriculum content through a concept-based, historical-skills-focused approach to a continuous and whole-school world history syllabus giving genuine attention to wider-world considerations including culturally-oriented study of other civilisations per se and resting four-square upon the evaluation and utilisation of archival, literary-artistic, archaeological and other forms of historical evidence. Such a structure would satisfy Plumb's call (1969) for a new history to "help us achieve our identity, not as Americans or Russians, Chinese or Britons - but as men".⁶⁷ That sources are amply available in the exemplary case of at least one non-european culture, and thus that realisation of the New History objectives need not presuppose local or national archival material but can be vigorously pursued within a 'world' curriculum framework, will be shown subsequently.⁶⁸

This essential point, that courses offering wider perspectives and understandings which were not a "mad rush to the present in five instalments"⁶⁹ but would be based on appraisal of evidence and conceptual build-up not only should but could be planned, has been recognised by certain 'New' and 'World' History apologists and the organisers of the Schools Council integrated studies project (1972) and the AEB world history 'A' level papers (1976-on). Exceptionally important in that respect was Doncaster's argument (1973) that

"widening ... the history syllabus ... need not mean ... reversion to ... generalised history and ... dates of people and events ... Pupils can make depth studies using sources which will give them an opportunity to see into a way of life different from their own ... World history can be a field for pupil exploration ... the same kind of questions can be asked about a chinese painting, a hindu story or an african bronze, as about english written and visual sources ... Discussions can develop out of a study of the chinese family or indian religion in the same way that they can from a study of medieval english monasticism".⁷⁰

Thus the central assertion concerning the development of world and non-european curriculum content in history is reiterated. World history should not be considered except in harness with those advances made under the New History umbrella in recent years. Kekulé's dictum (1858) that "You cannot explore new countries in express trains ... whoever wishes to train himself as an investigator must study the traveller's original works"⁷¹ must guide the historical educator no less than the scientist. On the other hand, Fines' implicit assumption (1968) that archives in school presupposes the virtually exclusive use of local materials must be rejected, as must HMI Wake's conclusion (1971) that the "two great forces at work ... the drive towards insistence on the use of evidence and the drive towards world history" were "contradictory", and HMI Blackie's insistence (1974) that in pursuit of concreteness stress should be on such as 'our village' or 'our town', the children "using the elements of their own culture ... rather than those of an alien culture". Blackie's belief that the 'alien' culture must be "accessible ... only through such pictorial material as can be obtained and the generally second-hand knowledge of their teachers", and Elliott's claim (1975) that the development of such new area of study as world history would reinforce teacher-domination of history lessons and the recording and memorisation of facts,⁷² should similarly be rejected. Assumptions as to the supposedly conflicting nature of 'new' history and broader educational perspectives are unfounded. First, documents are not sacrosanct and need not be in their original state. Indeed, they must be simplified and modified. Moreover, well-documented books are no less valuable, from which children can build up and classify their own documentary collections at their own cognitive level, or from which the teacher can draw

materials from stories with younger pupils.⁷³ Second, where appropriate books and resource-packs are lacking, teachers can submit manuscripts to publishers or pressurise publishers to take initiatives. Alternatively, groups of interested teachers could seek support from resource centres, professional associations, Historical Association branches, local polytechnic or university personnel, or institutions specialising in the area in question, in searching out translated materials suitable for editing into resource packs or booklets for reproduction in teachers' centres.⁷⁴ Such an approach would facilitate teacher-monitoring of the language to promote conceptualisation. Thirdly, pedantic insistence upon documentary sources is unnecessary. Historical evidence used in classrooms may, indeed must also include literature, music, fine art, museum artefacts, costume, architecture and archaeological materials. Nor need tangible material evidence be available in the classroom. Second-hand study of such items, through slides and other pictorial reproductions, is a valid approach to evidential teaching.

In concluding this survey of overall goals and processes in history curriculum development, it is emphasised that though the New History's advances must be secured and capitalised upon when broader history studies are considered, it is neither implied nor accepted that a bloomian behavioural taxonomy, a brunerian key concepts structure, or an approach such as Bernstein's (1977) 'focused' curriculum, subordinating subjects to some relational idea and fundamentally assuming the centrality of social science concepts in 'humanities' curricula,⁷⁵ should dictate syllabus considerations. Extreme statements of Brunerism suggest at best a marginal contribution from that history which most teachers would recognise. They reinforce beliefs that the generalised overviews of social science conflict with the unique quality of historical events and cannot be accepted as the basis of history curricula.⁷⁶ Thus, Heater's dangerous insistence (1970) that "history should be taught in such a way that it is used as a vehicle for the basic social science concepts", should be firmly denied. Any social scientific concepts drawn upon in history lessons must be severely limited in number and used to illuminate and enrich children's historical experience, not vice-versa.⁷⁷

On the other hand, neither need Thomson's (1969) extreme condemnation of the social science "blight ... a barbarous jargon and

a self-made vocabulary more likely to obscure thought than to express it" be wholly accepted.⁷⁸ Study of a few key concepts in antithesis, such as unity and diversity, continuity and change, suggests a fruitful approach to local, national or world-oriented historical studies,⁷⁹ particularly the study of China. Bruner's three basic questions, what is human about humans, how did they get that way and how can they be made more so, underpinned by two elementary social scientific assumptions, that all societies are created equal and tackle similar problems in relation to their environment, could offer valuable benchmarks for the devising and prosecution of any world history syllabus. In short, whilst Bruner's five-point structure may substantially be rejected as not valid to historical education, his objectives, that children should use their mental powers in thinking about the human condition, investigate models which help analysis of their own social world, develop respect for man's humanity and acquire a sense of his unfinished evolution, must influence any history curriculum development.⁸⁰

Clearly, then, in designing world history syllabuses for british schools, it is a truism well worth underlining, that utmost care must be exercised.⁸¹ Too important to be bungled, the task must be undertaken by persons well read in curriculum theory. Proposals must relate to the overall principles and goals of history curriculum and strengthen the movement towards a more homogeneous syllabus nation-wide.⁸² They must take into account recently deepened understandings as to the development of children's historical thinking, both in terms of problems and potentialities. They must be supportive of and supported by modern advances in training in historical skills. They must facilitate and exploit that process of imaginative reconstruction and empathetic entry so finely expressed by Hegel's close friend Hölderlin: "O Fittiche gib uns, treuesten Sinns, Hinüberzugehn und wiederzukehren".⁸³

Additionally, they must offer understandings of the contemporary world. Thus they must include studies from recent history, the only period of which it is in any way possible to speak of 'world' history in the literal sense of the globe inter-functioning as one unit. They must also explore earlier periods in the history of the world's peoples per se, without which comprehension of the present is imperfect, the ignorant presentation of history in european terms and as the story of western world ascendancy is likely to be perpetuated, and 'culture-shock' threatens serious obstacles to the child's

conceptualisation and capacity to empathise.⁸⁴ World history studies should not be planned, in short, in the literal, 'global village' sense, but in the looser sense of raising curricular horizons to embrace the study per se of civilisations in any part of the globe and from any period of the past which are often at present totally or almost totally ignored, or at best viewed only through eurocentrist spectacles.

The excessive concentration upon political, constitutional, diplomatic, and military history which has characterised 'national' history curriculum content for a century must be avoided.⁸⁵ Closer attention should be paid to Kulturgeschichte, showing not only that "every historic culture-pattern is an organic whole in which all the parts are related", but also that "the disciplines of science and art cut across all divisions of race or creed, colour or nationality".⁸⁶ Moreover, despite the traditional suspicion of some historians,⁸⁷ 'culture' should be interpreted in the holistic sense of social anthropology (though avoiding vain aspirations for a complete Gemeinschaftskunde).⁸⁸ Thus, the world history curriculum should embrace not only fine art, architecture, music, literature, language and theatre, Bruner's 'symbolic systems', but, most importantly, what Benedict (1971) has termed their "emotional and intellectual mainsprings" - ethical and religious ideas, institutions and movements.⁸⁹ It should show that religion is a common experience of human beings, every civilisation having invoked an image of man in terms of the universal, and that all great religious thinkers, whilst influencing the development of social systems, both East and West, along apparently divergent lines, have transcended narrowly national standpoints.⁹⁰ It should also give careful attention to science and technology, especially highlighting not only their cardinal importance in human civilisation, but also the basic truth that no people has enjoyed a monopoly of their development.⁹¹ Political history should not be absent, but studied less from the perspective of conflict,^{*} which has prevailed for so long, and more in relation to human achievement. Thus world history would be traced "by taking not the nation, but the cultural effort and achievement of mankind, in various nations and along various paths of progress, as the thread on which to string the record".⁹²

* This would not rule out studies on the aetiology of conflict, as suggested by Henderson, Education for world understanding, 1968, 17.

Syllabus content should preferably be discontinuous, though with a loose chronology.⁹³ That could be achieved through Jeffreys-style lines of development, broadening into patches and topics according to the skills and motivation of both teacher and children.⁹⁴ Thematic syllabuses of the kind suggested by Barraclough (1967) and others,⁹⁵ though offering ample potential for wider- world perspectives, might be too generalised, lacking concreteness and unlikely to facilitate imaginative evidential reconstructions unless embracing specific case-studies. An alternative would be Henderson's (1979) neat compromise, going on from a survey of common factors in early civilisations to a study of variables of civilisation (five alternatives suggested) and culminating in concentration on the shaping forces of the contemporary world.⁹⁶

Above all, any world history curriculum must seek to develop attitudes of 'world-mindedness', "that deep psychological wisdom which proceeds from a sense of shared values".⁹⁷ It is of cardinal importance that pupils come to appreciate and respect the historical experience and cultural deposits of other peoples per se and as tributaries to a common world heritage; and to view critically the national, ethnic and racial assumptions, both historical and contemporaneous, of themselves and their own society.⁹⁸

Those aspirations require history teachers to paint true pictures of peoples and avoid any tendency towards stereotyping, whether trivial or racist, that "evil caricature of reality".^{99*} Tames (1979) has put it well with reference to Japan: "We have a

* It is taken for granted that the teacher must capitalise upon the opportunities offered by the multi-cultural classroom and the ethnically diverse society, drawing upon the rich cultural product and historical consciousness of those peoples, and also facilitating personal contact with adult persons of the national group being studied at any time. The advantages of this were long ago demonstrated. See B. Mackenzie, in J. Abn & Soc. Psych, 43, 1948, 417-47. D.S. Richie, in C.O. Arndt and S. Everett, Education for a world society, 1951, 105-18. J. Guiton, in Ibid, 119-34. H.S. Pierson, in Ibid, 135-53. G. Watson, in Ibid, 154-64, esp 159. H.E.O. James and C. Tenen, in Br.J.Psych 41, 1951, 155. James and Tenen, in Int.Soc.Sc.Bull, 3, 3, Aut 1951, 555-6, 557, 561. James & Tenen, The teacher was black, 1953, 3. B.A. Feakes, 'A Study in Changing attitudes', MA(Ed) 1953, 149-57. C.C. Moskos, in Amer.J.Sociology, 72, 1966, 132-49. B. Rogers, 'Examination of some correlates', M.Ed. 1967, 123-4. (See also E.S. Bogardus, Immigration and race attitudes 1928, 98-102. W.F. Connell, in G.F. Bereday and J.A. Lauwerys, Yearbook of education, 1964, 164-5. J.M. Carnie, 'Children's ideas of people of different race and nation', Ph.D, 1971, 127-354).

responsibility to ensure that Japan is neither a blank on our pupils' mental map of the world nor an exotic dreamland populated by simpering geisha and blood-crazed samurai". As Brinton 1963) has insisted in regard to Russia, the point must be put that "we are not pure liberty and they pure authority. We do not stand for the individualism of the great cats, nor they for the collectivism of the beehive ... We are not variety, and they are not uniformity. Neither of us lives up to the extremes of our own systems of values".^{100*}

That objective cannot be realised without bringing out through the culturally-oriented study man's common humanity - helping children comprehend that whatever the chasms of time and space, human beings "are everywhere sufficiently alike to be thought of as virtually members of one family ... they have everywhere the same kind of problems ... everywhere they admire beautiful things and aspire towards fine and noble things".¹⁰¹ That daunting task,^{**} requiring "high quality of imaginative sympathy which enables a man to hold fast to that which he knows to be good and at the same time to lay hold of the good which is in his neighbour, whether ... yellow or black or brown ... an appreciation of things alien to his own way of thought",¹⁰² must stand central to the purposes of world history teaching. It does not imply, however, that a portrait of uniformity should be manufactured and human cultural diversity obscured. As Levi-Strauss (1958) stressed, cultural diversity being greater than can ever be appreciated, and any culture's true contribution to world civilisation consisting in its difference from others, an essential component of world-historical studies must be encouraging awareness and appreciation of cultural pluralism as an enriching factor in world society. The point has been underlined by Henderson (1979) that secondary children should "proceed from their possession in

* On the other hand, as Brinton has further argued, we should not, from a sense of historical guilt encourage unrealistically favourable stereotypes of chinese sages or sexually blissful samoan maidens, "no proof that we westerners have really learned ... from other peoples". (C. Brinton, Shaping of modern thought, 1963, 232-3).

** Its difficulties should not, however, be exaggerated. It may be that the children's interest would offer much to capitalise upon if, as Schrödinger (1964) has insisted, "it is precisely the common features of all experience ... which are the primary and most profound occasion for astonishment". (E. Schrödinger, My view of the world, 1964,10).

common of the constants of their past to explore the variables of some at least of the civilisations which ensued".¹⁰³ Nonetheless, that process must be intertwined with seeking out and promoting understanding of the common values and purposes of humanity, bringing children to realise that differences in life patterns "are not evidence of the superiority or inferiority of peoples, races or cultures, but ... arise from circumstances of environment and history", and that such differences should be perceived "as if persons in various cultures have in common five major tones in the musical scales on which they compose different melodies".¹⁰⁴

Common humanity can be demonstrated to children through history teaching in three ways. First, by bringing out the essential truth of cultural diffusion, that every culture in a syncretism, that none is wholly autochthonic, that influences have spread west to east and vice-versa, and that 'civilisation' was never a western preserve.¹⁰⁵ Second, by tracing similarities of human experience, that all societies at all times have contained individuals whose basic needs and aspirations are identical, and that all have displayed common institutional features such as marriage, the family, a social structure, a religious system, and government.¹⁰⁶ Third, by showing that all have contained elements of the 'traditional' and 'modern' - that whilst conservatism and traditional attitudes and customs have never been the private possession of non-Europeans, neither are 'progress' and possessing universities and nuclear reactors necessarily synonymous with western societies. Excessive emphasis should be placed upon neither the constitutional and socio-economic progress of Britain, Europe and America, nor the bullock-carts of 'eternal India' or the paddy-fields of 'unchanging China'. As Fradier (1959) has insisted, "There is no place for mirages".^{107*}

Those three objectives demand training in reversibility of thinking, which again suggests three basic approaches. First, differential and comparative historico-cultural studies,** whether between countries of sharply differing culture such as Britain and

* In relation to this point, it is essential that world-historical studies are not subordinated to traditional phases of european history and culture-patterns, whose terms, such as 'modern', or 'romantic', are not in any case agreed even in european languages. (See H. Sée, in Revue de Synthèse historique, 41,1926,65-6. J. Huizinga, Men and ideas, 1960,72,74-5).

** Attempted by the Suffolk local history classroom project in respect of Suffolk and Europe.

and China, or with interactive emphasis on countries regionally associated such as Japan and China.^{108*} Second, by focusing on documentary and other evidence, a strong imaginative drive to "see things from a foreign point of view", to reconstruct other civilisations "as if from within"; to realise that a foreigner is not foreign in his own land, to which he has feelings of 'belonging'; and to avoid looking at other peoples "down the end of a european drain-pipe or from the deck of a british man-of-war ... at the point of decay rather than at the point of strength".^{109**} Third, emphasis on individuals, especially Henderson's (1968) "heroic types", their activities often enshrined in historical legend, as epitomising the aspirations of their people.¹¹⁰

These goals pose two closely related problems. First, can children's attitudes be modified? Second, is attempting modification indoctrinatory and invalid?

As to the former, the evidence is contradictory. Allport (1954) was pessimistic. Hamer (1954) despite geography teaching emphasising the qualities and achievements of peoples found "nothing conclusive" to suggest that the subject could help develop sympathy for foreigners. Miller (1969) after deliberately teaching over 1,000 apprentices to try to reduce racial prejudice, found significantly increased prejudice in the experimental group.¹¹¹ Thus, Hannam (1978) was probably correct in emphasising that what schools can achieve in reversing prejudice and stereotype must be limited.¹¹²

On the other hand, there are reasons for rejecting an over pessimistic attitude, both on philosophical grounds, that "human

* Thus, world history must always be taught in harness with world geography. That subject, moreover, may have potential in its own right for promoting sympathetic understanding, particularly if its social and human aspects are stressed. (See Brimble and May, Social studies and world citizenship, 1950, 108. Williams, Br.J.Ed.Psych, 31, Nov. 1961, 292-6. Charlesworth, in Bereday and Lauwerys, Yearbook of education, 1964, 486. DES, Towards world history, 1967, 33-4. Carnie, 'Children's ideas of people of different race and nation', Ph.D., 1971, 337-8, 340-3). (But cf Hamer's findings, this page.)

** This demands care with anthropological and geographical terminology. Not 'oriental' but 'asian': not 'Far East' but 'East Asia'. (See Van Kley, in AHR, 76, 2, Ap 1971, 358).

beings are too fine in their highest achievements to justify despair,"¹¹³ and on the common-sense assumption that since attitudes are learned they can be rectified by remedial teaching. In this, the importance of world-historical studies was stressed as early as the 1920s by both Lippmann (1922) and Bogardus (1928).¹¹⁴ Moreover, there is empirical evidence. Stover (1933) found that lessons focusing on customs, human traits, national heroes and achievements led to "appreciable gains" in international-mindedness, and concluded that "international and interracial attitudes can be influenced by instruction". Williams (1961) produced significant attitude changes through teaching concentrating on social life. Zurick (1969) found intolerance directly related to education and political awareness. More informed people were more likely to avoid emotional and prejudiced responses on a stereotype image. DeKock (1969) concluded that simulation activities "will result in attitude change". Bagley and Verma (1972,1978) detected "significant changes in prejudiced attitudes in the direction of tolerance" after a planned teaching programme. Longden (1972) improved secondary children's attitudes to seven out of 10 concepts or countries taught (not towards Asia or China). Doncaster (1973) recorded pronounced increase in respect for China, especially art and technology, after a term's teaching. Katz and Ivey (1977) after systematic anti-racist teaching noted significantly less prejudice, an improvement which lasted. Habtai (1981) found after teaching about Africa, "dramatic and significant increase in knowledge" and "more positive, measured attitudes" to cultural features. Optimism is reinforced by Unesco's findings (1963,1967) on the Associated Schools Project, that "a sounder comprehension of other peoples and cultures" and "attitudes favourable to international understanding" developed. Teachers had seen "apathy, stereotypes and ... prejudice give way to interest and friendliness". It is further supported by Peterson and Thurstone's success in modifying anti-Chinese attitudes through use of film (1932-3) and by Himmelweit's findings after study of 1854 secondary children (1958) that after seeing TV programmes on foreign countries they made fewer value judgements and overall tended to develop more detached, objective attitudes. The most interesting findings regarding modification of attitudes towards Chinese persons have been those of Feakes (1953). He detected initial stereotypes, "fictional Chinese par excellence", in almost all his lower-secondary sample. After lessons highlighting family life and chinese social courtesies,

attitudes changed. Of 28 children tested, 25 were generally unfavourable towards Chinese before the experiment, but only nine afterwards. Nineteen were conscious of colour, and 27 of epicanthic eyes, before the lessons. None mentioned those features afterwards. Feakes concluded it was "possible to influence attitudes ... towards foreign peoples by the use of normal classroom procedures". There was "no reason to doubt that methods employed to foster intergroup tensions may be modified and used by men of goodwill to reduce them".¹¹⁵

The second major problem is that of bias and indoctrination. The subject of endless debate, both with regard to history curriculum in general and world history in particular,¹¹⁶ the question lacks a definitive study. Clearly, however, it represents potentially more than simply "a matter of semantics" and cannot be sanguinely glossed over.¹¹⁷ Lyall (1967) has shown that world history courses are not immune from particularism.^{118*} World history teachers should beware attacks by such as Sharp (1980) on "the fetishized separation of education and politics in liberal theory" and should not support freedom for Brinton's (1963) "self-deluded idealists" to parade their ideologies unquestioned before a captive audience.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, certain commonsense criteria must surely be applied. Is what is planned calculated or likely to cause harm to people? Does it represent a sectarian viewpoint? Does it aim to narrow or debase

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In the case of China personal conviction and lack of objectivity has long been and is today a noticeable problem, as a study of how any major issue, such as the parallel careers of Chiang and Mao, were reported, shows. As D. Chambers, in History 62,1977,259, has put it: "the work of neither the critic nor the acolyte can be recommended to the unsuspecting". (See, for example, L.D. Dsang, in East and West Review,3,2,Ap.1937. V.H. Donnithorne, in Ibid,2,1,Jan.1936,13-21. H.A. Wittenbach, in Ibid,4,2,Ap.1938,123-30,esp.129. Tao Hsing-chi, in W. Rawson, Freedom we seek, 1937,153. J.H. Jackson, Post War World,1935,303,305,341-2. A.B. Theobald, A contemporary history,1937,103. J. Mainwaring, Evolution of the modern world,1942,317. E.E. Reynolds, Four modern statesmen, 1944,115,116,119,120,121-2,124,125,127,128,129,132. H. Higgins, Warlords to Red Star, 1968. T.H. White, China: the roots of madness, 1968,123-9. J. Robottom, Mao Tse-tung 1970. E.M. Roberts, Mao Tse-tung,1970. R. Thomson, Mao Tse-tung, 1974,23. H. Purcell, Mao Tse-tung, 1977,12,65. Nine of these are school books).

human experience, or to enrich and broaden it? If such criteria were unacceptable, then all religious and moral education would be impermissible. Moreover, as shown elsewhere, profound indoctrination of children with ethnic, racial and national assumptions and attitudes has prevailed in society and its schools for 400 years.¹²⁰ The question is not, then, whether indoctrination should occur, but whether the world-educator should seek to counteract racial or national indoctrination with material which his professional integrity finds morally acceptable. Zilliacus (1937) insisted that all teachers had the right and duty to impart a "sense of solidarity ... (and) feeling of brotherhood with people in every part of the world". Lauwerys (1953) more cautiously argued that existing bias be counteracted by showing children that peaceful relationships between peoples have been the norm, avoiding exaggeration of differences, not over-romanticising foreign lifestyles, and above all helping the child become aware of his own prejudices.¹²¹

Those seem modest, humanistic goals. In fact, an acceptable position might well go somewhat further, embracing Lauwerys' humane aims but also, whilst avoiding Zilliacus' overt loving-kindness, attacking 'bias by omission', and attempting to destroy the seed-beds of ignorance by offering the child courses and materials affording insight into the humanity, cultural achievements and intrinsic interest of peoples separated from him both in time and space.

The normative approach to education is, moreover, well supported by such as Allport (1935) Taba (1962) Peters (1966) Dearden (1969) Davey (1972) and Woods and Barrow (1975). Peters, for instance, insisted that "any proposals about education involve judgements about worthwhile things ... They therefore have assumptions built into them about what is worthwhile ... the criterion that something worthwhile should be achieved ... (and) is being or has been transmitted in a morally acceptable manner ... (There is) a commitment to what is thought valuable". Davey (1972) concurred: "Education is a term properly applied to something good, while indoctrination refers to something bad ... we educate and do not indoctrinate if the beliefs inculcated can ultimately be justified".

Lack of space precludes further consideration of this complex issue. It is assumed that that which the teacher or school considers worthwhile and morally defensible, and which is taught in a balanced and open-minded manner, is educational and not indoctrinatory. Davey

has asserted that teaching style lies at the crux. Indoctrination occurs when the material taught is presented in an authoritarian situation as "embodying irreducible moral principles beyond the reach of analysis or critical discussion". The teaching and learning approaches suggested earlier, in particular the insistence upon the direct involvement of the child in appraising and classifying evidence, reflects acceptance of that definition's implication.¹²²

These normative goals - to encourage feelings of worldmindedness, appreciation of common humanity and awareness of cultural syncretism, and to undermine ethnic, national and racial assumptions and attitudes - cannot be realised through a simple aggregate of regional or national histories. They demand "fresh, global perspective". The entire history curriculum must be re-thought and coherent world syllabuses planned, not a series of unrelated miniatures or discrete national histories, but an integrated framework into which particular areas or cultures may be knitted as appropriate.¹²³ That framework must give teachers opportunities to draw upon subject-matter "not limited by any geographical restrictions", "global in scope and not limited merely to western civilisation", "without temporal or spatial limits"; to tap freely "the account ... of mankind's past"; to offer insights into "societies and cultures other than those of the student"; and to bring out "the interrelatedness of life, events and institutions beyond the confines of any nation".¹²⁴

It is equally clear, nonetheless, that syllabuses should not attempt to cover total world history, to paint a gigantic canvas in broad brush-strokes, or to include a 'general civilisation' approach as recommended by Strong (1964).¹²⁵ Such approaches, merely touching upon other civilisations, have been condemned by many scholars.¹²⁶ They would be impracticable, making unrealistic demands on teachers, raising serious questions of resourcing,¹²⁷ and accentuating that problem of limited curriculum space which has long concerned history educators both with regard to history curriculum in general and world history in particular.¹²⁸ They would be epistemologically unsound, rendering virtually impossible attention to sources, denying opportunities to develop critical skills, obscuring the unique quality of historical facts, offering scant opportunity for imaginative reconstruction, and promoting superficiality.¹²⁹ They

would be pedagogically unsound, likely to pressurise teachers to regress to former positions as knowledge-providers, the child an assimilator of "an illimitable quantity of scattered material", factual information of such a quantity as likely to "stick in our throats and so make it impossible for us to chew, swallow and digest";¹³⁰ and simultaneously swamping the child with a bewildering range of concepts at a high level of generality. Moreover, they would be unlikely to satisfy the affective goals of world history education.

In particular, it is essential for teachers to avoid meta-historical overviews, attempts to establish Weltanschauung, to see world history either as determined by general developmental laws or as offering a philosophical explanation of human existence. Such overviews, in addition to practical, pedagogical and epistemological problems discussed above, would be likely to incur opposition on religious or political grounds. Moreover, despite the association of names such as Vico, Hegel, Marx, Spengler, Wells and Toynbee, their validity has been attacked by such as Popper (1961) and Gallie (1964) and must be regarded with reservation by school teachers.¹³¹

Whatever approach is adopted, whatever the different shades of emphasis as to goals, rigorous selection of material will be essential.¹³² That process could best be pursued - within, it is reiterated, a global fabric, shot through with integrative threads of themes - by concentration upon detailed, evidential 'patch' studies of specific areas or countries.¹³³ Additionally, topics illustrative of the socio-cultural achievement of particular peoples might be studied. Such a blend of patches and topics offers several advantages. It would help avoid the drawbacks of total-world history, in particular the "glib generalisation" cautioned against by Batho (1974).¹³⁴ Emphasis on chronology could be reduced but a loose discontinuous chronology retained. The study of sources in their socio-cultural context would be possible. Careful teaching of concepts would be feasible. Imaginative empathetic entry into thinking in a dissimilar cultural milieu, appreciation of the common traits of persons and societies, informed and sympathetic contrast between cultures, identification of factors of cultural transmission and eclecticism, and of autochthony, consideration of the artistic, literary, intellectual, spiritual and technological achievements of

societies in relation to their social, economic and political patterns, attention both to the heroic figures and man-in-the-morning-train of those societies, and critical study of stereotyped representations would all be facilitated. Moreover, understandings and insights acquired through study of specific societies appear to be transferable. The teacher could expect that "even if he has time to study only one country his pupils will be predisposed to a better and more sympathetic understanding of peoples of other countries as well".¹³⁵ In short, study of patches and topics in global perspective could satisfy the cognitive and affective objectives of 'world education' as advocated by Henderson (1968) and Heater (1980)^{136*} whilst meeting all the criteria of validity demanded of any historical study.

The patches and topics should not be drawn exclusively or predominantly from one country or region. The pool must be global. Neither should they be chosen solely from the histories of the world's dominant expansionist peoples, including the Chinese. On the other hand, if understanding cultural diffusion is a basic goal, to say nothing of comprehension of the contemporary world, it would be an emasculated world history course which failed to scrutinise the historical experience of those dominant peoples. The arguments for so doing in the case of China have been elaborated earlier,¹³⁷ and exemplary patches and topics from Chinese history will be considered in the closing chapter of this study.¹³⁸

Certain basic considerations, then, should underpin any Chinese history taught in British schools. First, it must be set against a broader backcloth of history curriculum development. It must promote the goals of bringing out the subject's intrinsic interest and importance; encouraging imaginative reconstruction from a study of evidence; focusing on individuals, heroic and common; highlighting scientific, technological and cultural history; drawing from recent and earlier times; prioritising child-centredness; pursuing behavioural objectives; bringing out central organizing concepts; taking into account and capitalising upon children's conceptual

* And of 'multi-cultural education', as expounded by Hicks, in Education 3-13, 9,1,1981,15.

development; teaching by largely concrete, enactive and ikonic approaches and materials stressing the process of inquiry; and in general building upon the gains made by the New History of recent decades.

Second, it must promote the specific goals of world history studies. It must give insight into contemporary world problems; show cultural pluralism yet draw out for children the common values and purposes of humanity; demonstrate both cultural transmission and autochthony; highlight the common possession of both 'tradition' and 'progress'; make differential and comparative studies; help children develop attitudes of 'world-mindedness' and question their own assumptions; and undermine stereotyping. The study of chinese history should not be isolated from world history goals. Merely adding chinese to european history, or replacing british with chinese topics or patches is no substitute for the careful development of world history courses offering teachers a global range of subject-matter.¹³⁹

Third, no attempt should be made to teach a systematic, chronological and continuous history of China.¹⁴⁰

Fourth, the dreamlike and tranquil willow-pattern image must be avoided. Besides its potential for harmful stereotyping, it is also historically inaccurate.¹⁴¹

Fifth, China should not be portrayed too glowingly, occupied by "one of the most industrious people on earth ... a race imbued with some of the highest ideals for noble human life", and having "practis'd the most pure Morality, while Europe and almost all the World wallow'd in Error and Corruption".¹⁴²

Sixth, conservatism and traditionalism should not be over-stressed.¹⁴³ The 'unchanging China' stereotype should be avoided. Gernet (1962) has correctly pointed out that "If our own civilisation had been as much neglected by historians, and if the complexity of its development had been as little understood ... it, too, would run the risk of displaying the same majestic immobility, and a certain chinese quality of permanence might be detected in some of its traditions and mental attitudes".¹⁴⁴

Seventh, whilst China's intrinsic fascination and apparently exotic qualities should be capitalised upon in pursuit of interest and imaginative projection, mysterious stereotypes of "an infinitely complex enigma which only specialists can ... decipher",¹⁴⁵ should be

avoided. Differences from our own lifestyle and cultural tradition should not be overstressed. Morris (1956) clearly demonstrated that such differences were not intrinsic, that there was fundamental East-West agreement on such as preservation of excellence, sympathetic concern and mastery of change. Both Feakes (1953) and Carnie (1971) underlined the educational necessity of children's realisation of the fact.¹⁴⁶ Thus, the 'normality' of the historical experience of the Chinese should wherever possible be brought out through more concrete aspects of human relationships, family life and loyalties, education, transport, buildings and economic activity. Documentary and literary evidence should be used to illustrate that the Chinese are ordinary people, that, as Mundy observed (1637) "they eat very often and are great Drinckers, Festivall, Frolicke and Free".¹⁴⁷ It is crucially important that China is not de-humanised by group-stereotyping as a land peopled variously throughout history by toiling peasants, rickshawmen, blue ants, cruel and effete mandarins, secret society killers, merciless warlords, fanatical communists and martial arts experts; and that individual Chinese are not characterised as shadowy, featureless, impassive, inscrutable, cunning, fiendish, half-witted, stoical or impervious to pain. Eighth, China must not be portrayed in european terms or seen simply as an extension of european activities. Words such as 'discovery' and 'opening-up' should be set aside. European periodisation should not be applied. Most importantly, as Macartney realised in 1793, China should not be judged in the light of western moral-ethical criteria and features.¹⁴⁸

Ninth, children should be shown the universal appeal of some aspects of chinese history, its interest to humanity for its own sake.¹⁴⁹ One pre-requisite would be to emphasise both heroic leadership and display of outstanding human characteristics by common men, whether peasants or soldiers.¹⁵⁰

Tenth, earlier history should be studied. Teachers should not risk 'culture-shocking' pupils by introducing them only to the recent chinese history found in the various 'world history' GCE/CSE examination syllabuses.¹⁵¹

Eleventh, chinese history should be presented 'in the round'.^{*} Children must understand that "the true history of China is written, not in the ruthless struggles for power, but in her art and literature, family life ... and broad, humane philosophy", and that "by ... the wealth and quality of its culture, the place which it has occupied in the history of civilisation ... and the profoundly humane character of its ideals, China is entitled to all respect".¹⁵² This is important not only for underlining chinese humanity,¹⁵³ but also for adorning chinese history with rich detail. Topics can be illustrated from translated novels, novellas and poetry,¹⁵⁴ and with chinese artworks.

Twelfth, China's world-historical importance should be underlined - her contribution to world (including western) philosophy, art, literature, science, technology and political development. Her role in east asian history and culture should also be brought out.¹⁵⁵

Essential to all these goals is liberal use of published source-materials. That includes eye-witness accounts by european visitors, Polo to the present, replete with detail on the political organisation, law, economy, cities, social and family life, religion, customs and cultural activities of chinese people, mighty and low. Many such accounts, including those of Polo, Pereira, da Cruz, de Rada, Ricci, Mundy, du Halde, Macartney and Fortune¹⁵⁶ are available in English. Thus, even if only western materials were accessible, it is incorrect to aver that the teacher must depend largely upon secondary sources for teaching purposes.¹⁵⁷

However, it is essential that indigenous sources be utilised, to give insight into chinese history "as the Chinese themselves see it, and as they present it to others".¹⁵⁸ Without this, the development of affective understandings is likely to be stunted and the enduring values of chinese civilisation not comprehended.¹⁵⁹ Nor is it likely

* Including, as G. Canguilhem, Teaching of philosophy, 1953, 194, has suggested for all world studies, some of the more concrete aspects of her philosophy and social ethics. The practicality of this, particularly if linked to contrast with the child's own social experience, has been accepted by R.N. Hallam, in Ballard, New movements, 1970, 169.

that the cognitive and imaginative goals of history teaching in general will be reached. In this regard Doncaster's research (1973) was significant, concluding that "it is clear that the use of non-western primary sources can help to train pupils in the skills of investigation in the same way as can work with british sources of a similar type".¹⁶⁰

A considerable amount of native source-material, ranging from near-contemporary histories to philosophical writings, manuals of etiquette, memorials to the crown, imperial edicts, literature and autobiography is now available in English. Some has been consolidated into edited collections,¹⁶¹ other material has formed the basis of historical monographs,¹⁶² and though as with western sources not all are immediately available, all may be found in the specialist oriental libraries or ordered through the British Library and drawn upon according to the needs, aptitudes and interests of his class by any teacher.

To cite only autobiography, any study of late traditional China could draw upon a wealth of material conducive both to 'worldmindedness' and the development of historical skills. For instance, Hsieh Ping-ying's description (1943) of father-child relationships could resource a variety of cognitive and affective exercises in history,* as could Chiang Yee's recollections (1946) of visiting his mother's grave, and traditional attitudes to food, or

* "Father used to come home in a sedan-chair ... While my mother went into the house to prepare boiling water to make tea, I would run racing ... to greet my father ... (He) would not be in his sedan chair by that time because about 8 li from the house he would get down and walk ... (since) from that point onwards were the graves of our ancestors, and after that the houses where some of our elders were living, and it would be contrary to the proprieties if he passed ... in a sedan chair ... I would climb up my father and hold tight to his shoulder ... in the winter he would wrap me in his fur coat, fearing that I would catch cold ... Father would buy nice things for grandmother to eat, as well as buying me some of a special kind of pretty little buns (with) pepper in ... When my father was at home he would always spend his days in the garden, weeding the lawn and watering the plants". (Hsieh Ping-ying, Autobiography of a Chinese girl, 1943, 34-6). (See also 76-81, 82-84, 89-91).

boy-girl relationships. **

In such source-based approaches, the material need not be regarded as sacrosanct. The original language need not be preserved, so long as the essential character and meaning are safeguarded, and it is made clear where modifications have taken place. Simplification and abbreviation are acceptable, indeed usually essential. Conceptual and linguistic problems can in that way be tackled by the teacher before the source reaches the child. Even so, problems specific to chinese life and culture will always be thrown up. Doncaster (1973) experienced numerous difficulties with her experimental group.¹⁶³ Thus, although there is no need for excessive concern provided the "ferocious purists"¹⁶⁴ can be disregarded and simple forms of names used - many chinese concepts, such as filial loyalty, The Way or mandate of heaven are no more difficult than Western equivalents such as feudalism, justification by faith or divine right - careful attention must always be paid to the concepts and terminology of chinese history. 'Dynasty', 'emperor', 'eunuch', 'dowager', 'ancestor', 'filial', 'mandarin', 'war-lord', 'confucian', 'taoist', 'buddhist', 'sûtra', 'ode', 'analects', 'barbarian', and 'memorial', are obvious examples.

Some didactic method is clearly inevitable, but it is important that the application of concepts in practical situations is

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(a) "Father remarked how well the plants were growing ... (they) had been planted by father himself at the time of mother's burial. Further down the slope were masses of wild azaleas, and the contrast of the deep red and green made a beautiful picture. Father seemed very pleased ... but he sighed deeply at times ... we were all silent for a while".

(b) "We were taught not to leave a single grain of rice in our bowl or to drop any on the table or floor ... We were reminded that each ... had formed part of the farmer's labour ... and caused him to worry about drought and food ... (We ought) to think of those who might not have had a single grain to eat for some time".

(c) "The girls in our house had many privileges ... (They) could invade a boy's room and turn everything topsy-turvy, but no boy dared intrude upon a girl". (His girl-friend, aged 10, died). "Most of my family had practically forgotten her. But I had not. I went into the garden and cried for a long time. Nobody disturbed me". (Chiang Yee, A Chinese childhood, 1946, 125, 293, 164, 160).

understood. Children should use newly-met concepts in different situations. With Confucianism, for example, after a brief explanation pupils might be asked what changes would follow in their own family and social life if England became confucian. When tackling chinese communism, children could attack the KMT reform programme in conversation with peasants; make a speech by Chiang in reply to communist criticisms; or dramatise his 'trial'.

Source-focused approaches should require the child to consider the value and origin of the source; comprehend; re-phrase or summarise; compare; produce equivalents; synthesise the context; make inferences as to motivation; assess viewpoints; project himself into the historical situation; speculate; attempt problem-solving; compose imaginative conversations, interviews, letters, diaries and news bulletins; and create emotional responses to situations through poetry or role-play. The Treaty of Nanking (1842) and associated sources offer a useful example of what is suggested. (a) What kind of source is the treaty? (b) Why was it written? (c) How many towns could the british trade through? (d) What island did China cede to Britain? (e) Why did China have to pay a fine? (f) On a blank map, insert all towns and islands referred to. (g) Itemise the cost of the war to China. (h) List the advantages for Britain. (i) Read an extract from the Treaty of Vienna, 1815: how was France treated differently? (j) What similarities can be seen? (k) Why had conflict occurred in 1839? (l) Why did Britain want trading outlets? (m) Why did China oppose the opium trade? (n) What can be said for the respective points of view? (o) Was the treaty justified? (p) Read Commisioner Lin's letter to foreign merchants. What does this suggest about chinese attitudes to foreigners? (q) Look at the map of Southern China and the summary of both sides' resources: what military deployments would you make? (r) Read Jocelyn's description of the bombardment of Ting-hai: write a letter from a chinese soldier describing the attack. (s) Tape a conversation between two Chinese about the occupation of Ting-hai. (t) Read Lin's reports of August 16th and September 24th 1840, then with a friend imagine you are a newspaperman interviewing him about the reports. (u) Read Chu Shih-yün's descriptions of the British in Chinkiang, then tape a news bulletin describing the fall of the town. (v) When you have read all the documents, write, with friends, headlines and accounts, plus leading articles, which the London Mirror and Peking News might have printed in September 4th 1839 and August 29th 1842. (w) Should China

claim Hong Kong today? (x) Imagine you are a Chinese who believes Hong Kong should be recovered. Referring both to the present and the historical background, write letters to newspapers, poetry, songs or slogans, and paint a poster demanding action. (y) With friends, simulate a discussion between british and chinese officials as to the amicable management and long-term solution of the problem.¹⁶⁵

Chinese sources have another major value, however, namely the demonstration of cultural autochthony, cultural diffusion and similarity of social and institutional structures.¹⁶⁶ Relevant topics might include the historical ideal of classical antiquity; the 'golden ages' of philosophy in Greece and China; religion; historiography; technology; buildings; cities; sea and land exploration; imperial expansion; even common features between chinese westward expansion and the American West. Classroom use of chinese and western paintings, cartoons, posters, music, poetry, letters, diaries, official papers and contemporary histories is invaluable to that comparative process. Concrete detail is essential. For instance, a teacher seeking to establish the point that barbarity has never been exclusive to either East or West might begin with Williams' (1847) details on torture and execution in Manchu China, then consider Evelyn's (1650s-80s) descriptions of the torture and execution of malefactors in France and England.¹⁶⁷ Comparative and evaluative discussion, debate, role-play, art-work, imaginative writing and other historical exercises could then ensue, broadening out into patch studies looking similarly at happier aspects of social institutions and cultural achievement in the two late traditional societies.

The question then arises as to who should or could give a lead in developing world history studies along the lines suggested - and there is cause for pessimism. Support from higher education, both in the content of first degree courses and of teacher-training programmes, is essential for any history curriculum development, but particularly in hitherto neglected aspects such as world and non-european studies. University and polytechnic academics need to imbue their teaching with global vision and a belief in the essential unity of mankind.¹⁶⁸ Ideally, they would respond to the contemporary needs of schools and offer an expanded range of options in

source-based world history studies emphasising philosophy, literature, religion, the arts and sciences, and bringing out both cultural autochthony and eclecticism. Teacher-training programmes, both initial and in-service, would focus on the designing, resourcing and teaching of world and non-european history courses.

Examples of the role higher education can play are found in the assistance given by the Oslo University Educational Institute and the Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique in launching Unesco's associated schools project; the leadership given to the Social Studies Curriculum Development Program by the Carnegie Institute of Technology; and at home, the long-established support from the London Institute of Education and School of Oriental and African Studies for world studies and teacher-education and experimental examination syllabuses, Leeds University's support for the Schools Council's History 13-16 project, and the work of individuals such as Barraclough, Butterfield, Henderson, Lauwerys, O'Connor, Roberts and Toynbee. Regrettably, those and other initiatives have not reflected any widespread trend towards world history in higher education institutions, which in that respect have generally exercised negative influence over teacher-education, research, and school examination syllabuses.¹⁶⁹ Moreover, there is no published evidence of imminent or putative change. As recently as 1977, in an article in History, one university teacher was insisting that the renaissance, the english civil war, the french revolution and the british empire were "basic subjects" in historical education, as against unspecified "frills".¹⁷⁰ No subsequent correspondence challenged his assertions.

Lack of initiatives from the universities, plus the DES, the inspectorate, the Historical Association, the Royal Historical Society and the major academic and professional journals¹⁷¹ has implications in respect of what can reasonably be expected of teachers, whose horizons are overshadowed by what they themselves experienced or failed to experience during their own school and subsequent education.¹⁷² Old mental habits die hard, especially when buttressed by ignorance. That "it is the nature of teachers to teach what they know, however little that may be" to teach what they have been taught and to avoid what they have not been taught, has been accepted by numerous distinguished observers.¹⁷³ Particularly telling evidence of their conservatism and unwillingness to

contemplate courses of professional development was offered by Harries in 1974. Only 45% of her sample saw human understanding as a leading aim of history teaching.¹⁷⁴ In the 1960s, only 36 british teachers submitted entries for the Parliamentary Group for World Government's 'one-world' examination syllabus competition.¹⁷⁵ Moreover, as Lodge's survey of 136 teachers showed (1980) there may be good grounds for doubting the professional competence of many teachers with regard to selection of teaching materials.¹⁷⁶

Nevertheless, in a national situation where there is no central curriculum imposition, the onus in all curriculum development must fall primarily upon the teacher.¹⁷⁷ That this is true with specific regard to the broadening of history syllabuses - preferably in close relationship with universities, examining boards and teachers' centres¹⁷⁸ - has long been recognised.¹⁷⁹ The examining boards, though introducing 'world history' syllabuses since the 1960s, have not generally interpreted their role as change-initiators, and have tended to reflect and reinforce the universities' dead hand both in content and approaches.¹⁸⁰ Yet to consider educational ^{change} without reference to examination requirements "is like playing Hamlet without the Prince".¹⁸¹ Macintosh and Smith (1974) have shown, however, how teachers can promote development of examination syllabuses they favour, whilst the DES has openly advocated that the curriculum should govern the examinations, and not vice-versa.¹⁸² The onus for change has thus been firmly thrust upon the teachers and the schools.

If teachers, even the committed, are to give leadership to history curriculum reform, their path will not be eased by over-enthusiastic pressure from well-meaning 'international understanding', 'peace studies' or 'multi-cultural education' apologists. Henderson (1968) warned that sympathetic teachers would increasingly face an "agonising dilemma" in balancing their own global humane vision against contradictory pressures from various quarters.¹⁸³ Ideas that curriculum innovation in any discipline can be pushed through "grand-scale or utopian and carte blanche or ab initio" have been rejected by such as Hirst (1980).¹⁸⁴ Thus, without losing sight of the goal of a comprehensively planned world history syllabus, the tactic in most schools should be to look for ways in which what is already being done can be built upon. Proposed changes should be cautiously realistic, capable of easy step-by-step

implementation in current curricula. Reformers should seek to bridge the gap between the visionary ideal and the practical and avoid radical generalised theorisation which might alienate practitioners, administrators and parents. Toynbee's "l'audace, encore l'audace"¹⁸⁵ should be resisted. History curriculum reform must in short pursue what Kelly (1980) termed "adaptive aims", whereby teachers "will adapt some aspects of an innovation to their current practice - a compromise between the 'ideals' of the innovation and the 'realities' which a teacher has to contend with."¹⁸⁶

One imperative reality is that world and non-european history must not be represented as in opposition to or necessitating the exclusion of either local, national or european history in our schools,¹⁸⁷ or as aspiring to undermine genuine and open-minded patriotism. Such attitudes would court disaster. That a reduction of emphasis on the national story is essential has been a central argument of this study. Others concur.¹⁸⁸ It is not easy for schools to justify sending young persons into the world who have spent their sixth form history time working on the history of british sanitary legislation before 1911.¹⁸⁹ But as virtually all major world history advocates, including Wells (1921) Lauwerys (1953) Hill (1953) Dance (1970) and Henderson (1968,1972,1979) have insisted, the immediate, the local/environmental and the national must all be accepted as essential features of any world history course.¹⁹⁰

Chapter Ten: The teaching of chinese history in schools: topics and resources.

Irrespective of all other considerations it is obvious that anyone attempting to develop courses subject to the previously suggested parameters must differ sharply both in knowledge base and attitude from the traditional university or college trained teacher. Thus, pending modification of university degree and teacher-training course contents, in-service provision and the professional and academic history journals, world-history teachers must of necessity pursue self-education initiatives.¹ Support will certainly continue from such as SOAS, ILEA and the CEWC. Nonetheless, for most teachers any plan of personal development will be largely self-directed. Sensible, limited but sensitively selected reading guidance for teachers with little previous training in or knowledge of broader historical perspectives and which could be pursued at an individual pace, taking into account time availability and what is possible and appropriate in respect of their own schools and pupils, is required. Such a programme is expanded in the following pages, but giving specific attention to chinese history and culture as a paradigm.* The programme is detailed, but it is not suggested that a practising history teacher would have time, inclination or necessity to look at other than a small minority of what is suggested. Material subsequent to this point represents a layman's guide to the range of academic histories, textual studies, monographs and articles on China which could be comprehended with little difficulty by the average teacher, plus an evaluation of books and other materials for use in schools.

In respect of world history, only limited suggestions are possible. World studies in general should initially be approached through Heater's important monograph (1980). Fradier (1959) Henderson (1968) and Roberts (1970) would also repay study. Handbooks by Richardson (1979) Fisher and Hicks (1981) and

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Book titles are given only in annotations. As a guide to manageability, the number of pages is given in most cases.

Richardson, Flood and Fisher (N.D.) give practical guidance.^{2*}

History's role in a 'world' scheme is best approached through Henderson (1979). The Hill and Lauwerys Unesco booklets (1953) and the DES pamphlet (1967) are still worth looking at.³ More sophisticated brief discussions were essayed by Barraclough (1956, 1962) Butterfield (1971) and McNeill (1971). Pulleyblank's inaugural lecture (1955) is essential reading, as is McNeill's Prothero lecture (1982) whilst Toynbee's Reith lectures (1953) offered a world-historical vision even today all too rare.⁴

The teacher could then begin to put flesh on his shaping ideas. Grousset's survey (1951) displays human understanding on a world scale, besides scholarship reflecting close familiarity with the indigenous sources, and in particular those of China. Equally important to developed understanding of both the world and Chinese history arguments is Dance's study (1971) which should be read by any history teacher as well for its historical content as for its general theme.⁵

A teacher wishing to continue reading at a fairly simple level but focusing on particular aspects of world history faces a wide range of possible titles. For early world history, for instance, the 10-volume series 'The emergence of Man', such as Leonard's (1974) study of early agriculture, Knauth's (1974) of metal development or Hamblin's (1973) of urbanisation, is admirably produced, scholarly yet with an easy text. More detailed, yet still well within the non-specialist compass, is Hodges' study of early technology (1970) ranging from China to Ecuador. Simple introductions to recent world history (many written for upper secondary classes) are even more numerous. Examples include Jamieson's study of modern world leaders (1970) and Major's or Wood's well-balanced contemporary histories (1970, 1976).⁶ The knowledge-base thus acquired could be enlarged upon by working through one of the major world history studies available. McNeill's detailed, readable thesis (1963) that human civilisation, originating in four major world areas, had culminated

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Though the teacher should note the strong contemporary emphasis, the playing-down of history and the idealistic/political thrust in Fisher and Hicks (pp.17,18). (See also Fisher's Ideas into action, N.D., 16-21).

in the possibility of a "world-wide cosmopolitanism" which would "surely bear a western imprint", so that "at least in its initial stages any world state will be an empire of the West", is one. Another is his briefer world history (1971) which interweaves geographical, technological, cultural and political detail, and includes four invaluable bibliographical essays. A third is Roberts' monumental yet breathless narrative (1976) which avoids eurocentrism, highlights cultural pluralism and is much more than a mere aggregate of national histories. A fourth is Toynbee and Caplan's abridgement (1972) of the Study of History, eruditely yet lucidly communicating Toynbee's imperishable optimism. The most manageable, however, concise and detailed yet never dense, and imparting a truly global view of history whilst giving substantial attention to major civilisations such as China, is Stavrianos' abridgement (1971) of his earlier two-volume world history.⁷

One or more of the above should be permanently available for teacher-reference. Other major reference works include Toynbee's 82 - chapter narrative outline (1976); encyclopaedic chronologies by Langer (1968) and Williams (1975); volume 12 of the Cambridge Modern History (1968); the seven-volume, 3,000-page Purnell 20th century history with its 5,000 illustrations; Grun's chronology of world political, social, cultural and scientific/technological events since 5,000 B.C., and Unesco publications such as Hawkes' closely detailed prehistory (1963) or Ware, Panikkar and Romein's effectively sectionalised history of scientific and technological change in the 20th century (1966).^{8*}

Teachers wishing to proceed further could tackle such as Campbell's study of oriental and occidental visions of the divine, with its central messages of rich cultural diversity, diffusion, and communality of human heritage (1962,1965).⁹

Even for general preparatory studies, however, access to source-collections affording global views is essential. Teachers are unlikely to find a better balanced selection than Stavrianos' (1970) 264 extracts, with substantial coverage, besides Europe and the USA, of the USSR, China, India, Hispanic America, Africa and Islam, and

* Despite its inconvenient lack of an index.

extending from earliest to recent times. Fenton's (1969) is another useful collection, though more limited in number (51) and in scope (insufficient on the non-european world).^{*} Breach's selection (1966) of easy 20th-century history extracts is useful. More specialised, but invaluable for 'modern world' examination teaching, is Grenville's (1974) annotated selection of 423 international treaties since 1914.¹⁰

A good set of maps, such as in The Times world atlas (1968) is also essential. The best world-historical atlas is Westermann's (1956)^{**}. McNeill, Burke and Roehm's atlas (1963) which parallels their important wall-maps, strongly emphasises world perspectives (there are only 19 maps of Europe, and only one of North America) and contains a valuable calendar of 625 world events from earliest times.^{***} Other world-historical atlases are Shepherd's (9th.edn.rev.,1974) Penguin's (1974) Carpenters' (1979) Philips' (1981) and Catchpole's secondary school world atlas (3rd. edn., 1982).¹¹

To suggest reading into individual countries' histories, other than China, would go beyond present purposes. Bibliographies and guides for teachers abound.¹² Apart from famous definitive works such as those by Arnold and Guillaume (1931) Basham (1967) and Lewis (1970) and outstanding pictorial studies by Beny (1975) Hayes (1975) Lewis (1976) and others, the teacher searching for scholarly yet lucid books with strong emphasis on cultural content would be best served by Hutchinsons' multi-volume 'History of human society', written by such as Boxer, Chen, Dawson, Fage and Hawkes.¹³ Such reading should be reinforced from more advanced documentary collections such as McNeill and Sedlar's 10 volumes (1968-on); and by even more specific scholarly works such as de Bary's selection from early indian, japanese and chinese texts (1958,1958,1960).¹⁴

* The editor a prominent 'New Historian'.

** In German.

*** Open to criticism for scant treatment of China. Only 40 of the 625 world events refer to chinese history (pp. 85-91) and there is no map of China per se, though she is shown on 23 world maps.

With regard to China, however, it is considered appropriate to suggest in detail approaches to self-education which might be followed by an interested teacher or lecturer with little previous knowledge. Such a person might begin with easy reading from western sources about chinese people and both traditional and modern chinese life. Hersey's (1956) story of chinese river-folk and his recollections of a trip along the Yangtse in the 1920s is a readable brief introduction, replete with sympathetic portraiture, too often absent from western literature on China, of "incredibly brave", tough, mercurial, humorous, "dominant, confident" men, their "universal funny talk" yet "disconcerting wisdom", against whose simple culture Hersey "began to suffer from ridiculous feelings of inferiority".¹⁵

An even better introduction is offered by chinese sources. Easy books on traditional chinese life, all with strong human interest, include the recollections of Yan Phou Lee (1922) Princess Ling (1924) Lin Yutang (1938) Hsieh Ping-ying (1943) Chiang Yee (1946) and Ning Lao Tai Tai (1967).¹⁶

Fiction is also a useful entry-point. Novels by sympathetic westerners such as Malraux or Buck and native authors such as Lin Yutang and Lao She, or the combination of western and eastern understandings offered by Han Suyin offer immediacy, that spirit of common humanity which history textbooks so often lack, and insight into historical problems and events.¹⁷

For specifically historical material, there is a wide field of choice. In 1954 Needham listed 998 books and articles relevant to a study of chinese technological culture in western languages, including numerous translations direct from chinese primary sources. Of those, 602 were in English, many readable by non-specialists.¹⁸ That number has greatly increased in recent years.

Simple overviews are obtainable from Purcell's pamphlet (1962) Latourette's brief outline (1964) and the introduction to Dawson's important cultural study (1978). Stokes (1975) clearly sets post-1949 China against its historical background. One work demanding early reading is Fitzgerald's brief assessment (1964) of the chinese world-view, with its laconic reminder that the Chinese "were not conscious of living at the ends of the earth, they even presumed to imagine that they lived at the centre". Similar insights may be obtained from Franke's study from original sources of the chinese view of the West (1967). Easy outlines are also given in Needham's

(1954) two historical chapters, Hucker's critical bibliography (1962) and the world-history books by McNeill (1963,1971) Dance (1971) and Roberts (1976).¹⁹

From the numerous more detailed books available, the most readable basic historical outline is given by Kublin (1972).^{*} The easiest one-volume summary of chinese scientific and technological history is by Cotterell and Morgan (1975). Owing much to Needham, but written for non-specialists, it contains effective treatments of Han, Sung and Ming China, brings out the influence of the past on modern China, and clearly demonstrates her world-historical importance in comparative chronological tables. The best non-specialist introductions to chinese high culture and arts in a dynastic framework are Gascoigne's fully illustrated survey (1973) which brims with interesting detail^{**} and often humorous anecdotes which teachers could adapt for use with children of all ages, with repeated reference to chinese sources; and Smith and Weng's impressive volume (1973) in which frequent quotations from chinese literature and 292 colour photographs blend into a lively historical narrative. The chronologies, paralleling political and cultural progress, are especially useful. The best biographical introduction is Martin and Shui's lively study (1972) of 18 personages from Confucius to Mao, but including such as Tu Fu and Li Shih-chen. A central purpose of the book, which is rich in originally-translated chinese source-excerpts, and contains a valuable cross-referenced index to customs and ideas, is to help promote East-West understandings of common humanity and shared cultural heritage. The clearest socio-economic outlines are found in geographical studies by Tregear (1965,1980) and Buchanan (1970). An invaluable general reference book for teachers, with brief historical accounts and biographies of political and cultural figures, is Dillon (1979).²⁰

A number of other books, more detailed in scholarship yet reasonably easy to work through, all with strong cultural focus, suggest themselves as further reading for the non-specialist. Some earlier works, including Giles' outline (1911) Wilhelm's short

* Six parallel books cover all other main world areas outside Europe. (They could also be read by older pupils).

** Though incorrectly dating Marco Polo's return home (p.171).

history (1929) and Fitzgerald's famous cultural study (1935) are still worth attention. Latourette (1949) was written for non-specialists, surveys all cultural aspects as well as political, and clearly shows China's importance to east asian and world history. Grousset's breathless narrative (1952) is rich in human detail and closely based on chinese sources.* Goodrich's outline (1957)** though scholarly and detailed has several valuable features for the early reader and stresses the importance of chinese technology. Eberhard (1960) similarly reflects sophisticated scholarship yet is readable by non-sinologists. Its particular strength is the development of early north chinese culture. Eichorn (1969) gives clear source-based explanations of chinese art, music, literature, religion and ethics, and an interesting account of Sung city life. Li (1971) sets recent China in full historical perspective. Rodzinski's two volumes (1979, 1982) offer a narrative with strong biographical emphasis. The most suitable general introduction for non-specialists, however, is Dawson's vivid political narrative (1972) which may be complemented by the same author's readable source-based survey (1978) of the development of traditional China's administrative, socio-economic, philosophical and aesthetic achievement.²¹

Introductory reading should be reinforced from an elementary source-collection, such as the 149 extracts given by Meyer and Allen (1970) the 34 in Gittings (1973) or the 32 on China in Stavrianos' world history collection (1970).²²

It should also be illuminated by historical maps such as in Catchpole (1976) or the famous set of over 60 maps, prehistoric to modern times, in Herrmann (1966, 1935).²³

Moreover, some reading into chinese physical and economic geography would seem essential. Clear outlines are given by Buchanan (1966, 1970) and Tregear (1965, 1973, 1980). Cressey (1955) though out of date, as its title indicates, is still the most readable introduction to chinese social and economic geography. Tuan (1970) is a clear introduction to historical geography. Good maps may be

* Sketchy treatment of Ming and Manchu periods.

** "The best narrative history of China in English". (W.H. McNeill, A world history, 1971, 285)

found in Fullard's (1968) or Geelaw and Twitchett's (1974) collections.²⁴

Consideration of chinese geography brings home the need to understand chinese history in east asian perspective. Important usable studies include Latourette's sectionalised history of east asian socio-cultural features (1947) Watson's study of early China in regional setting (1971) and Schirokauer's account (1978) of chinese and japanese civilisations, particularly strong in its treatment of philosophy, art and literature. The monumental and definitive works by Reischauer, Fairbank and Craig (1960,1965,1973) which, reflecting a distillation of recent oriental and occidental research, relate the histories of China, Japan and Korea from pre-history to modern times, are indispensable.²⁵

After reading a selection of the books mentioned, many teachers might then feel able to begin reading around specific topics to be taught.²⁶ Others might seek a more interpretive and critical reading programme. The range is extensive. A good beginning could be Kolb's (1971) historical chapter. More advanced understanding of the evolution of chinese social forms could be gleaned from Wiethoff (1975) and of cultural continuity and change from Stover (1976). Insight into various cultural facets is offered by Liu and Tu's collection (1970) of 17 extracts from chinese and western scholars and from Meskill's more lengthy symposium (1973). More advanced analyses of traditional chinese government, with suggestions of traditional-contemporary associations, are found in a chapter by de Bary (1957); Houn's difficult scrutiny (1965) of attitudes to monarchy, the unitary state and intellectual eclecticism; Menzel's extracts (1966) on the historical influence of the civil service; the extracts on chinese bureaucracy, administration and government in Liu's compendium (1974); and Dawson's (1978) chapters on the imperial government and mandarin state. Chi Ch'ao-ting's thesis (1936) on the importance of economic factors in chinese history, particularly water-control and water-transport systems, is still worth reading. Deeper understanding of China's foreign attitudes and policies could be derived from Lattimore's study (1951) of the importance of the northern frontier; Teng and Fairbank's picture (1954) of the scholar-class's attempt to come to terms with the West whilst preserving traditional culture and institutions; and detailed analyses by Fairbank and Schwarz (1968) the latter particularly

setting the Chinese in broader world perspective. Closer insight into the problems of periodisation could be derived from Meskill (1965).²⁷

Such second-stage historical interpretation demands use of fuller or more specific documentary collections such as Bodde's material (1957) on chinese philosophy, religion, society and families; Schurmann and Schell's volumes (1963); Pélissier's extracts from the best chinese and western sources since Macartney; Hsü's collection (1971) of post-1600 materials^{*}; McNeill and Sedlar's two volumes (1970, 1972) on ethics, politics, history, religion and society in the classical and middle periods;^{**} and Ebrey's recent selection (1981).²⁸

More advanced reading demands clearer understanding of the chinese historiographical tradition. A broad perspective is obtained from Swingle (1921) Dubs (1946) Dawson (1952) Feuerwerker (1961) and Butterfield (1962). Gardner's study (1938) is more detailed yet still within non-specialist scope. Most important, however, is Beasley and Pulleyblank's collection (1961) of essays by various scholars, particularly its treatment of the Han and Sung historical traditions, which are no less clearly evaluated by de Bary (1960).²⁹

If the study of cultural history is to be pursued, a further reading programme must also apprise the teacher of the development, cultural role and basic pronunciation of the chinese language.³⁰ Illuminating general introductions are offered by Yuen Ren Chao (1948) and Needham (1954). The latter gives a useful basic guide to pronunciation.³¹

The further reading programme should also include at least an introductory survey of the chinese visual and literary arts; and, of fundamental importance, chinese philosophy.

For study of the visual arts, Dawson (1972) offers a clear, brief introduction. Sullivan (1973) advances the best slightly fuller survey for non-specialists. Paying close attention to indigenous sources and taking into account both literary and philosophical movements, it sets the artistic tradition in clear historical framework. Swann's study of interrelationships in east

* Complementing his Rise of Modern China, 1970.

** The latter includes indian and japanese sources.

asian arts (1963) Hay's descriptions (1974) of chinese artwork and Tregear's survey (1980) from pre-history to 1977 are all suitable for non-specialists. Sickman and Soper's study (1956) is especially good on the Han, T'ang and Sung, is full of vivid human detail, pays attention to architecture, literature and philosophy, and includes historical narrative. Its 190 pages of plates comprise a splendid source for teachers. Willetts (1958) though less easily read by non-specialists similarly covers all aspects of art and architecture, carries the story into the 20th century, and brings out the connection between art and society. The best reference work is Watson's definitive survey (1981). Covering neolithic times to the early 20th century, with 981 illustrations, it sets the aesthetic in clear historical context. The three volumes in the Phaidon series (1980-81) are equally impressive, yielding a wealth of social and technological detail, and with over 600 plates. Chapman and Pratt's three filmstrips on the arts of China (1975) could be used in support of the reading programme.³²

Books on more specific aspects of the chinese arts might also be read with profit by history teachers. For chinese ceramics, Medley's study (1980) sets developments in clear historical perspective, with a wealth of socio-economic detail and 223 photographs. White's pictorial outline (1977) and Macintosh's monograph on Ming to Manchu porcelain both give historical background. Some books, however, such as those by Honey (1945) Garner (1954) and Sayer (1951) are probably too specialised.³³ Watson (1962) gives close technical detail on 15th to first century B.C. bronzes, with 104 plates.³⁴ For chinese painting, there are several easy introductions in the historical or cultural setting, especially those by Swann (1958) Cahill (1960) Jenyns (1966) and Cohn (1978). Loehr (1980) describes most of the great paintings since Han times, though with skimpy historical background. Nor need non-specialists be deterred by the monumental character of Siren's work (1956) which is readable and gives information not only on paintings and styles, but on the lives of painters and on chinese social history.^{*35} For the relationship between philosophy and painting, teachers could attempt Rowley's complex monograph (1959) on chinese painting as representative of religious and political ideas, Lin Yutang's translations (1967) from

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Two of the seven volumes are plates.

artists and critics, Sze's difficult study from a 17th century source (1959) of the influence on painting of beliefs in harmony in nature, Coleman's translation (1978) of Shih T'ao's Treatise on philosophy of painting (Hua P'u) which applied Taoism to aesthetics, and Cahill's (1960) on the influence of Confucianism on painting and the consequent relationship between art and the literati.³⁶

Even more important to the history teacher is Chinese literature, not only for its intrinsic appeal, that it is a vehicle for philosophical thought, or even that it is a repository of vivid historical detail, so that in its texts "the whole of (Chinese) history comes to life with a kind of timeless immediacy", but also because the concept 'literature' (wen) denotes to Chinese "nothing less than the totality of civilisation". Chinese literature may thus be regarded as "one of the great unifying forces of Chinese history".³⁷

For teachers with no previous knowledge of Chinese literature, any one of several brief introductions could be read.³⁸ Liu's evaluation (1966) of all aspects of Chinese writings against their historical background should then be studied. The book gives substantial socio-cultural detail, makes full use of extracts and contains brief biographies of the main literary figures. More dated, but still worth reading,^{*} and brimming with extracts, is Giles' outline (1958, first published 1901) which sets the literature against its social background. Giles' anthology (1884) of literary and philosophical excerpts is useful for reference, though Birch's more recent collection (1967) of poetical, prose fiction and historical excerpts carries more appeal for the non-specialist.³⁹

Specific aspects of Chinese literature exceed the competence of the writer, but a range of introductory readings from which non-specialists could draw according to need is tentatively suggested.

Easy introductions to Chinese poetry are given by Davis (1962) and Hsü (1964).⁴⁰ Of the poetry itself, much is available in easily-read translations.^{**} The best-known are by Waley (1918-1955)

* Despite Pulleyblank's criticism of Giles' work. (E.G. Pulleyblank, Chinese history and world history, 1955, 3)

** Though as Bassnett-McGuire has shown, all poetic art is technically untranslatable. (S. Bassnett-McGuire, Translation studies, 1980). (See also F. Ayscough, Travels of a Chinese poet, v.2., 1934, 12)

including 290 songs from the Chou period Shih Ching. A distillation of some of the best of his translations (1946) comprises a useful basic source for non-specialists.⁴¹ However, several other scholars including Cranmer-Byng (1909,1916) and Kotewall and Smith (1962) have published no less readable collections.⁴²

Particular attention has been given to T'ang poetry. Waley translated 111 poems by Po Chü-i in his first two volumes (1918,1919). Po Chü-i's work gives valuable detail on life in T'ang China, especially the domestic life of the scholar-gentry, and Waley's biographical studies (1918,1949) could be read with profit by history teachers.⁴³ The work of several other major T'ang poets is also available. Graham's (1965) modern English idiomatic translations are particularly readable.* Poems by Tu Fu (Ayscough, 1929,1934) and Li Ho (Frodsham 1970) contain rich social detail.⁴⁴

A good deal of Sung period poetry is also available. Lin Yutang's biography of Su Tung-po (1948) could be read by non-specialists for detail on medieval China, as could Watson's clear historical introduction and translation of 86 poems by Su Tung-po (1965). Translations from several other Sung poets have also been published. The best collection of Yüan period poetry is by Yang and Metzger (1967).^{**45}

Nor is Chinese drama beyond the grasp of the non-specialist seeking enriched historical understanding. Several of the 171 extant Mongol period plays have been translated. Wang Shih-fu's Romance of the western chamber and Kao Ming's The lute are available in fluent English versions by Hsiung (1968)^{***} and Mulligan (1980).^{****} Both are rich in social detail and could be adapted for secondary children.^{*****} Li's translation (1972) of six Mongol period plays, especially Chi Chün-hsiang's Orphan of Chao, would also repay study. The critical introduction is particularly useful.⁴⁶

* One of the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

** One of the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

*** One of the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

**** The first full translation, though the play inspired a Broadway musical, Lute Song, in 1946.

***** * With suggestive passages excised: see Romance of the Western Chamber, pp. 154,174. (Already toned down by the translator).

Chinese prose fiction is of even greater value to enriched historical understanding. Buck's introduction (1939) is worth reading.⁴⁷ One important genre is the novella. Frequently embracing themes such as war, feuds, heroism, vassalage, morality and social criticism and depicting the lives of common folk - peasants, woodcutters, tradesmen and soldiers-they offer a wealth of potential teaching material, as witnessed by Bauer and Franke's anthology (1967) of 46 from the third century B.C. to the 18th century. Full of wit, action and social realism, they afford a graphically detailed introduction to the chinese past which could also be read by secondary children.* Several other short story collections are available, especially Birch's translation (1958)** of seven from the Ming period.⁴⁸

The long novel became important in the Ming and early Manchu periods, however, as detailed by Hegel's major study (1981). Several are available in English, all readable by non-specialists and offering valuable historical insight. They include Shih Nai-an's The water margin,*** in Buck's 1270-page awkwardly written All men are Brothers (1933); Wu Ch'êng-ên's Journey to the West (whose hero's magic ear-pin, which becomes a cudgel, inspired Red Guards in 1966) which Waley translated as Monkey (1942); Wu Ching-tzu's satirical The Scholars "a treasure house for the social historian", in a lively rendition by Yang and Yang (1973); and Ts'ao Hsüeh-ch'ên's The dream of the red chamber, containing microscopic detail on Manchu family life, available in versions by Wang (1970) and Hawkes (1973-on).⁴⁹

With regard to 20th. century China, teachers could draw valuable personal understanding and lesson enrichment from the chinese literature. For modern poetry, Hsu's biographies of 44 leading poets and translations of 357 poems (1964) is informative.⁵⁰ In prose fiction, Isaacs' collection of 25 short stories, including five by Lu Hsun, is not difficult (1974). Nor is Jenner and Yang's anthology

* Some eroticism, e.g. 'The emperor and the two sisters', pp.53-66, would need expurgation.

** Another in the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

*** Or Men of the Marshes.

of 20 (1970) including work by Lu Hsün and Lao She,^{*} whose historical as well as literary importance emerges clearly from Vohra's monograph (1974). Several versions of his exposee of Happy Boy's experience of the rottenness of life for the masses of republican Peking have been published. Lu Hsün's^{**} writings give equally vivid detail on life and attitudes between the wars. 'Father's illness', for instance, paints a revealing vignette of social customs in the 1920s and 'Silent China' gives insight into the ideas-ferment of the time. Certainly, any teacher of chinese history should be familiar with Lu Hsün's short stories, especially Ah Q, Diary of a madman, and A hermit at large. Invaluable historical insight may also be drawn from writings by such as Lin Yutang, Pa Chin and Liu T'ieh-yün.⁵¹

Above all else, however, development of a culturally-oriented world history programme with substantial chinese content demands at least an introductory acquaintance with chinese philosophy, which has closely influenced institutional forms, and both high and popular culture, since the earliest times.⁵² Moreover, being primarily concerned with this world, it is rich in historical detail.^{***} Thus its difficulties should not be overstressed. It comes across as powerfully concrete. Gascoigne (1973) observed that to read its early texts "is to experience that same thrill of recognition that one gets from the cultures of Greece and Rome but from very few others at that distance in time ... Confucius and his contemporaries ... seem incomparably much closer to ourselves than ... the ancient Egyptians".⁵³

* Shu Ching-chün.

** Lusin, Chou Shu-jen.

*** c.400 B.C., for instance, we read in Mo Tzu: "Rulers and ministers must appear at court early and retire late, hearing lawsuits and attending to affairs of government ... Gentlemen must employ to the fullest the wisdom of their minds, directing bureaux within the government and abroad, collecting taxes on the barriers and markets so that the granaries and treasuries will be full ... Farmers must leave home early and return late, sowing seed, planting trees, and gathering large crops of vegetables and grain ... Women must rise early and go to bed late, spinning, weaving, producing large quantities of hemp, silk and other fibres, and preparing cloth ...". (Mo Tzu, tr. B. Watson, Basic writings, 1963, 114).

Several reasonably simple brief outlines are available. Those by Grousset (1952) Hucker (1962) Treadgold (1973) and Price (1975) are recommended. Bodde's account (1938) of a Han administrator's philosophical background gives valuable insight. Interested teachers could then read Fung's short history (1948) from earliest times to the 20th. century.* Fung's analysis (1947) of the spirit of chinese philosophy is less easy, but clearly brings out its synthesis of the idealistic and realistic, the sublime and the common.⁵⁴

Reading to that point could be supported by reference to textual extracts such as are found in Hughes' (1942) and de Bary's (1964) translations. Naumann's summaries of the ideas of 57 chinese philosophers (and 96 other Asians from Zoroaster to Gyatsu) is also useful.⁵⁵

More advanced reading could include Bodde's brief analysis (1953) Schwartz's attempt to put chinese intellectual history in world perspective and in relation to western thought (1957) and other chapters in the symposia edited by Wright (1953) and Fairbank (1957). The latter, particularly Yang's essay on philosophical and social attitudes centred upon reciprocity (Pao) importantly highlights the weaving of intellectual threads into the socio-political fabric. Nakamura (1968) and Scharfstein (1978) are difficult but illuminating; Scharfstein effectively contrasting chinese philosophy with that of Islam, India and the West.⁵⁶

For teachers prepared to read more specifically into the subject, a rich store of resources awaits. If the earlier period is taken as an example, initial reading might include summaries by Waley (1934) Campbell (1962) or Hsiao (1979). Slightly longer analyses readable by non-specialists include Liang's history to 200 B.C. (1930)** Waley's study of three early philosophical traditions (1939) and Rubin's scrutiny (1976) of four early strands in historical perspective.⁵⁷

* Not to be confused with Fung's more specialised History of chinese philosophy, (2 vols, 1952, 1238pp) from which the short history has been compressed and which is not suitable for the layman.

** Unfortunately devoid of historical background.

Studies and translations of particular philosophical traditions readable with small difficulty by history teachers are numerous. The earliest extant philosophical text,^{*} the I-ching (Book of Changes) is probably best avoided, though clear enough translations are available.⁵⁸ Taoism's "visionary dream-world" cannot be neglected,⁵⁹ however. Nor is it short of books. There are 700 Chinese commentaries on the Tao-tê ching, and 40 English editions, especially those by Waley (1934)^{**} and Lau (1963).⁶⁰ In addition, there are several readable editions of Chuang Tzu's 33 surviving chapters and skilful distillations by Waley (1939) and Wu (1963).⁶¹ Other useful studies of taoist philosophy have come from Hsiao (1979) and Da Liu (1981) who has focused on its historical influence upon chinese life and culture.⁶²

For the history teacher wishing to look further into Confucianism - as he surely must - there are several readable renderings of the analects. Best known is Waley's (1938) with especially lucid conceptual analysis and explanatory historical notes, though there is an important recent translation by Lau (1979).⁶³ The best life of Confucius is still Wilhelm's (1931) distillation from Ssu-ma Ch'ien, with critical attention to the sources, and a summary of the teachings. Creel (1949) and Smith (1973) have analysed the historical consequences of Confucianism, though too much should not be read into Creel's view of Confucius as a "forerunner of democracy". Dawson (1981) has clearly set the philosophy against its historical and cultural background and has shown its significance to chinese history. Important articles by Hsieh (1968) and by Mei (1968) have shown Confucianism's influence on chinese thinking on the individual.⁶⁴ With regard to other confucian thinkers, there is again ample material readable by non-specialists. Dobson's translation of Meng Tzu (1963)^{***} gives useful historical detail, whilst Dubs' scrutiny of Hsün Tzu (1927) is too detailed for the layman, but contains a valuable Life.⁶⁵ More closely detailed analyses of Confucianism and its historical influence offer difficult reading for the non-specialist and are probably best avoided.⁶⁶

* Really a manual of prophecy.

** Subsequently included in the Unesco 'Collection of Representative Works'.

*** Another in the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

Nor have other major philosophical traditions such as Mohism and Legalism been neglected. Watson's translation of Mo Tzu (1963) gives a variety of social and political details. Duyvendak's translation (1928) of the Book of Lord Shang (Shang Chün Shu) gives the text, itself packed with interesting social detail usable with children, plus an important 130-page historical background study. The easiest version of Han Fei Tzu is by Watson (1964). Liao's (1959)^{*} is not easy, but brims with historical detail and includes an illuminating translation of the philosopher's memorials to Shih Huang-ti.⁶⁷

Other periods of philosophy have received less attention from scholars. Nonetheless, studies could be essayed. To cite the important medieval philosopher Chu Hsi as an example, teachers could read, despite its difficulty, Bruce's translation (1922) of seven chapters of his Collected Works (Chu-tzu ch'üan s'u) the same author's study (1923) of the neo-confucian school, and the more recent appraisal by de Bary (1953).⁶⁸

For the more spiritual aspects of chinese thought, the introductions by Latourette (1929) and Yang (1957) are readable by non-specialists, as is Chan's article (1968) on the role of the individual in chinese religion. Thompson (1973) covers both public and family religion since the Shang and is essentially a collection of source-extracts. Granet's analysis (1975) though closely detailed could also be drawn upon.⁶⁹ With specific regard to chinese Buddhism, "one of the great themes in the history of civilisations",⁷⁰ after reading a simple summary⁷¹ the teacher could progress to Wright's readable monograph (1959) which makes rich use of source material, or Ch'en's survey (1964). De Bary's substantial translations of buddhist texts (1964) would be important to use in that context. Ch'en's historical study (1973) gives much detail on chinese ethics, politics, economics, literature and society and should be part of any second-stage reading programme for the history teacher.⁷²

The teacher giving time to look at even a small selection of the titles hitherto suggested would equip himself for reasonably informed

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Another in the Unesco Collection of Representative Works.

teaching, using indigenous and western sources and focusing strongly upon cultural patterns, on diverse aspects of chinese history from earliest times to the present. A selection of books, articles and textual materials which could be drawn upon in preparing and teaching such aspects, will now be considered.

One approach to chinese history in schools could be through a dynastic or periodical framework. For the first such period, from earliest times to the Chou, several introductory outlines could be recommended, especially those by Hay (1973) and Fitzgerald (1978).⁷³ Gernet (1968) gives a lucid brief outline, strongly stressing sources. Fuller studies by Creel (1936) and Granet (1930) are still worth reading, the latter strong on social life in ancient China. More difficult analyses by Grousset (1934) Levenson and Schurmann, with its close attention to sources (1969), and Ho (1975), the latter setting early China in east asian perspective, could also be read by non-specialists. Documentary materials for New History teaching could be drawn from Steele's translation (1917,1966) of the Book of Etiquette (I-li) with its wealth of detail on formal visiting, archery, banquets, weddings, costume, hair-styles, food, manners, deaths, entertainments and instruments. Cheng Te-k'un's volumes (1959-63) on the archaeology of the period could also be consulted, though possibly too specialised.⁷⁴

Alternatively, the period could be broken down into separate studies of prehistoric, Shang and Chou China. For prehistoric China, simple brief sketches are readily available.⁷⁵ Andersson's detailed studies (1934,1943) and Hawkes' major book (1963) are within the non-specialist's compass: Karlgren, on the other hand (1946) is too specialised.⁷⁶ For the archaeology of Shang Anyang, Li Chi (1957) offers a readable introduction. More details on all aspects of social life are found in Creel (1936). The same author's more specialised study (1938) could also be used.⁷⁷ On Shang art, artefacts and architecture, several modern summaries offer easy reading.⁷⁸ Useful introductions to the Chou period are given by Eberhard (1960) Lattimore (1951) and, more fully detailed, by Creel (1936). Hirth (1908) is obsolete in respect of the Shang, but its treatment of the Chou, readable though largely document-based, and critical of the sources' historicity, is still useful to the non-specialist for whom it was written. A vivid impression of the period is obtained from Dolby and Scott's earthy translation (1974)

of 15 of Ssu-ma Chien's biographies of Chou warlords.⁷⁹ There are also several easy summaries of Chou art, especially Rawson's (1980.)⁸⁰ Creel's study of early Chou statecraft (1970) and Soothill's analysis of Chou political sources (1951) are unsuitable.⁸¹

On the second great phase of Chinese history, the period of the Ch'in and Han, contemporaneous with later republican and early imperial Rome,^{*} there is ample material. Besides numerous brief sketches,⁸² three books in particular could attract non-specialists. Capon and Macquitty's study (1973) of Han archaeological discoveries, spectacularly illustrated with 142 photographs, gives clear understanding of the politics, court, everyday life, foreign policies, culture and historical legacy of the period.^{**} Cottrell's vividly detailed account of the Ch'in (1962) and Loewe's portrait of Han life from the written and archaeological evidence (1968) could also be read without difficulty.⁸³

More specialised reading might begin with Levenson and Schurmann's analysis (1969). Bielenstein's source-based monograph (1980) interestingly details topics ranging from central and local government salaries to harem ladies, though possibly too specialised for teacher-use. Eberhard (1957) explains links between astrology, the calendar, and governmental practices. Economic history is scrutinised in Loewe's difficult study (1974). North-western expansionism and the importance of trade are clearly explained in Yü's book (1967) which draws upon archaeological evidence and gives abundant detail on Han society and politics, and the cross-influences between the Chinese and their neighbours.⁸⁴ On Han art, highly specialised studies by such as Laufer (1962) and Sullivan (1967) are best avoided, but Grousset's survey (1934) gives clear historical insight.⁸⁵ Studies of Han religion and philosophy are also available.⁸⁶

* The period could be studied in parallel with Rome, and perhaps work on Mauryan India from Chandragupta to Asoka (321-36 B.C.).

** The authors fail to give the source of any contemporary quotations (mostly from the Han Shu). They also incorrectly locate the poet Chü Yüan (d. 277 B.C.) in the Han period. (pp. 169-70).

Of especial value to teachers, however, is the scholarship which has been applied to the great Han period histories, the Shih Chi and Han Shu. Bodde's (1938) important study includes a translation of the Shih Chi's account of the Ch'in reign and the life of Li Ssu. Watson's translation of Shi Chi passages (1961) is no less important. Watson has also (1974) rendered parts of the Han Shu's biographical section into vivid English. Dubs' version of the Han Shu (1938-55) is less difficult and briefer than at first sight. Swann (1950) has translated two chapters from the Han Shu and one from the Shih Chi focusing on the social and economic life of Han China and before.⁸⁷

In addition, important translations of 21 chapters covering Han and immediately post-Han China from the 11th-century Tzu-chih tung-chien have been published by Crespigny (1969) and Fang (1965).⁸⁸

All the above translations are full of historical detail,^{*} and easily readable by non-specialists.^{**} Collectively they comprise an unrivalled primary source-bank around which richly rewarding work with children could be organised.

The third phase which might be studied,^{***} extending through the Sui, T'ang and Sung periods, has enjoyed a great deal of specialist

* Emperor Hsiao-ch'eng, 13 B.C., on his courtiers: "Extravagant and prodigal, loving repose and pleasure, taking care to enlarge their dwellings and residences, building gardens and ponds, maintaining an excessive number of male and female slaves ... Wearing flowered silks and gauzes ... We have not heard of any who cultivate their personalities in obedience to the rules of proper conduct". The Huns' civil war: "Flocks and herds have been largely destroyed ... and their peoples are so hungry and starving that they roast and broil each other in seeking for food". The killing of Wang Mang: "The men of the army cut Wang Mang's body to pieces. His members and his flesh and bones were sliced and divided. Those who killed each other in the struggle to secure parts of (his) body numbered several tens ... (His) head was hung up in the market-place ... some cut out and ate his tongue". (Pan Ku, tr. H.H. Dubs, History of the Former Han 1938-55, vol. 2, 409; vol. 2, 251; vol. 3, 466-7).

** Though Chinese characters make the Bodde and Fang texts hard on the eye.

*** Perhaps in parallel with Gupta India (320-535 A.D.) a period not only when Buddhism spread to China but was also the great age of Sanskrit; the Abbasid Empire (744-1258 A.D.) with its fusion of Greek, Indian and Persian traditions; or Carolingian Europe and Anglo-Saxon Britain.

attention. Several of the resultant publications, nevertheless, could be comprehended by interested generalists.

Reading might begin with volume three of the Cambridge History of China (1979) but a less specialised introduction would be advisable. Introductory glimpses of the Sui and T'ang respectively are given by Fryer (1975) and Medley (1955); and more specifically of high cultural splendour by McNeill (1963) and the Schools Council (1972). Reischauer's brief vignette of ninth century China (1955) could also be read. Slightly more detailed but clear introductions are given by Latourette (1949) Grousset (1952) Fitzgerald (1961) and Dawson (1972). Grousset's account of Hsüan-tsung's reign is particularly interesting, with attention to contemporary poetry.⁸⁹

An alternative approach is through biography. No study for the equivalent period of european history surpasses Waley's *Life of Pu Chü-i* (1949) Ayscough's 'autobiography' of Tu Fu (1929,1934) or Fitzgerald's *lives of T'ai-ts'ung* (1933) and Wu Chao (1956) for human interest and vivid detail,* or in potential for work with children.

*

Tu Fu, for instance, referred to "arrow-cases soldiers carry on their hips"; wall-building techniques by "planking up, ramming down"; his "horse and carriage"; sending letters; playing chess; the "pure white wall" of a lord's hall; a compass; "sharp scissors"; village water-wheels; government tree-planting; bamboo blinds; various instruments, including a 12-stringed harpsichord; tea-drinking with sugar and "eating spring pasty, with tiny scallions"; round copper and "white alloy" coins; silver flagons; real pearls on clothing; doctors' prescriptions; the "mechanical bow"; gold plates and jade cups and chopsticks; books "scattered in disorder on the bed", and his personal collection of "books of poems, histories"; the water-clock; lanterns; his wife writing "sheets of paper"; storeyed post-houses; his boat "festooned with bright silk hangings" and with its "bird-prow"; his "unlined coat", "black fur robe" and "black conical cap"; "book labels"; "medicine wrappers"; taking cinnabar, "medicinal herbs", and eating wild vegetables for rheumatism; his "wax candle"; his "embroidered saddle-cloth"; his thatched study, its "doorway made from a mat"; "rudder-men" on boats; a coffin "carved with hornless dragons"; piped water in bamboos, so that "flowing water" could "penetrate to kitchen for use"; crossbows; and watchmen. (F. Ayscough, Travels of a Chinese poet, 1934, 55; 55; 83; 84; 145; 223 and 241; 85; 86; 86; 87; 89; 90; 94; 98; 132; 266 and 277; 101 and 231; 109 and 189; 110; 111; 111; 113; 116; 118 and 314; 121; 122; 127; 129; 130 and 156; 157; 171 and 187; 162; 162; 162; 178 and 211; 171; 174; 179; 189; 190; 198 and 208; 206; 221).

But there are others. Reischauer's translation (1955) of the Japanese Ennin's diary would need selective reading, but with its commentary volume (1955) gives valuable detail on T'ang China, especially Buddhism and its persecution. Frodsham's Life of Li Ho (1970) and Wechsler's study (1974) of the confucian royal adviser Wei Cheng are informative but readable. Biographical content is strong in addition in Bingham's narrative of the fall of Sui and the rise of T'ang (1941); and Wright's political history of the Sui (1978). The same author's studies of Sui Wen-ti and his principal advisers (1957) and of T'ang Tai-tsung (1976) give ideological and administrative insight. Solomon's translation (1955) of emperor Shun-tsung's diary between February 28th and August 31st 805 A.D., brimming with social, economic, political and human detail,^{*} has potential for topic-work with children.⁹⁰

The period could also be approached through cultural avenues. De Bary's translations (1964) give invaluable feel of the intellectual climate, as do the essays by Frankel and by Twitchett (1962). Eight novellas which could be adapted for children are found in Bauer and Franke (1967). Many T'ang poems are available in translation. Studies of T'ang art abound. Grousset (1934) is still useful, especially on Tun-huang. Scott (1966) covers all aspects against a background of social detail. Prodan (1960) and Sickman and Soper's four chapters (1956) could also be read. Prodan makes frequent use of documentary sources. Medley's study, however, is too specialised (1981).⁹¹

Important studies of T'ang politics, economics and social structures^{**} could also be drawn upon, including the five essays in Perry and Smith (1976) and the twelve in Wright and Twitchett (1973). Twitchett's scrutiny of social detail from the Tun-huang documents is revealing, whilst his brief monograph on financial administration

* It concludes, after apologising for dying and causing labour to the undertakers: "Now my illness gradually worsens ... For my burial, stress economy and avoid the use of gold, silver and silks for ornamental purposes". (pp.59-60).

** The dutch orientalist Van Gulik's novels comprise interesting imaginative reconstructions in this respect - e.g. The willow pattern (1963) The emperor's pearl (1963) - though not always suitable for children (see Red pavilion, 1969, pp. 18-21).

details land-holding, taxation, transport and bureaucracy. Pulleyblank's research (1955) on the important An Lu-shan rebellion could also be read. On the other hand, works such as Backus's investigation (1981) of sources on the south-western policies of the T'ang, and Wright's analysis (1959) of T'ang Buddhism, are probably too specialised.⁹²

The non-specialist approaching the Sung period^{*} must begin with simple outlines such as those by Grousset (1952) or Cotterell and Morgan (1975)⁹³ since the chronology is less clear-cut than with the Han or T'ang. Surveys of the arts, particularly Sullivan's (1973) exposition of the various schools of painting,⁹⁴ or studies of literati and their work,⁹⁵ offer other modes of entry. Lu Yu's Diary of a trip to Shu (Ju Shu-chi) paints a vivid picture of Sung China in 1169 A.D. More advanced material on social and economic development is found in Elvin's important study (1973). Shiba Yoshinobu (1970) is less readable. Kracke (1953) details the bureaucratic system, Schirokauer (1962) the political intrigue at court, Hartwell (1971) the political influence of historians. The historical importance of the period is assessed in Liu and Golas' compendium (1969).⁹⁶ The most rewarding reading for the non-specialist, however, is Gernet's portrait of daily life in the later 13th. century. Primarily based on chinese sources, it gives details on city life, social structures, the life cycle, leisure, religion and mundane domestic activities^{**} which could be used to support a range of imaginative classroom approaches to medieval China. Few equals among the historical literature on Europe or Britain spring to mind.⁹⁷

* Treated separately here, but the teacher would need to consider the arguments for a break after the An Lu-shan rebellion, and a link-up between later T'ang and Sung studies.

** "An elegant and well-dressed young woman who owned a fine tea-house .. engaged in a delousing operation. Her clothes were laid out on a small table, and she popped all the lice she found into her mouth ... The movement of hand to mouth was almost continuous". ... "Their customs scandalized Arab merchants ... 'They are not clean ... They never wash themselves with water when they have defecated, but wipe themselves with chinese paper'". (Gernet, pp.123,126).

The history of the contemporaneous Liao empire, which occupied parts of present-day Mongolia and northern China from 10th to 12th. centuries, and whose name, Kitay, was used by Europeans to designate the whole Chinese world (Cathaya)* could also be investigated. There is one outstanding source, Wittfogel and Feng's (1946) introduction to and translation of the Standard history of Liao (Liao Shih). Briefer and more readable than it initially appears, it contains a wealth of concrete detail and could be drawn upon for work with lower secondary classes.⁹⁸

The fourth great phase, the Mongol (Yüan), Ming and earlier Manchu (Ch'ing) periods, which saw steadily increasing western interest, is particularly well documented and suggests good potential for classroom work.

The Yüan period offers an opportunity for integrating Chinese history with broader perspectives through study of the Mongols. That goes beyond present purposes, but Vladimirtsov's life of Genghis Khan (1930) Carpini's, Rubruquis's and Li Chi-chang's 13th. century accounts of the Mongol court (1900, 1903, 1888) and several recent histories for adults and children could be drawn upon.⁹⁹

For Mongol China, limited introductory reading, including attention to art, architecture and literature,¹⁰⁰ should likewise be seen as preparatory to early use of the primary evidence from western visitors including Polo, Pordenone, Montecorvino, Perugia, Marignolli and Batuta. Polo's descriptions of Kublai Khan, his palace, capital, feasts, festivals, hunting and government, besides such as paper money, coal, the post, roads, rivers, the grand canal, and various cities, especially Hangchow, are vividly reproduced in Yule's volumes (1903-20).^{**} More modern versions are also available (1938, 1958). Polo's historicity may be open to question,^{***} and

* It survives today in Russian and Persian as the name for China.

** These total 954 pages, but most is commentary and notes. Polo's text occupies parts of 211 pages.

*** He failed to mention the great wall (which he would have passed through) tea-drinking (he was in Fukien) and foot-binding; and falsely claimed to have been governor of Yangchow (not mentioned in Chinese documents).

Olschki's critique (1960) should be read.^{101*} The other primary sources mentioned are all available in English, add detail omitted by Polo, and may be more reliable. Pordenone's and Batuta's accounts are particularly important. Few sources for european history can rival their sober descriptions,^{**} intrinsic fascination and potential for work with children.¹⁰²

In the case of Ming China, it is again advisable to begin with brief summaries such as are given by Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig (1973) Fryer (1975) or Hegel (1981).¹⁰³ The non-specialist might also profit from one of the many brief surveys of Ming art and architecture. Hobson (1962) and Lion-Goldschmidt (1978) though useful are very specialised.¹⁰⁴ The best introductory book for the non-specialist is Paludan's description of the 13 Ming tombs (1981) which details political history, costume, art, architecture and customs, makes free use of chinese sources, and is illustrated with 251 photographs.¹⁰⁵

More advanced reading includes Hucker's analysis (1957) of governmental structure and practices and the intellectual opposition; Wakeman's study (1972) of academic leadership and its later collapse; Huang's monograph on Ming taxation (1974) which, though generally too specialised, has three chapters illuminating the administrative system; and Mote's essay (1977) on Ming Nanking.¹⁰⁶

As with the Yüan, however, early recourse must be made to the writings of western visitors.¹⁰⁷ Boxer's translation (1953) of Pereira's, de Rada's and da Cruz' accounts, especially the latter, and Staunton's translation (1853-4) of Mendoza's synthesis offer useful source material for secondary or even primary classes. (Boxer's 91-page introduction is particularly helpful to the teacher). Gallagher's translation (1953) of Ricci's detailed description of Ming China's cities, agriculture, technology, education, administration, food, clothing, hospitality, social customs and beliefs is equally valuable for work with children,^{***} as

* Pelliot, Notes on Marco Polo, 1959 (611 pp) is too specialised.

** Marignolli's references to China are more speculative.

*** Apparently lengthy (616 pp) the best material is found in the first 100 pages.

is Cronin's adaptation (1955). Temple's edition (1919) of Mundy's vigorous sketch could support comparative studies of early modern China and Britain.¹⁰⁸

The Manchu (Ch'ing) period could likewise be studied as a 'patch', though the complex later period might more validly be approached through work on 'modern China'. Brief historical sketches¹⁰⁹ and introductions to the art and architecture¹¹⁰ abound. Some teachers might then proceed to more detailed analyses, such as Li Chien-nung's major study (1967) Spence and Wills's edition of essays on the later 17th century transition period (1979) or the relevant volumes of the Cambridge History of China (1978,1980). More advanced reading could be illuminated by Schurmann and Schell's 30 source extracts on the Manchu period, or Pélissier's effective selection.¹¹¹

Again, however, the most attractive material for teaching purposes is contemporary sources. Books based on chinese sources include Meskills's study (1979) of one family from the 1720s to the 1890s; Spence's portrait of social, economic and legal affairs in one county through the experiences of one woman (1978) and his biography of K'ang-hsi (1974); and Backhouse and Bland's life of Tzu-hsi (1910) and their impressions of the Manchu rulers' relations with court and country (1914).^{*} Other indigenous material includes recollections of mid-19th century life by Yan Phou Lee (1922) and Ning Lao Tai Tai (1967).¹¹² Extracts from any of these sources could be adapted for use with children. Additionally, profuse material may be drawn from western accounts such as du Halde's report (1738) on every aspect of life, including descriptions and fine maps of all 15 provinces; the anonymous Chinese Traveller (1775) which synthesised the work of du Halde and Lecomte (1698); Macartney's description (1792, 1797) of the court, costume, entertainment and travel of Ch'ien-lung's China; Barrow's slightly jaundiced detail (1804) on institutions and customs; Fortune's careful observations (1853); Doolittle's study of social life (1876) with its numerous line-drawings; and Thomson's portfolio of 84 photographs and commentary on rural and urban life (1898).¹¹³ Walters and Robins' account of Anson's visit to China

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Despite failure to identify sources.

(1748) and the books by Wells Williams (1861) and Smith (1894) paint a generally hostile stereotype and would be best avoided for school work.¹¹⁴

The range of published materials on 20th century China is great, and impossible adequately to evaluate for teacher-use in the limited space available. Moreover, the period is extremely complex. Accounts of western visitors from the 1930s suggest that 'late traditional China' did not end with the Manchu.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, the century's dramatic political developments did not arise overnight. Their origins go back at least to the 1890s, whilst there is a strong argument for sketching 'modern China' from the 1840s.¹¹⁶ Thus, the suggestions in this section are advanced with especial diffidence.

The best simple introduction, giving attention to literature and art as well as to political strife, is in Cotterell and Morgan (1975). Dunn's essay (1972) is useful. Schirokauer's sketch (1978) of chinese civilisation between 1895 and 1949 could be read in harness with Li's chapters (1971) on political events 1912 to 1949.¹¹⁷ An introductory approach through art and literature is also suggested, including biographical studies such as offered by Hsu (1964) or Vohra (1974). Han Suyin's autobiographical trilogy (1965-8) affords concretely detailed insight.¹¹⁸

Readable histories of modern China abound, some concentrating on the 20th century, others going back to the 1840s or even earlier. Spence's study of revolution (1982) is through the lives and writings, not of dominating political leaders, but of literary figures, historians and philosophers. Bianco (1971) focuses on the revolution's underlying social and philosophical currents. Fitzgerald (1964) emphasises the chinese context of philosophical-political developments between 1911 and the 1960s. A later account by the same author (1971) allies 83 dramatic photographs and cartoons to a scholarly text. McAleavy's book (1968) includes rare chinese cartoons and photographs and its crystalline style is particularly suitable to the non-specialist.¹¹⁹ There are numerous other readable accounts, however, including White's journalistic narrative (1970) which contains conversations with Mao, over 100 photographs and biographies of 11 leading figures.* North (1966) effectively uses

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Surprisingly excluding Chu Teh, Liu Shao-chi and Mme Chiang.

contemporary sources, eye-witness accounts and visual material, and his 11 maps, biographical register of 79 personalities and 18-page chronology from 1644 are useful for teaching purposes. Clubb's narrative (1978) is lengthy, but clearly detailed.¹²⁰ Easy studies in languages other than English, such as Vierheller's monograph (1972) might also repay attention.¹²¹ For documentary support, there are several well-chosen collections.¹²²

Reading into the earlier part of the period might include studies of the Boxers;¹²³ Li's close insight into Chinese views of events up to 1928 (1967); Chen's account (1979) of western influence between 1815 and 1937, especially strong on early 20th century intellectual reorientation; Adshead's clear socio-political analysis (1973); Lin Yutang's famous apologia (1938); or biographical material on Sun Yat-sen (1919, 1968, 1969) and Yuan Shih-kai (1961).¹²⁴ There are several source-collections, and Tsou Jun's anti-western tract (1903, 1968) is revealing.¹²⁵

There is an interesting range of scholarship from which teaching material on the period 1921-49 could be drawn. Biographies of Mao by Chen (1965) and Schram (1966) both make full use of indigenous sources. Chen gives a useful chronology and prints 37 of Mao's poems. Schram's study is complemented by collections of extracts from Mao's conversation, speeches and writings (1969, 1974). Recent biographies by Han Suyin (1976), Howard (1977) and Wilson (1979) are graphically detailed. Hahn's critique of Chiang (1955) is journalistic but easy reading. Sheridan's biography of a warlord in the 1920s (1966) and his study of republican disintegration and reintegration⁽¹⁹⁷⁵⁾ give a vivid picture. Holcombe (1931) has almost documentary value. Wilson (1971) is a particularly readable account of the long march. Thorne's scrutiny of Manchurian crisis documents is valuable, though with weak mapwork (1972). Dwyer's selection (1974) of documents on rural and urban life between the wars is illuminating.¹²⁶

Of even greater interest and potential for source-based teaching, however, are first-hand accounts such as Hsieh's details (1943) on revolution in the 1920s and the treatment of landlords and communists; Foster's hostile account (1928) of the national revolution; Tawney's assessment (1932) of rural and industrial life; Kates' (1967) and Sewell's (1970) contrasted portraits of life in Peking and the Szechuan countryside in the 1930s; Snow's internal

report on chinese communism, including conversations with Mao, an outstanding account of the long march, and notes on 97 leading revolutionists (1968, 1937); Peck's (1941) and Mowrer's records (1938) of their visits during the japanese invasion; and Smedley's graphic dispatches from the red army at war (1938).^{*} These may be supplemented from the documentary collections noted earlier.¹²⁷

Post-1949 China has generated a flood of literature in the West. Much of it, however, lacks that disinterestedness expected of history teaching and which those seeking to introduce chinese material to the curriculum would be wise to display. Moreover, it is often difficult to disentangle from contemporary politics and sociology. A clear brief historical introduction is obtainable from Schirokauer (1978) and rather longer outline sketches from Brulé (1971), Bown (1977)^{**} Clubb (1978) and Chesneaux, with effective use of sources (1979). Buss (1962) and Purcell (1962) include still-useful narrative up to 1960. The cultural revolution should be approached through Robinson's edition of selected documents and oral recollections (1970). For the roots of China's recent past Fitzgerald and Roper (1973) is useful.¹²⁸ Contemporary society can be approached by non-specialists through easy surveys by Cameron, including 140 pictures (1974) and others. Solomon (1975) gives detail likely to undermine previously held stereotypes.¹²⁹ More advanced reading could include Hinton's objective political analysis (1973) Waller's study of the party-state structure (1973) Kolb's scrutiny (1971) of post-revolutionary society, Wylie's edition of six essays on peasant revolution (1972) Breth's use of statistical evidence in a study of economic development (1977) SACU's document-based survey of foreign policy (1979) and accounts of recent developments by such as Evans

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When the Japanese bombed Taiyuan, "Four great japanese bombers, blue steel with the sun glinting on them, droned menacingly ... We stood out under the trees and watched the murderers in the air, raining death". Later she saw "mangled corpses, one of them broken to pieces like a stuffed doll. The back was broken and the legs bent flat up the back". When Taiyuan fell, "The city wall ran with blood and the bodies of the defenders were piled up around their machine-guns". The Japanese "entered a city on whose walls were frozen streams of the blood of its defenders. The frozen corpses lay with faces turned to the wintry sky - faces stern and grim with purpose". (A. Smedley, China fights back, 1938, 78-9, 101, 215).

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Often used in schools, this is more suitable for teachers. Chambers' attack, that the book lacks cohesion and is likely to baffle readers (History, 63, 1978, 274) is not accepted.

(1978) and Brugger (1980). Terrill's edition (1979) of 16 articles by distinguished experts avoids the excessive political emphasis of some books, with material on daily and private life, love, culture, tradition and change. Kaplan (1979) and Summerfield (1981) are helpful reference works. Documents by Milton and Schurmann (1977) cover the period 1966-72, including 54 on the cultural revolution.¹³⁰ Material from Chinese sources can be useful, though textual bias often obtrudes.¹³¹ Books such as Shabad's survey of national and regional development since 1949 (1972) are not recommended for non-specialists.¹³²

As with earlier periods, however, teachers would find pen-pictures by western visitors a particularly rewarding introduction and classroom source. Belden's descriptions (1970) of events in the later 1940s are notably graphic. Reports by Crook (1959, 1966) Myrdal (1963) and Hinton (1966) on revolution in individual villages could be exploited. Verbal-visual accounts of journeys in China by Myrdal (1965, 1980) Mendelssohn (1969) Loescher (1974) Morath and Miller (1979) and, spectacularly, Zetterholm and Gartze (1977) offer a rich source. Journalistic accounts by Greene (1963) Snow (1962 and 1970) and Topping (1972) including interviews with Chinese leaders, give much concrete detail. Herbert and Trudeau (1968) offer a useful critique of pre-cultural revolution China.* Schell (1978) is particularly successful in humanising contemporary China. Schultess (1966) includes 167 detailed photographs and an important article by Snow ('Warum China rot wurde').¹³³ Books with even more overt political orientation than some of the above, however, such as Alley's uncritical description of his journeys in the 1960s (1973) despite its useful insight into the commune system or Burchett and Alley's evaluation of the quality of life under communism (1976) might be less useful to the history teacher.¹³⁴

An alternative to dynastic 'patches' could be specific topics or themes. Solely for economy of space and avoidance of repetition, however, resources suitable for teacher-use in preparing such material will be considered in less detail than for the dynastic patches.

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Their visit was in 1960.

Rewarding topic work with children could focus upon studies of heroic figures from Chinese history. Teacher-reading could begin with Dawson's chapter on the emperors (1978).¹³⁵ There is adequate material to support a study of Shih Huang-ti, particularly Cotterell's (1981) synthesis of the written and recent archaeological evidence.¹³⁶ On the Han emperors Kao-tsu and Wu Ti several brief sketches could be used.¹³⁷ Loewe (1974) has written an illuminating study of Wang Mang, who could perhaps be studied in comparison with the Sung statesman Wang An-shih.¹³⁸ The best source on the Sui emperors is Wright's work (1978,1960,1957).¹³⁹ T'ang T'ai-tsung and Wu Tse-t'ien are portrayed by Fitzgerald (1933,1956).¹⁴⁰ In the modern period, Spence's biography of K'ang-hsi (1974) constructed from microscopic perusal of the emperor's own words, both official and personal,^{*} presents the subject 'in the round'^{**} and is a good example of how non-European history should be approached in the West. Judicious use of extracts in the classroom might not only promote worthwhile historical education but also help undermine stereotypes.¹⁴¹ No equivalent exists for Ch'ien-lung, though Kahn's difficult monograph based on the emperor's writings could be read by some teachers (1971).¹⁴² Tzu Hsi is colourfully painted in Warner's biography (1972) which with care could be used in the classroom.^{***} No less useful, and including the royal comptroller's diary, is Backhouse and Bland's portrait (1910,1939).¹⁴³ Twentieth century political leaders who might be studied include Yüan Shih-k'ai, Sun Yat-sen, Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. Biographical treatments of all four were noted earlier.¹⁴⁴

Not only political figures should be studied, however. Several Chinese travellers and explorers are suitable for topic-work, for which purpose an invaluable teacher-source would be Mirsky's translations with explanatory comments (1965) from Chinese travel records from Han to late Ch'ing times.¹⁴⁵ For land-travellers, Beal

* Several hundred letters are extant.

** Including ordering underwear for his concubines, and sitting 35 days and nights beside his dying grandmother.

*** Detail relating to castration of eunuchs and Chinese sexual ideas would need expurgation (pp 32-3,42-3).

(1911) and Waley (1952) offer readable translations of Hui-li's contemporary life of Hūang-tsang. Beal's translation (1885) of Hūang-tsang's travel record is less forbidding than at first sight. It also includes the travel records of Fa-hsien and Sung-yun. Other translations of Fa-hsien's Buddhist Countries Record (Fo-Kwo-Ki) by Legge (1886) and Giles (1923) could be read. Hirth (1917) has translated the Shih Chi's relevant section on Chang-ch'ien and Pan Ch'ao. Accounts of later great land journeys by Kiu Chang-chun and Li Chi-chang, Rabban Sauma and Hsü Hsia-k'o are likewise available in translation.¹⁴⁶ On naval explorations, enough material could be drawn together from the few available sources, especially on Cheng Ho, to provide for useful topic-work.¹⁴⁷

A third biographical-topic approach could be through literati and philosophers. As suggested earlier,¹⁴⁸ numerous scholarly studies have been published in English since the 1920s. Replete with historical detail, they could be utilised as sources for rewarding school history teaching.¹⁴⁹

Other than biographical topic work, however, several social history subjects appear sufficiently resourced to permit varied and interesting material for use in school.

One good topic for work with children, though the danger of reinforcing stereotypes of 'unchanging China' has to be acknowledged, could be traditional chinese society, emphasising family life, but including other matters such as clothing, food, entertainments, ceremonies and law and punishment. Several brief surveys are available, especially Lin Yutang's sketch (1938). More colourful detail is found in Granet's study (1930) of social life before the Han period, Loewe's of the Han (1968) and Gernet's of the Sung (1962). Teng's translation (1968) of a late sixth-century source, though not easy is informative on attitudes to marriage, family management, teaching children, customs and manners, and family religion. Spence (1978) conveys insight into later 17th century social mores. Meskill (1979) yields much detail on family life and structures between the early 18th and late 19th centuries. Baker (1979) gives a glimpse of the late traditional rural family, again with close reference to sources. Hsü's picture (1949) of village families in the early 1940s covers such as death, burials and graves, marriage, houses and education. Pa Chin (1958) offers a critical slant via fiction. Even Freedman's lengthy collection of social anthropological essays (1979) could be read with little difficulty.

The best documentary support is found in Ebrey's 89 source extracts (1981) each with brief explanatory text.¹⁵⁰ In addition, short articles on specific aspects of Chinese social living abound,¹⁵¹ whilst much detail may also be gleaned from literature.¹⁵²

More valuable for teaching purposes, however, are eye-witness accounts and personal recollections. The numerous records of Western travellers could be used as primary sources. Law and punishments, for example, are fully (if gruesomely) detailed.¹⁵³ An even richer source is the autobiographical recollections of Chinese persons. Yan Phou Lee (1922) gives information on children's games, schooling and food in mid-19th century China. Hsieh Ping-ying (1943) details such as footbinding, family religion, grandparents, family love, parental control, and arranged marriages.* Chiang Yee (1946) describes children's stories, his adult initiation, hair-styles, weddings, births, deaths and the family coffin-store. Ning Lao Tai Tai's recollections (1967) of her childhood and marriage to an opium addict who tried to sell his children, include material on weddings, marriage, footbinding, abortion and diet.¹⁵⁴

Of specific 'social' topics, one appearing particularly well-documented is the female role in traditional society. Spence (1978) is an outstanding source, as is McAleavy's translation (1959) of Sai-chin-hua's memoirs. Levy's translations (1964) of stories on marital life give much understanding. Van Gulik (1961) gives explicit source-based detail on sexual practices and attitudes to courtship, love and marriage.** Pearl Buck's novel Pavilion of Women (1956) gives informed detail on life, customs and attitudes in a

* Confined to the home because she refused to marry her parents' choice, "I decided to write to Mr. Sun ... As it was impossible to write in my room, which was carefully kept under observation by my mother, I had to write in the lavatory. Because I spent a slightly longer time there than usual, my mother immediately broke open the door, and finding I was writing she said 'What! ... Hand the letter to me immediately!' I was so furious that I threw everything into the water. After this we became deadly enemies and I was observed even more strictly than before". (p.154).

* Though if extracts were used in school, care would have to be taken in editing (see, eg., pp. 126, 145, 246-8).

wealthy lady's home^{*} and is valuable for its de-stereotyping influence.¹⁵⁵

Another is chinese education, in which contrasts between the 'then' and the 'now', and between East and West, could interest pupils. Miyazaki (1976) traces education from birth to the metropolitan examinations. Lai (1970) includes a translation of an examination script.¹⁵⁶ Post-1949 education is explained by Price (1975) and Sloss (1981).¹⁵⁷

A third is chinese houses, gardens and architecture, on which both brief sketches and more detailed studies exist. Keswick (1978) shows the influence of aestheticism on garden lay-out. Again, however, descriptions by western observers comprise a rich source.^{158**}

A fourth is chinese urbanisation, for which the teacher could again draw either from introductory outlines or more specific studies such as Skinner's collection of essays (1977). Peking's imperial magnificence has been effectively highlighted, with strong pictorial content, in several books. MacFarquhar (1972) covers its history from medieval times, with descriptions by 13 observers from Polo to Anthony Grey.^{***} Greene (1978) and Bonavia (1978) also include valuable historical sections. Much more valuable to source-based history teaching, however, is Jenner's (1981) commentary on and translation of the sixth-century Record of the monasteries of Loyang, the earliest substantial extant account of a chinese city. Commentary and document are easily readable and are a mine of information on architecture, society, economics, politics and religion under the Wei.¹⁵⁹ Again, however, studies would be enriched by first-hand western accounts. Polo's descriptions of Cambaluc, Hangchow and other cities are well-known: da Cruz' of Canton, Pereira's of Foochow

* The go-between who "knew better than to spit on the floor in this house"; the grandfather observing "your mind is an excellent one for a woman"; Mme Wu ruminating "In the earth beneath this house human roots run down". (pp. 67,71,175).

** Mundy, for instance, described chinese houses in the 1630s as "of bricke and stone, covered with tiles ... very faire ... rechely furnished with Plate, Beeumbos, Chaires, Cottess, Hanguings, etts"; their workmanship in wood "the fairest that yett I ever saw ... of excellent workmanshippe ... carved in wood, curiously guilt and painted with exquisite collours". (P. Mundy, ed. R.C. Temple, Travels, vol.3, 1919,239,255,162-3).

*** Though he erroneously prints a diagram of the Manchu forbidden city in a chapter on the Ming (p.73).

and Kuelin, Fortune's of Ning-po, Shanghai and several others, less so. All offer lively detail for comparative topic-work.¹⁶⁰

Though chinese economic history may be less suitable for children, true understanding of world history, early or recent, is unlikely without some knowledge of it. Clear introductions are offered by Dawson (1978) Tregear (1980) and others. Boulnoir (1966) focuses on the western trade. Gouron (1975) scrutinises chinese agriculture in regional perspective, and its consequences on social structures and attitudes. Herrmann (1966) is invaluable for reference.¹⁶¹

On the important Sung period, studies by Shiba Yoshinobu (1970) and Elvin (1973) supply genuine insight. The former, with full use of source extracts, details shipping, commercial management, internal trade and markets, capital, brokers, and particularly agriculture. Elvin's book reflects close documentary research, undermines the 'unchanging China' myth and illuminates her world history significance though the T'ang-Sung agrarian, industrial, commercial, transport and socio-economic revolutions. A valuable documentary source is Hirth and Rockhill's translation (1966) of Chao Ju-kua's 13th century account of chinese foreign trade.¹⁶²

For the Manchu period, Jing Su's and Lao Lun's study (1978) of 197 Shantung villages between 1650 and 1900, based on gazetteers and bringing out the importance of the managerial landlord class and the stimulus of urbanisation could be used to support comparisons with developments in England. Descriptions by westerners including Fortune (1853) Hommel (1969,1937) and Tawney (1932) could be similarly used.¹⁶³

Work on chinese social history and its economic infrastructure can not be disconnected from science and technology, whose study has been recommended by such as Church (1939) Needham (1969) and the Schools Council (1972).¹⁶⁴ An interested teacher should first read Needham's summary (1964) of the world-influence of chinese technology. Four books by Needham might then be approached. The first (1981) summarises his ideas on such as chinese gunpowder and firearms, with frequent use of chinese documentary and illustrative material. The second (1954) introducing his multi-volume history, underlines "the essentially autochthonous character of chinese civilisation", and being written for non-sinologists is particularly useful to history teachers, with linguistic, geographical and historical guides, plus a survey of the travel of ideas and

techniques between East and West, and between east, south and west Asia.* The third (1970) covers such as Han mathematics, T'ang astronomy, chinese wheelwrights, harness developments, canal-locks, medicine and pharmaceuticals, plus 40 plates. The fourth (1969) is a collection of more difficult articles, but especially important in establishing the contribution of chinese science and technology to chinese and world history.¹⁶⁵

Alternatively, Ronan's two-volume abbreviation (1978, 1981) of Needham's great Science and Civilisation, could be easily read. In addition, Shiba's chapter (1970) and Tien's scholarly study (1962) on paper and printing technologies are manageable by non-specialists; as is Carter's setting of those technologies in a perspective embracing China, Europe, Japan, Persia and Egypt (1955). Chatley's various publications (1923-47) offer a more cautious approach to questions of autochthony and cultural diffusion. Even Shigeru and Sivin's difficult book might be tackled by teachers.¹⁶⁶

Other chinese topics and themes suggesting themselves for work with children include myths and legends;¹⁶⁷ archaeology,¹⁶⁸ perhaps in association with studies of early history, art and architecture, technology, or urbanisation; the great wall,¹⁶⁹ possibly linked with study of the grand canal, or of China and her neighbours; ships,¹⁷⁰ possibly in conjunction with technological studies, or biographical topics; high culture, including art, literature, religion and ideas;¹⁷¹ rebellions,¹⁷² possibly linked into dynastic patch-work or a theme on China and the West; and China's influence upon the West.¹⁷³

China's relations with neighbouring states seem inextricable from most of the topics mentioned. Hu Shih (1933) argued that the history of chinese culture could not be understood without such a study:¹⁷⁴ it might also be regarded as an essential component of any world history programme. Clear introductions are given by Fairbank (1968) Schwartz (1968) and Kolb (1971). Lattimore (1951) offers major scrutiny of the world-historical importance of chinese-steppe herdsmen relationships. Yu (1967) demonstrates reciprocal Barbarian-Chinese influences. Drake's readable articles (1935-6) detailing the Han westward drive could be read by non-specialists. Schafer (1967) gives detailed insight into T'ang Chinese views of

* It also contains an unrivalled bibliography of 251 oriental items and 998 books and articles (from 180 journals) in western languages, 602 in English.

their southern neighbours, especially the Vietnamese, whilst Chao Ju-kua has left an invaluable record of Sung Chinese views of the southern and western peoples (1966). Fairbank, Reischauer and Craig (1973) have effectively shown Chinese dominance over all neighbouring peoples up to the middle ages.¹⁷⁵

Equally important to world history,¹⁷⁶ and the aspect of Chinese history which has attracted most attention from occidental scholars, is the theme of western interests and activities in China, and their cultural, economic and political consequences. The theme holds high promise for school history teaching, and is amply resourced. At least seven major studies of western secular and spiritual contacts with China may be recommended for the non-specialist. Hudson (1931) and Sykes (1936) are particularly clear for the early periods. Hughes (1968) and Treadgold (1973)* illuminate the impact of western thinking on the late Ch'ing reform movement. Spence (1969) brings the story from Schall to Stilwell.¹⁷⁷ Moreover, the range of primary evidence, not only the numerous western accounts noted earlier,¹⁷⁸ but also Chinese reports on foreign missions to China,¹⁷⁹ constitutes an almost unrivalled source-bank, strong in human interest and concrete detail, which teachers could utilise in lesson preparation.

Specific topics within the broad theme which suggest themselves for source-based history teaching include medieval visitors to China, centred around Polo, but also drawing upon the accounts of such as Pordenone and Batuta;¹⁸⁰ early modern traders and missionaries, highlighting Ricci but again knitting in first-hand accounts of such as Mundy and the Iberians;¹⁸¹ and the period of western penetration and domination from Macartney (or Anson) to the first world war.¹⁸² The latter topic itself breaks down into even more specific studies of such as the opium war. In all such, however, evidence should not be drawn solely from western sources. The opium war offers a good example of the necessity to assess problems also from the Chinese viewpoint, as illustrated by Waley's important reconstruction (1958) from Lin Tse-hsü's diary and Inglis's well-documented account (1976). Both are easily read by non-specialists.¹⁸³ More extensive studies of modern Chinese attitudes to the West could follow, based around documentary translations or syntheses such as given by Swisher (1953) Teng and Fairbank (1954) Mirsky (1965) and Chen (1979).¹⁸⁴ The potential for education towards world-mindedness of Hsieh's view of

* Difficult reading.

the English;^{*} or, for instance, Hsu Chi-yu's of Britain,^{**} and his astonished description of voting in the USA,^{***} is manifest.

There remains the question of what books and other materials exist for use in school by children - their scope, quality and age-suitability. This is in some ways the most important question of all and will be given attention in the remaining pages. Nevertheless, the bulk of this chapter has concentrated upon adult books for teacher-use in lesson preparation. Two considerations are thought to justify that concentration. First, searching through hundreds of often lengthy and complicated adult-level books for materials which could be drawn upon for classroom use has been assumed to be beyond school-teachers' capacity, if only for reasons of available time. Second, the number of children's books on China, particularly on pre-20th. century matters, is not large. There are scores of school-books on Anglo-Saxon England, but almost none on the Chinese dynastic periods. There is little on China's great personalities, other than Mao. There are less than half a dozen children's books on material achievements such as the cities, the Great Wall or the Grand Canal. There is virtually nothing on art, literature, science or ideas. Consequently, it has been thought essential to dissect in detail the range of adult-level textbooks, monographs and documentary collections. Successful classroom work on China would demand substantial teacher-input, whether visual stimuli, explanatory background, biographical and other details, narrative outline, or literary and documentary extracts. That dissection, itself governed by carefully articulated curricular and pedagogical parameters, thus constitutes the most valuable practical outcome of this study.

Nonetheless, a substantial number of books for schools have been published since the 1950s, particularly at secondary level,¹⁸⁵ and it is to those books (and other materials) that attention will finally be given. The range of choice for primary children is seriously

* "Wherever there is a region in which profits could be reaped by trading, these people strive for them". (Hsieh Ching-k'ao, in J. Mirsky, Chinese travellers, 1965, 269).

** "A handful of stones in the western ocean". (Hsu Chi-yu, in Ssu-yu Teng and J.K. Fairbank, China's response to the West, 1954, 42).

*** "(They) write down the names of those whom they are going to elect and put them in a box". (Ibid, 45).

restricted. The best general historical introduction, by Lonsdale (1971) surveys from the legendary period to modern times in 42 brief chapters giving informed attention to geography, language, culture, legends, invention, economy and other aspects of China, has abundant biographical content and stresses cultural leadership. Taylor's reference book (1976) comprises 200 pictures mainly from Chinese sources, in 20 sections on such as emperors, peasant life, cities and economy, inventions, the arts and ideas, and social life. The brief text advises children that Chinese culture "has influenced and dominated the countries of East Asia", that her technology was "centuries ahead of Europe", and that "the modern world owes much to her inventions". Masters (1981) trivialises China with sections on 'incredible' and 'amazing' facts, and cartoon-style illustrations, but also gives useful geographical, demographic, economic, social, technological, cultural, linguistic and political detail, with 18 biographical notes. China "was one of the first to make the earliest advances in science and technology", many of which "did not appear in Europe until hundred of years after". Jeffries' visual history (1966)* covers from earliest times, contrasts China and Europe, stresses China's role as "the Mother of the civilisation of Eastern Asia", and by drawing attention to "the skills which have made them so remarkable a people" brings out "how much they have given to the world". Morrison (1978) reflects Needham's work, demonstrates China's cultural and technological influence on the West, and points out to children that "Europe was discovered by China, and not the other way around". For younger primaries, Oram's two books (1972) together give a colourful introduction, full of intrinsic interest, and with strict conceptual control, the one glancing briefly at general features such as the family, schools, agriculture, village life and entertainment, the other at historical aspects from Ch'in to medieval times, such as the wall, Mongols, imperial life, transport ("the Chinese sailed to many countries") painting, clocks and astronomy. The second is the better book, however, since it visually portrays the Chinese in lifelike fashion, with kind and interesting features: the other tends towards caricature.¹⁸⁶

* One of a series of 14 books attempting world-historical coverage, including Ghana, Africa and India, and the first general history of China for British schoolchildren.

There are in addition a few books on more specific aspects which can be recommended. Neurath^{*} and Ellis (1966) whilst avoiding reference to any dynastic or political event, drive home through emphasis on technological innovation the importance of ancient China to world history.^{**} Hughes-Stanton (1979) describes life in Han Loyang, with clear drawings of urban lay-out, houses, domestic life and artefacts and strong emphasis on economic, social and cultural life. Knox (1978) using documentary and archaeological evidence, humanises China through concentration on daily life in country and town and establishes a clear connection between past and present. Lai Po Kan's coverage (1980) from Han to T'ang again reflects Needham's scholarship, with emphasis on cultural and technological developments in world-history perspective. A readable account^{***} of the life of Shih Huang-ti is given by Sauvain (1972) with some detail on the "awe-inspiring" great wall. There are books on Marco Polo by Peach (1962) and Thomson (1974) the latter resplendent with well researched illustrations, but particularly by Latham (1977) editor of Polo's Travels for Penguin (1958). Thomson has also written an appealing if highly favourable biography of Mao (1974). Gittings' carefully detailed study (1976) is similarly favourable.^{****} Robottoms's biography (1970) though designed for CSE work could well be read by top juniors, as could Case's sketch of modern China (1980).¹⁸⁷

Certain other books, though with little or no historical content, might be used in support of junior school project work. Geographical introductions are helpful.¹⁸⁸ Descriptions of children's life in Hong Kong assist stereotype reduction.¹⁸⁹ Work on myth and legend could offer another entry-point with young children, and there is a reasonable range of stories for children to read,¹⁹⁰ or for use by the teacher in story-periods, especially the collections by Birch (1961) and Manton and Gittings (1977).¹⁹¹ Lewis (1976) gives a clever

* See Neurath's other books, supra, pp. 209, 215, 216.

** One of a multi-volume series looking at the social history of 20 civilisations including Central America, Africa, India, Persia and Peru.

*** The first of any substance in English for children.

**** The East is red is printed without comment.

introduction to the language.¹⁹² Perhaps the best entry, however, is through study of one particular aspect including its history, such as in Spencer's sympathetic description (1963) of life around the Yangtse.^{*193}

Secondary children are better provided for, though the number of books is still comparatively small. In addition, virtually all the books recommended for primary schools are suitable for lower secondary classes,¹⁹⁴ whilst some adult material could be read by older school students.¹⁹⁵

There are several easily readable historical surveys, especially those by Hookham (1969) Saywell (1969,1972) and Lo Hui-min (1970). Hookham synthesises a variety of chinese illustrative material, contemporary descriptions, literary extracts, letters and state papers. Saywell (1969) covers early times to communism and sets China against a broader backcloth. The book, rich with human detail and humour, balances narrative and explanation, and includes vignettes of 13th. century and 1940s life. The companion volume (1972) focuses on art and literature in historical perspective. Lo emphasises the world-historical importance of chinese history and his detail on 40 political leaders, explorers and cultural heroes conveys concrete reality. Prominent among other general outlines is Pratt's (1968) 24-century historical sketch, bringing out China's world-historical importance, especially in technological development, and her long-standing appeal to western imaginations, through scrutiny of accounts by visitors from the fourth century B.C.^{**} Jones (1966) shows China's regional influence and narrates the East-West collision from the oriental viewpoint. Ping-chia Kuo (1970)^{***} places less influence than others on external influences, and correspondingly

* Cornelia Spencer, born in Chingkiang, has written several important books for children. (See, e.g., *infra*, pp. 392, 394).

** Though written for 6th. forms and above, it is suitable for secondary level. Clanchy's criticism that "the author includes so much chinese history that the result is bewildering" (*History*, 55, 1970, 81) is rejected.

*** One of a series of 17 attempting a world-historical picture through studies of particular areas or countries, including Latin America, Malaysia, Pakistan, India, Indonesia and Japan.

more on internal chinese history. Nelson, Jones and Fischer (1970)* clearly explain chinese ideas, ethics, modern political thought and family structure. Perhaps most important for source-based teaching is Meyer and Allen's commentary (1970)** on 149 extracts from early to modern times, bringing out not only the human interest of the chinese past but also its centrality to world history.¹⁹⁶

A limited number of other books cover pre-modern China. Useful focus on cultural and economic development as well as political history, in regional perspective and drawing from indigenous sources, is offered by Bullock (1969).*** Doncaster (1975) gives a bird's eye view, including 19 mainly pre-Manchu extracts, and stressing traditional culture. Barrett's history (1969) from earliest times to the Han is more fully detailed, with useful studies of Confucius, Shih Huang-ti and Wu Ti. Spencer's title (1963)** is misleading, since the story is taken to late Manchu times. The book highlights both political and cultural detail, avoids hyperbole and value-judgement, and throughout treats chinese history per se. Boase (1977) mainly concentrates on Han domestic and urban life, technology and high culture and makes full use of archaeological evidence. Dowrick (1973) similarly concentrates on archaeology, especially recent findings. More detail, again especially on the Han, is given in Walker's important book (1970)*** which transmits the most positive view of chinese social, cultural and technological achievements. For the great wall, Görbing-King (1973) gives detail on the Ch'in and early Han, with imaginative verbal reconstructions of border warfare and building the wall. Nancarrow (1975) includes

* One of an american series on world areas, including Latin America, Southern Africa, the Middle East, Japan and South East Asia.

** Probably the first set of chinese source-materials for school use published in Britain.

*** There are companion volumes on Mesopotamia and the Indus, Islam, Russia and America.

*** * Probably the first book for children on traditional China to be published in Britain.

*** ** One of a series embracing not only european countries, but also the arab world, the Caribbean, Eskimos, Ghana, Japan and Turkey.

well-illustrated information on the period up to 50 B.C., with attention to cultural and intellectual development as well as to politics, substantially based on Ssu-ma Ch'ien's account, and gives children a critical introduction to historical evidence. Harrington (1974) though substantially on China today^{*} includes useful brief detail on traditional China and the grand canal, particularly the Sui and Mongol periods. Sung China is interestingly portrayed by Ballard (1973) whose emphasis on the arts, the economy, urban and village life gives children a highly favourable view of the period. The Marco Polo episode is covered in Rugoff's sumptuous book (1968) which gives detail not found in other school texts, and repeatedly contrasts the magnificence of Mongol China with its european contemporary; and, less impressively, though imaginatively illustrated, by Brett (1971) and by Stokes (1971). Pratt's description of 17th century Peking and the life of its occupants (1971) gives pupils a brief glimpse into Ming China.^{**197}

Materials are not solely in book form, however. The brunerian Schools Council resource pack (1972) provides the class with 12 sets of leaflets and a slide-set covering China from early times to the 20th century, but with particular emphasis on traditional ways of life and culture. The first three sections of Doncaster's 'world history units' China resource-pack (1972) cover ancient and traditional China, with strong cultural emphasis. The same author's 'world history themes' China pack (1972) treats five aspects of traditional social life, with supporting audio and visual material.^{***} Norman and Evans' resource-pack on traditional culture (1973) includes a helpful time-chart. Boothroyd's resource-pack of pupil booklets and 18 slides on early China (1980) require children to draw inferences from given evidence. There are also several filmstrips on pre-modern chinese history and culture with teaching notes by such as Medley (1972) Hookham (1972) and Pratt (1973).¹⁹⁸

On the modern period, and generally for CSE and GCE candidates, the range of choice, though still inadequate, is better. Stokes'

* Some subjectivity.

** Paralleled by an equally interesting volume on 16th century Benin, by McClelland. Gibson's review of both books (TH, 10, Nov.1973, 167) is not accepted.

*** There are similar packs on Africa and India.

modern history of East Asia (1964) narrates from the 18th century to 1941 with careful linguistic and conceptual control, is studded with source-extracts and gives compassionate insight into the histories both of China and Japan.* Robottom's survey (1967)** bristles with interesting snippets, quotations and eye-witness accounts, balances favourable views of chinese communism with some critical comment and firmly establishes China's role in the modern world. Spencer's text (1969) seeks to inspire positive feelings towards the Chinese, and repeatedly underlines the world-historical importance of events in China.*** Kennett's documentary-supported text shows China's importance to world history from the 1830s**** and includes a useful brief history of modern Japan. Gibson (1975) over-sensationalises traditional chinese life, but generally conveys a favourable impression of chinese policies and people, stressing the destructive influence of western intervention. Case's simple outline (1980) encourages inductive thinking. Denning (1981) includes documentary extracts and shows more balanced judgement than some other authors.¹⁹⁹.

Several books focus in particular on the 20th century revolutions. Higgins (1968)**** makes effective use of sources and brings out the world-importance of chinese events, though his objectivity is questionable.**** There is an accompanying work-book. In the first of two books by Mitchison (1970) a candid introduction to her sources and personal position is followed by a narrative attempting to represent events from a chinese point of view. Sympathy to China is evident, but not uncritical, and unreliably subjective

* Written for Hong Kong Chinese. The authors had lived there.

** One of a 16-volume series including titles on the League and UNO, the USA, Africa and Japan.

*** The battle of Huai-lai (Jan.1949), not mentioned in any other school-book, is described as "one of the greatest single battles of modern times".

**** The Mukden incident (Sep.1931) "marked the real beginning of world war two".(p.88).

**** * One of a series under the important editorship of M.E. Bryant which includes two books on Africa and four on world issues, including Henderson's World cooperation (1968).

**** ** It was attacked in Honey's review of Higgins' Vietnam (1975) in History, 62, 1977, 300-1.

sources are pinpointed. The second (1971)* displays similar qualities. Robottom's verbal-visual account (1971) includes 296 pictures mainly from chinese sources. Roper's (1971) 63 extracts around three themes, linked with 36 questions for the student,** and Weston's (1971) brief outline and 28 extracts are invaluable for source-based teaching. Saywell's clear narrative (1972) complements two other volumes previously noted. Lane (1978) relates little-quoted chinese sources, including P'u Yi and Chu Teh, to exercises demanding imaginative reconstruction and empathetic projection, traces events to 1977 and brings out the importance of Teng Hsiao-ping.*** The Schools Council's (1977) montage of 47 snippets and 98 pictures from chinese and western sources is less satisfactory - disconnected, almost exclusively political in emphasis, lacking objectivity and failing to identify bias in sources **** - but includes a vivid treatment of the long march and useful brief biographies of six principal characters, plus an accompanying tape and filmstrip.²⁰⁰

On more specific topics, Werstein (1971) gives a sympathetic portrayal of the Boxer rebellion, though the narrative is related from a western viewpoint. Buck's emotional biography (1955) of Sun Yat-sen gives interesting detail, whilst Bruce (1969) lucidly portrays Sun as a major figure in asian history. Among biographies of Mao Tse-tung, Robottom's sketch **** * is interestingly detailed for the less able pupil. Its apparent subjectivity is exceeded by that in Roberts' study (1970) which, however, brims with human detail on Mao and on certain aspects of the communist reform programme. Painter (1976) gives a brief outline related to 23 documents. Purcell (1977) lacks objectivity, but embellishes the exciting narrative with 42 excerpts from Mao's writing, besides quotes from Snow, Smedley and other observers. Tarling's account (1977) **** ** is dry and lacks

* There are accompanying volumes on modern Japan and Russia.

** Many of her extracts are from sympathetic observers, others from politically oriented publishers.

*** There are parallel books on Europe, USA and USSR.

**** And in an unpleasant sepia print.

**** * One of a 30-part series seeking world-historical understandings via 5 booklets on each of 6 main world regions.

**** ** One of a series on world themes, one of which is leadership.

human detail, but makes effective use of chinese literary and visual sources, brings out the 'chineseness' of Mao and is not uncritical. Dures (1980) again makes free use of source extracts and well-balanced detail. Dunster (1982) through a biographical approach focusing on Mao gives an outline of 20th century China, with attention to several other personalities, though making only six brief references to original sources.* The best promise for source-based teaching, however, is found in Barker's study of Chiang and Mao (1979) which emphasises chinese verbal and visual material as the basis for deductive exercises, game simulations and speculative thinking centring upon the 'four concepts' approach.²⁰¹

There are several books on the post-1949 period. Of those giving some historical emphasis, Kinmond (1973) surveys to the ping-pong diplomacy, paints a useful picture of the cultural revolution, strikes an effective balance between approbation and criticism, and shows the interrelationship between past and present. Chey and Hunter (1974) explain developments in order deliberately to counteract stereotypes. Hammond (1974)** gives a sympathetic portrayal of the chinese lifestyle, bringing out strongly the normality and continuity of life. Gray (1974)*** interleaves contemporary information with historical and cultural detail. Cameron (1974) offers a sympathetic and well-detailed coverage of scientific, cultural and social matter besides the political, and demonstrating the adaptation of past to present. Bown (1977) gives a judicious assessment of successes and failures at home and abroad between 1949 and the death of Mao.²⁰²

Other books have an almost exclusively contemporary emphasis. Nonetheless, they would be useful background reading for children studying modern China. Good examples include Clayton and Miles' (1971) economic-geographical account; Moore's pictorial description (1974);**** and especially King's focus (1979) on the mundane details of chinese life.²⁰³ Books published in China, however, or western

* The ugly pin-yin transliterations (Shaanxi, Guangzhou) are not appealing.

** One of a multi-volume series including books on the USA, the USSR and Japan.

*** One of a series of 14 including books on Brazil and Japan.

**** One of a series of 91 covering all world areas including 23 asian countries.

books with overtly political commitment, should be approached with care.²⁰⁴

As with earlier history, secondary children need not approach the modern period solely through textbooks. Two of Doncaster's 'world history units' packs on China (1972) cover the more modern period, and her thematic study-packs (1972) all link up the traditional and modern. Bown's two resource packs cover the period from 1911 to the 1970s, with strong socio-cultural emphasis. D'Avray's pack (1978) involves children in historical problem-solving. Pask (1979) includes three filmstrips and children's material on agriculture, industry and urban life. Morgan's slide-set (c.1972) covers socio-political events from 1900 to 1970. Similar political emphasis is found in the BBC filmstrip (1967) and Fromer's four-filmstrip outline with accompanying sound-commentary (1973). The second of Hookham's filmstrips (1972) brings the story to modern times. Coulson (1968) portrays modern city and rural life, as do Painter (1972) and Moore (1972). Two of Pratt's outstanding seven-filmstrip collection (1973) focus on the modern period, as does his twin filmstrip and tape set (1974). Robottom (1974) narrates the period since 1900. Two-thirds of the Dent and Poulton filmstrip and tape (1975) concentrate on modern China. Milne (1976) explains the chinese commune. Whyte's detailed filmstrip (1977) sets modern developments against their geographical, cultural and historical background. More able upper secondary and sixth-form pupils' understandings of modern China might be clarified by the Bell-Yahuda (1971) and Caldwell-Jenner⁽¹⁹⁷¹⁾ taped discussions.^{*205} Novels could also enrich the process of imaginative reconstruction.²⁰⁶

The most appropriate suggested topic with which to close this study, it is felt, is that with which it opened: that of westerners in China. No subject more clearly epitomises and brings home to children both the problems and potentialities of West-East mutual attitudes and relationships. For its classroom study, besides the wide range of primary source materials indicated earlier,²⁰⁷ teachers can call upon two important books, themselves brimming with carefully selected source-extracts. On the negative aspects of West-East relationships, Barr (1970) is invaluable, detailing western activities in China^{**} from mongol times to the korean war, and

* Careful preparation by the teacher essential.

** And Japan.

throughout from the non-european viewpoint. Stokes (1979) similarly spotlights intercultural problems, with a serious attempt to explain to children Chinese coolness towards the 'Red Hairy Barbarians' and the resultant hostility and conflict. More importantly, however, the book also details, besides the negative aspects of East-West relationships, some of the many examples of friendly reciprocity which have been documented.²⁰⁸

That simple little book represents a pattern which must be looked for in evaluation of future materials for children - and adults - on subjects involving contact between apparently dissimilar cultures. It is imperative that people be prompted toward understanding what human beings have in common, and appreciating their shared humanity and universal cultural heritage. In pursuit of those educational desiderata, the record to this point in time of the english educational system's various components and ancillary parts, despite some contrary indications, makes generally disheartening reading. Remedial action is long overdue, in which process world-historical studies, with focus upon individual civilisations, including that of China, must occupy a central position. Such remediation must be teacher-led, yet it is a role for which most teachers appear ill-equipped. The question of suitability of resources for teacher and pupil use is therefore of cardinal importance.

